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THE
CLASSICAL
REVIEW.

VOLUME IV.

1890

London:
DAVID NUTT, 270 STRAND.
1890.

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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1890.

THE SIEGE OF PLATAEA.

THE publication of Prof. Paley's essay 'On certain engineering difficulties in Thucydides' account of the escape from Plataea' in vol. x. of the *Journal of Philology* may be said to have been the beginning of many evils for the Greeks and the barbarians also; that is, for Thucydides and his modern readers. It was, for instance, the immediate cause of the remarkable paper by Müller-Strübing in the *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1885, p. 289, in which he proves, to the confusion of all historians past, present, and to come, that the work of Thucydides is neither more nor less than a 'military-didactic epic.'

To review in detail all that has been written on the siege of Plataea, as described by Thucydides, would be a work almost as immense as the building of the siege wall; but it is possible, within brief limits, to discuss a few of the difficulties raised by Paley and those who have followed him.

And first it is worth while to state very prominently a fact which Paley has not brought sufficiently into the foreground. The entire narrative of Thucydides demands that we should think of the city of Plataea, whatever its size may have been, as surrounded at least in part by a belt of soft earth of some depth. Without this, there would have been no fruit-trees to cut down and form into a barricade; without this, there could have been no mound of earth, rising as high as the city wall; without this, the Plataeans could not have dug a mine under their own walls, in order to remove the soil from the mound outside. Out of this earth, no doubt, the bricks were dug, which were used in building the siege wall, and the spaces left by the removal of the earth were of course

the trenches by each side of the wall, as was also the case in the long walls connecting Megara and Nisaea.¹

Among the strongest objections raised against the truth of the account given by Thucydides of the famous siege are (1) the size of the siege wall: and (2) the small number of men left behind to guard the city. These were 480 in number.²

Of the size of the wall, however, we know nothing. That depends entirely on the size of the city, which is equally unknown. That the existing ruins of the city walls, which are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, are not to be taken into calculation is obvious. Not only did the Thebans raze the town entirely to the ground in 425, but, when it had subsequently been rebuilt, it was again pulled down in 374. But even if we allow a circuit of 4,000 yards for the siege wall, is the work so impossible as Paley would have us believe? Apparently half (or more) of the Peloponnesian army were left behind for the work; and this half would perhaps amount to 20,000 men. These, spread over 4,000 yards, would give 50 men for every ten yards of wall. Could not 50 men, in about three months, build ten yards

¹ Whether such a belt exists now, can of course easily be ascertained. If it does not, we may still believe that it existed in the fifth century B.C. Years of desolation—not to mention the *débris* of a ruined city—must have wrought some change on the surface of the district.

² Müller-Strübing refuses to avail himself of this argument because the Spartans had forbidden the taking of Plataea by storm, and the defenders had merely to sit still! (*l. c.* p. 304). But this fact also has no better authority than Thucydides, and therefore should have no weight with M.-Str. Duncker urges it strongly.

of such a wall as Thucydides describes, assuming a height of 15—20 feet? In a very short time, between the 'autumn' of 428 and 'the beginning of winter,' the Athenians built a wall round Mitylene; it was a single wall, it is true, but it was furnished with forts in some strong places, and effectually shut up the city on the land side. Taking into consideration the difference of the numbers, the greater size of Mitylene, and the shorter space of time, this wall in Lesbos seems to imply quite as much activity as the wall round Plataea. At Pylos the wall was built in six days.¹

On the size of the city also depends the question whether 480 men were or were not sufficient for the defence of Plataea. Those who assume a city as extensive as the present ruins (though Thucydides says it was *οὐ μέγαλην*) assert that 480 men were not enough to guard it. But we have just as much right, or more, to assume that 480 men were thought enough—just enough, no doubt, for economy's sake, for the wall they had to defend; in other words the city was not larger than 480 men could defend. The whole fighting force of Plataea in 479 B.C. was 600 men. Unless the fighting force of the town was altogether out of proportion to the size of the city, the walls were not larger than 480 men could maintain. Otherwise the army was quite inadequate to take any action in the field, if men were required to guard the walls at home, and when we are told that 480 men could not have resisted the forces brought against them, we may remember that the little fortress of Oenoe successfully resisted the whole Peloponnesian army. It may be added that in Paley's view the number of men left behind is a proof of the large size of the city. He assumes a population of 10,000—whether on the basis of the 400 Plataeans (80 were Athenians) now left behind, or on the basis of the 1,000 Plataeans who fought at Marathon, is not clear. If the former, the proportion of population to fighting men is large; if the latter, we must remember that Plataea was destroyed by the Persians in 480.

The plastering of the inner surface of the siege wall is thought to be a difficulty. Where did all the mortar come from? asks Paley. Where, we might ask, did the mortar come from for building the two and a half

miles of wall of which the ruins still exist at Plataea (unless the walls were built without mortar)? It came from the same source as the stone of which the city walls were built. Where there is lime, there is no difficulty about mortar; and where there is lime-stone, there is no difficulty about lime. The bricks of the siege walls were, no doubt, exceedingly soft (Thucydides says that Plataeans 'pushed down the battlements'), and needed protection on the side toward the city—and, after all, the mortar was perhaps little more than mud. At Pylos there seems to have been no lack of the material!

Another 'crux' is found in the fact that when the Plataeans crossed the siege wall in their escape they found water in the outer ditch of the wall and none in the inner. This, it is thought, is an oversight on the part of Thucydides. Either there was water in both ditches or in neither. Why so? The water streaming down Cithaeron would quickly fall into the outer ditch, but it could not penetrate into the inner ditch. On the other hand the area within the siege wall, between it and the city wall, would not be large enough to collect much water. Under such circumstances there would always be less water in the inner ditch than in the outer.

Once more, Paley points out that the besiegers in their wall were really in more danger than the besieged. They were in a position where they could be attacked on the outside by the Athenians and on the inside by the Plataeans. No doubt: they might have been attacked in this manner, if (1) the Athenians had not made up their minds that they would not take the field with an army against the Peloponnesians: (2) and if Thebes had not been much nearer Plataea than Athens was. As a fact they were not attacked. The protracted siege and final fall of Plataea made it clear to all the Grecian world that the Athenians dare not meet their old enemies in the field. From this point of view (though they had other reasons for desiring to take dire vengeance on the Plataeans) the Thebans were quite right, as a matter of policy, in urging the siege upon the Peloponnesians.

In this way the 'impossibilities' and difficulties of the siege seem to diminish on a closer examination. But no scrutiny can help us out of the difficulties which are raised by the recent theories: that Thucydides is describing an ideal or pattern siege (Müller-Strübing), or confounding the city wall with the siege wall (Paley). Can we suppose that

¹ The Athenians had 40 ships at Mitylene, and 1,000 hoplites under Paches: *i.e.* about 9,000 men, and they had to blockade the city by sea, while building the wall (Thuc. iii. 2, 18). The siege works at Nisaea occupied a day and a half (Thuc. iv. 69), at Delium about three days (iv. 90).

Thucydides, writing as a historian of a city on the borders of Attica, a city well known before its ruin to many of his readers, and occupied for a year after its fall by Megarians and others—a city too of which some of the heroic defenders lived at Athens—succeeded in palming off on his contemporaries a fictitious account of the siege? Or that he failed to distinguish between the city wall and the siege wall which surrounded it—a

mistake which hundreds could have corrected? Would no ancient author have pointed out the absurdity of his account, if it were as absurd as we are asked to believe? Is his history worth a moment's consideration, *if he could not* ascertain and tell the truth about a siege on the borders of Attica, in which every Athenian was interested?

EVELYN ABBOTT.

THE AGAMEMNON OF AESCHYLUS.

AN ADDENDUM.

In a recent edition of the *Agamemnon* I endeavoured to show that there is error in the current hypothesis as to the story upon which the drama is founded, and also consequential error as to the *dramatis personae* and the distribution of the parts. By oversight and forgetfulness I omitted a piece of evidence which will, I believe, seem to many more weighty than any that I have actually adduced. I desire to bring it forward without delay, and have obtained the kind permission of the editor to do this in the *Classical Review*.

My criticism related (1) to the story, and (2) to the *dramatis personae*. It is important to bear in mind both the distinction and the interdependence of these two matters. The supposed story has for it the authority, whatever that may be worth, of the Greek hypothesis found in the MSS. The *dramatis personae* and distribution of the parts, which are given in our printed books, have not the authority of the MSS., nor any authority from tradition at all. They have been invented in modern times, indeed quite recently, and introduced in defiance of the MSS., in order to bring the text and the interpretation of the text, so far as might be, into tolerable conformity with the story supposed. This I have explained in my book. But when the book was printed and published I did not know, or rather had forgotten, that the modern cast of the play, as now commonly printed, conflicts not only with the MSS. of Aeschylus (which in such a matter would be little), but with other testimony far older and better, testimony indeed of the very best and strongest kind which we have on any subject connected with the ancient theatre. If we are to be ruled in this matter by tradition at all (which I do not assert or necessarily admit), we should at least prefer

the tradition of the second century to the tradition of the eleventh.

The principal representative of ancient scholarship in relation to Greek drama is of course Pollux. Writing in the full daylight of Graeco-Roman learning, he is a very different witness from the anonymous Byzantine revisers of the *Codex Mediceus*. It happens that we have from Pollux a note on the *dramatis personae* of the *Agamemnon*, which, though it deals directly only with a detail, presupposes and necessarily implies a certain view of the whole play. The passage runs as follows (Poll. iv. 109): ὁπότε μὴν ἀντὶ τετάρτου ὑποκριτοῦ δέοι τινὰ τῶν χορευτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧδῃ, παρασκήνιον καλεῖται τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὡς ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι Αἰσχύλου· εἰ δὲ τέταρτος ὑποκριτὴς τι παραφθέγγαιτο, τοῦτο παραχορήγημα ὀνομάζεται, καὶ πεπράχθαι φασιν αὐτὸ ἐν Μέμνονι Αἰσχύλου. 'But whenever it was necessary that, in the place of a fourth actor, one of the chorus-performers should speak in lyric, this is called a *παρασκήνιον*: see for example the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus. If there were something incidentally spoken by a fourth actor, this is termed a *παραχορήγημα*: and it is said to have occurred in the *Memnon* of Aeschylus.'

The meaning of this is clear and undisputed. For the performance of a play there were commonly provided, in addition to the regular chorus, three actors trained for spoken parts. As a very general rule this number was the limit, and the plays were so written that not more than three persons (besides the *choreutae*), having parts to speak, should be before the audience at the same time. Pollux is here treating of the rare exceptions to this rule. He divides them into two kinds. The ordinary function of the three ὑποκριταί was to deliver the dialogue. The most natural conception there-

fore of a 'fourth actor' would be a person speaking in ordinary dialogue (ἐν λόγῳ) in a scene in which all the three regular ὑποκριταί were already occupied. Of this however, which is the case put second by Pollux, he seems not to have known by his own observation a single instance. 'It is said', he writes, 'to have occurred in the *Memnon* of Aeschylus,' which play he had plainly not read. His care in marking that he is here speaking at second hand is worthy of notice, and enhances the authority of what he states without such a limitation. The other, the first-mentioned exception, is of a very peculiar kind. It is where, in a scene requiring the simultaneous presence of the three regular actors, there is found another speaker who, being a *choreutes* and speaking in lyric, is not exactly a 'fourth actor', but, as Pollux words it, 'in the place of a fourth actor.' For this he refers, as if the case were plain and notorious, to the *Agamemnon*.

It will be seen on reflexion that there is a little difficulty in understanding the nature of this peculiar case. This 'quasi-actor', says Pollux, is 'one of the *choreutae*.' Why then, it might be asked, should not his part be delivered by the ordinary chorus-leader? And why, since the *choreutae* for the purpose of this rule never counted in the number of the 'actors' at all, should this case be regarded as exceptional or noticeable in any way? We shall see the reason presently.

We are not here concerned with the question how far the technical terms παρασκήνιον and παραχορήγημα, as here used, were either correct in themselves or generally recognized. As Pollux uses them they are in a way correlative, the chorus in the first place supplying something *extra* to the stage, the fourth actor in the second case being a sort of addition to the chorus.¹ We however are concerned only with the facts to which the terms are applied.

In order to show the bearing of this testimony on the question discussed in my book, I will now set out (1) the *dramatis personae* and distribution of the *Agamemnon*, as commonly printed; (2) the *dramatis personae* and distribution according to my edition. Those of the MSS. it is scarcely worth while to discuss. Nobody defends or is likely to defend them.

As commonly printed :

Dramatis personae.

A. Watchman.

¹ For a comparison of the various uses of these terms, see Mr. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, note on p. 212, by which note my attention was called to the passage.

Chorus of Elders.

Clytaemnestra.

A Herald.

Agamemnon.

Cassandra.

Aegisthus.

These characters are distributed in the play as follows :

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Prologue.</i> | Watchman. |
| 2. <i>Parodos and</i> | { <i>Chorus.</i> |
| <i>Stas. 1.</i> | |
| 3. <i>Episode 1.</i> | { Clytaemnestra.
<i>Chorus.</i> |
| 4. <i>Stas. 2.</i> | |
| 5. <i>Episode 2.</i> | { Herald.
Clytaemnestra.
<i>Chorus.</i> |
| 6. <i>Stas. 3.</i> | |
| 7. <i>Episode 3.</i> | { Agamemnon.
Clytaemnestra.
Cassandra (silent). |
| 8. <i>Stas. 4.</i> | |
| 9. <i>Episode 4.</i> | { Clytaemnestra.
Cassandra.
<i>Chorus.</i> |
| 10. <i>Interlude</i>
(1331—1371
Dindorf.) | |
| 11. <i>Episode 5</i> | { Clytaemnestra.
Aegisthus.
<i>Chorus.</i> |
| <i>and Finale.</i> | |

It will be seen that there is here not the least trace of the 'fourth actor' found in the play by Pollux. Indeed it can scarcely be said that the play absolutely requires three. Very little ingenuity, certainly not more than the ancients employed, as we are told, to preserve their limitations in other places, would be required to enable the mute Cassandra of Episode 3 and the speaking Cassandra of Episode 4 to be taken by different maskers; and except at this point two actors, with the chorus, could easily perform the whole.

I will now set out the arrangements as in my recent edition.

Dramatis Personae.

A Watchman.

Chorus of Elders.

Clytaemnestra.

A Conspirator, leading the
Chorus of Conspirators.

A Herald.

Agamemnon.
Cassandra.
Aegisthus.
A Soldier of Aegisthus.

By these the different portions of the play are spoken or sung as follows :

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Prologue.</i> | Watchman. |
| 2. <i>Parodos and Stas. 1.</i> | { Chorus of Elders. |
| 3. <i>Episode 1.</i> | { Clytaemnestra.
Conspirator.
Chorus of Elders.
Chorus of Conspirators |
| 4. <i>Stas. 2.</i> | Chorus of Elders. |
| 5. <i>Episode 2.</i> | { Conspirator.
Herald.
Clytaemnestra.
Chorus of Elders. |
| 6. <i>Stas. 3.</i> | Chorus of Elders. |
| 7. <i>Episode 3.</i> | { Agamemnon.
Clytaemnestra.
Cassandra (silent). |
| 8. <i>Stas. 4.</i> | Chorus of Elders. |
| 9. <i>Episode 4.</i> | { Clytaemnestra.
Cassandra.
Chorus of Elders. |
| 10. <i>Interlude.</i> | { Agamemnon (behind
the scenes).
Chorus of Elders. |
| 11. <i>Episode 5 and Finale.</i> | { Clytaemnestra.
Conspirator.
Aegisthus.
Soldier.
Chorus of Elders. |

Now if this was the arrangement known to Pollux, we can not only see at once the application of his remark, but can explain it with precision down to the minutest peculiarity. The greater part of the play, all but the last scene, can be performed by the regular three actors. But in the last scene there is a small fourth part, which answers exactly to the description of the ancient scholar. The scene consists of two sections, (1) a dialogue, partly iambic but chiefly lyric, conducted mainly by Clytaemnestra and the Coryphaeus (1371—1576), and (2) the finale, in iambic and trochaic, mainly conducted by Aegisthus, Clytaemnestra, and the Coryphaeus. These two sections however are perfectly continuous. There is no interval between them, and no legitimate opportunity for an exit. But

from the evidence of the text it appeared to me that in the finale one of the soldiers accompanying Aegisthus must have spoken twice, on each occasion one trochaic verse (1650 and 1653), and also that in the preceding lyric dialogue, at 1522 (1521 Dindorf), the words,

οὐτ' ἀνελεύθερον οἶμαι θάνατον
τῷδε γενέσθαι,—

which are usually struck out as inexplicable, must have been spoken by a partizan of Clytaemnestra, that is to say, by the Conspirator. I did not observe, what I ought not doubt to have observed, that, as it would be quite unnatural for the performer here taking the person of the Conspirator to leave the stage before the entrance of Aegisthus and his troop, I had thus made, to this small extent, a demand for a *fourth actor*. But all the more striking, I think, is the undesigned coincidence between my independent inference and the statement of Pollux.

For observe: the various parts were commonly assumed to be distributed among the actors in the order of their importance. In the *Agamemnon* the protagonist would of course play Clytaemnestra in the last scene as throughout. The deuteragonist would take Aegisthus. Of the two remaining parts, the Soldier, not the Conspirator, would be given to the regular tritagonist, as having two speeches to make instead of only one, and also as requiring much more impressive action. We should therefore naturally hold, as Pollux and his authorities held, that the speech of the Conspirator (1522—1523) must be regarded as the exceptional *fourth part*. It is in lyric metre (anapaests), not in the iambic of the ordinary dialogue; and so it is described by Pollux. And, most remarkable of all, it is spoken by a person whose ambiguous character, between *choreutes* and actor, makes the peculiar language of his description quite simple and natural. The Conspirator is in a sense 'one of the *choreutae*.' He stands to the secondary chorus in much the same relation in which the regular Coryphaeus stands to the regular chorus; and in fact in my edition I have, upon this analogy, marked his parts (as well as the one song of the sub-chorus) by the sign XO. β'. On the other hand he is no member of the regular chorus but, in the common technical sense, a *ὑποκριτής*. When therefore, as at this place, he recites anapaests in a scene otherwise requiring the simultaneous presence of three speakers (in addition to the regular

chorus), he is what Pollux calls him, 'one of the *choreutae* speaking in lyric in the place of a fourth actor.'

I cannot but think that this absolute agreement between an inference drawn from MSS. of the fourteenth century and a statement dating from the second not only substantiates the inference, but also strongly fortifies the authority of our traditional text. The makers of our MSS. had, it is needless to say, not a notion of illustrating the observation of Pollux. The words to which his note refers are in the MSS. tacked, in defiance of grammar, to the following speech of Clytaemnestra, while in modern texts, as I have already said, they are desperately struck out. Yet there they stand in the *Codex Florentinus*, as they must have stood in the Aeschylus of Pollux, having survived the copyists of more than a millennium, to illustrate and justify the true tradition. Could there possibly be a fact more encouraging to the study of those materials from which our knowledge of Greek drama has been and is being built up?

What, it may be asked, have we done with the testimony of Pollux so long as we have endeavoured to distribute the *Agamemnon* so as to accord with the Byzantine story? It has been simply set aside, upon one of those transparent pretexts which we all employ when we are at a loss for arguments. The copyist of Pollux, it is said, introduced the reference to the *Agamemnon*

by error, because a few lines after came a reference, quite differently worded, to the *Memnon*. There is no one who will not gladly be relieved of the supposed necessity for such a hypothesis as this.

In conclusion I should like to call attention to the curious and unimpeachable evidence of the difficulties besetting the common distribution of the *Agamemnon*, which is furnished by the version of Fitzgerald. In the course of accommodating the earlier scenes of the play to a story and cast of characters for which they were never intended, it has been necessary, among other things, to assign to the same speaker two contradictory and irreconcilable speeches (317—319 and 351—354 Dindorf). We commentators, being compelled to preserve the whole, have pushed through the place as we could. But Fitzgerald did not so bind himself; and what does he do? He tacitly remodels the scene, fusing, modifying, and omitting, so that the contradiction wholly disappears. The significance of this is the greater, in that Mr. Fitzgerald was defending no theory and indeed had probably not the least idea that what he so calmly set aside was not the genuine arrangement of Aeschylus. But he saw, being free to see, that, Aeschylus or not, it was intolerable to his understanding: and he dealt with it accordingly.

A. W. VERRALL.

TABLE OF AFFINITY IN PLATO'S *REPUBLIC*.

In the *Republic* 459 E foll. Plato gives us the arrangements which are to take the place of marriage in his state. On certain festival days men and women covertly chosen by the guardians, though seemingly selected by lot, are to be joined in a union not lasting longer than the festivals themselves. There will not be more unions than are sufficient, taking one thing with another, to maintain the number of the male population; but nothing is said at first about prohibiting unions between near relations. The children are to be taken from their mothers and so brought up by the state that relationship to particular parents shall remain unknown. No child will know its parents, no parents their children. Men are to be eligible for these regular and legal unions between the ages of 25 and 55, women between 20 and 40. When they

have passed these ages and ceased 'bearing children to the state' (τίκτειν τῇ πόλει or γεννᾶν τῇ πόλει), they are to be at liberty to form irregular unions, any possible offspring of which is to be suppressed.

It is at this point that restrictions on the ground of relationship are first mentioned. A man, it is said, may form one of these irregular unions with any woman he pleases except daughter, granddaughter, mother and grandmother: and a woman with any man she pleases, not being son, grandson, father or grandfather.¹ Brothers and sisters are not mentioned in this particular sen-

¹ Plato says daughter, daughter's daughter, mother and mother's mother, and then again son, son's son, father and father's father. But these make up among them all grandchildren and grandparents; e.g. if a woman cannot marry her father's father, a man cannot marry his son's daughter.

tence, where the forbidden degrees are first given.

Hereupon Glaucon naturally asks how, considering the arrangements made, father and daughter, mother and son are to be known. Socrates answers that all the children born in the tenth or seventh month after one of the festivals are to count as children of all the men and women who took part in the regular unions on that occasion, and that relationship in the second generation will follow accordingly. He then proceeds to define brother and sister, who have not hitherto been mentioned, as τὰ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ γεγονότα (ἐκγονα) ἐν ᾧ αἱ μητέρες καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐγένον. It seems to me that these words are usually mistranslated, and in any case they give rise to great difficulty.

They are commonly taken to mean that a man's sister will be any woman born about the same time as himself, that is, within a certain time of a certain festival. But a pupil of mine has pointed out to me, what is certainly true, that under the arrangements above stated children born about the same time are exactly those who, except in the case of twins, could not be brothers or sisters. At the festival one man was united to one woman and the children born must be children of different fathers and different mothers. If therefore it was with a view to the prevention of real incest that Plato defined relationships and prohibited unions, he was not likely to prohibit them to persons who could not be relations and permit them to persons who could. He would be granting full liberty of incest while hindering an innocent union.

If however we look again at the Greek, we shall see that this was not Plato's meaning. The use of the imperfect tense ἐγένον and the absence of αὐτοῦς after it show clearly that the words mean not 'the time at which their parents brought them into the world,' which would be ἐγέννησαν αὐτοῦς, but 'the time within which their parents were having children,' γενᾶν being used in the same sense in which it has been used two or three times before in this and the previous page. It refers therefore to the whole time of life during which father and mother were allowed, if the lot fell upon them, to take part in the regular unions; and brothers and sisters will be all persons born, roughly speaking, within thirty years of one another, that being the period of time during which a man might be having children as the issue of regular unions, so

that a man and a woman born within that period might possibly both have him for father. This meaning is also clearly conveyed by a passage in the *Timaeus* (18 D), in which the arrangements of the *Republic* are mentioned: νομοῦσι δὲ πάντες πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁμογενεῖς, ἀδελφὰς μὲν καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ὅσοι περ ἂν τῆς προεπούσης ἐντὸς ἡλικίας γίνονται, τοὺς δ' ἐμπροσθεν κ.τ.λ., where ἡλικία naturally refers to a considerable period of life, not to a few weeks.

But if it was Plato's intention under ordinary circumstances to forbid all unions between brothers and sisters thus defined, he would thus have rendered all unions whatever practically impossible. Under the various conditions of age now stated a man could not be united with any woman who was older or younger than himself by less than thirty years because she might be his sister, nor with one thirty years younger than himself because she might be his daughter; while a woman thirty years older than himself might be his mother, and would also be beyond the legal age for a regular union.

But this cannot have been Plato's meaning. After the definitions of relationship, he adds, in 461 E, ὥστε ὁ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν, ἀλλήλων μὴ ἄπτεσθαι· ἀδελφοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὰς δώσει ὁ νόμος συνοικεῖν ἐὰν ὁ κλῆρος ταύτη συμπίπτῃ καὶ ἡ Πυθία προσαναγρῇ. I understand the words ὥστε...ἄπτεσθαι to refer to the irregular unions which were the last mentioned. Although in 461 C brothers and sisters are curiously omitted from the list of persons forbidden to form irregular unions, we seem obliged by these words to include them; and Plato would seem absolutely to forbid irregular unions between persons who may possibly be near relations. With regular unions the case is different. 'Brothers and sisters,' he says, 'the law will allow to be united, if the lot so fall, and if the Pythian priestess also sanction it by oracle.' In these words brothers and sisters seem to be distinguished from parents and children (whose union would indeed also be prevented by the limits of age laid down), and the reference to the law and the lot show that the regular unions only are here intended. It is strange that Plato should say 'if the lot so fall,' because it could not fall otherwise, possible brothers and sisters being the only persons eligible for these unions, as all other adults would be possible parents and children. As to the sanction of the oracle, we can hardly suppose that it was to be obtained separately for each particular couple after the lots had

been cast, although the order of the clauses and the *πρός* in *προσαναυρή* would render this the natural meaning. The oracle would have to sanction these unions once for all. But perhaps Plato had not fully seen in detail all the consequences of his own legislation, and meant the *ἐαν* κ.τ.λ. in its natural sense. We may notice that, if the oracle refused to sanction such unions, no unions at all could take place.

No doubt there are some difficulties in this interpretation of Plato's arrangements, but there can be no doubt as to the real meaning of the words in which brothers and sisters are defined, and Plato would seem not to have thought out all the consequences that would or might ensue.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS IN THE *MEDEA*.

- 120 δεινὰ τυράννων λήματα καὶ πῶς
ὀλίγ' ἀρχόμενοι, πολλὰ κρατοῦντες,
χαλεπῶς ὄργας μεταβάλλουσιν.
τὸ γὰρ εἰθίσθαι ἤν' ἐπ' ἴσοισιν
κρείσσον· ἐμοὶ γοῦν εἰ μὴ μεγάλως
ὀχυρῶς τ' εἴη καταγυράσκειν.
125 τῶν γὰρ μετρίων πρῶτα μὲν εἰπεῖν
τοῦνομα νικᾷ, χρῆσθαί τε μακρῶ
λῶστα βροτοῖσιν· τὰ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντ'
οὐδένα καιρὸν δύναται θνητοῖς,
μείζους δ' ἄτας, ὅταν ὀργίσθῃ
130 δαίμων οἴκοις, ἀπέδωκεν.

Here is nothing to arrest us till we come to the τ' of v. 124; but this annihilates all sense and construction in the sentence where it occurs, and is therefore amended to γ' or δ', or, simpler still, discarded: the scribe who inserted it supposed no doubt that he was smoothing away an asyndeton. The words now left possess a meaning, but it is wrong. These verses set forth what the Greeks were never tired of hearing—the praise of the golden mean in disparagement of a high estate; and it flatly contradicts their tenour to say in the midst of them *be it mine to grow old in security if not in grandeur*, for this makes grandeur the prime object of desire and security the second. Mr. Th. Barthold corrects ἐπὶ μὴ μεγάλοις, *on modest means*: the recent editors accept this, so I pass to the next sentence.

χρῆσθαί τε λῶστα· for αὐτὰ τε χρῆσθαι λῶσά ἐστιν I will call by no worse name than clumsy; but the expression *overgreatness is tantamount to no profit for mortals* is so strange in itself that Nauck, Prinz, Verrall, and now Wecklein agree to think v. 128 corrupt; and external witness is still more damaging. Mr. Verrall has already called attention to an obscure scholion which I present in this amended form: τὰ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντ'] αἱ δ' ὑπερβολαί, φησὶν, ἀσθενεῖς καὶ οὐ βέβαιοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τραχεῖα (ita

scripsi, τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ MSS.) μεταβολῇ (*i.e.* ὅταν ὀργίσθῃ δαίμων v. 129). This note, correct it as I do or leave it as it was, is no comment on our text: the text on which it is a comment I should say with some confidence was this:

τὰ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντ' ἄρρωστα βροτοῖς.

Remember that in any fairly ancient MS. ἄρρωστα would be spelt ἄρρωστα, and that the scribes omit iota subscript as often as they insert it—indeed it is not recorded whether the MSS. have λῶστα or λῷστα here: we then see that the change of ὑπερβάλλοντ' ἄρρωστα to ὑπερβάλλοντα λῶστα is merely λ for ρ, an early and frequent error; and λῶστα βροτοῖσιν τὰ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντ' is a transposition in aid of the metre. For the sense of the corrected verse compare *frag.* 80 βροτοῖς τὰ μείζω τῶν μέσων τίκει νόσους. I take this opportunity of saying that in *Soph. El.* 1070 sq. ὅτι σφιν ἦδη τὰ μὲν ἐκ δόμων | νοσεῖ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τέκνων κ.τ.λ., where the editors alter νοσεῖ to νοσεῖται or νοσεῖαι or νοσεῖ δὴ or νοσώδῃ or ὀνοσά, and then infer from these corrections of theirs that the antistrophic οἰωνούς is a bacchius, I suspect ἄρρωστῇ or some such word was the original and νοσεῖ a gloss.

It will be convenient to consider v. 128 next. Mr. Verrall observing that one MS. gives βροτοῖς for θνητοῖς has suggested that δύναται βροτοῖς is the remains of an explanatory supplement trimmed into measure by the alteration θνητοῖς. I think it now appears that v. 128 is not Euripides at all, but contains a duplicate of the scholion quoted above explaining v. 127. The annotator can hardly have written it as it stands, and its original form I do not undertake to restore, but I guess it to be a blend of two glosses: (1) οὐδὲν δύναται βροτοῖς or θνητοῖς, an interpretation of ἄρρωστα βροτοῖς: (2) καιρὸν, a supplement to ὑπερβάλλοντα conveying the

correct information that *ὑπερβάλλειν* means *ὑπερβάλλειν καιρόν*, to overshoot the mark: this phrase is found in Democritus ap. Stob. *flor.* 18, 36 ὅσοι ἀπὸ γαστρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ποιεῦνται ὑπερβεβληκότες τὸν καιρόν and Plut. *Ages.* 8 ὑπερβάλλον τὸν καιρόν, and I daresay elsewhere.

The verses 125–6 as my correction leaves them are translatable, or would be thought so if they had been thus handed down, but I do not defend them. It is impossible not to wish away the two dipodiae *πρῶτα μὲν εἰπεῖν* and *χρησθαί τε μακρῶ*: there would then remain the straightforward sentence *τῶν γὰρ μετρίων τοῦτομα νικᾷ | τὰ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντ' ἄρρωστα βροτοῖς*: here I do not take *ὄνομα* to mean *name*, but I take *τὸ τῶν μετρίων ὄνομα* to be a periphrasis for *τὰ μέτρα*, and *ὄνομ' ὁμιλία* is for *ὁμιλία* in *Or.* 1082 and *τὸ ὄνομα τῆς σωτηρίας* for *τὴν σωτηρίαν* in *I.T.* 905. And I think a piece of external evidence can be adduced to show that the inconvenient words were not originally written where we find them now.

These anapaests, especially the closing verses 129–30, recall a well-known passage of Herodotus, VII. 10, 13, ending with the words *φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολουεῖν*; and at vv. 125–6 Porson cited another passage of equal celebrity from the same historian, III. 80, 10, *πληθος δὲ ἄρχον πρῶτα μὲν οὐνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ἰσονομίην· δεῦτερα δὲ, τῶν ὁ μόνναρχος ποιεῖ εἰδέν*. Now if in Herodotus it is *ἰσονομία* which is better than *μοναρχία* ‘on the one hand in name and on the other in practice,’ while in Euripides it is *μετρίότης* which has this advantage over *ὑπερβολή*, that in itself need not surprise us. But when in the neighbouring sentence we find *ἰσονομία* and *μοναρχία* compared by Euripides also, it must I think surprise us that the antithesis between name and practice should not occur there instead of here; and trusting in Herodotus I place our two dipodiae after v. 122:

τὸ γὰρ εἰθίσθαι ζῆν ἐπ' ἴσοισιν,
πρῶτα μὲν εἰπεῖν, χρῆσθαί τε, μακρῶ
κρείσσον.

Examples of *πρῶτα μὲν* thus answered by *τε* are quoted by Paley from *Hipp.* 996, *Heracl.* 337–40, and *Aesch. supp.* 410: I give the first, *ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ πρῶτα μὲν θεοὺς σέβειν, | φίλοις τε χρῆσθαι μάδικεῖν πευρωμένοις*. It is perhaps worth mentioning that Herodotus a few chapters further on, 85, 4, has *τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα*, and that the similar words *τοιάδ' οἶδα φάρμακα* occur in v. 718 of the *Medea*.

Lastly I come to v. 130. Before Mr. Verrall editors used to punctuate *ὅταν ὀργίσθῃ δαίμων, οἴκος ἀπ.*; but as *ἀποδιδόναι* means to pay and not to inflict a penalty, this cannot be. Mr. Verrall therefore places the comma after *οἴκοις*, but his translation ‘when fortune is angered with the house, that is, with the increase of it’ shows that *οἴκος* wants a good deal of assistance to yield the required sense. I propose then to write

μείζους δ' ἄτας, ὅταν ὀργίσθῃ
δαίμων ὄγκοις, ἀπέδωκαν.

i.e. *μείζους ἄτας ἀπέδωκαν ὄγκοι ὅταν δαίμων ὀργίσθῃ αὐτοῖς, towering fortunes pay a heavier penalty of ruin when heaven is angered with them*: ‘*celsae grauiore casu decidunt turres*.’ It would of course be possible, though I should not commend it, to retain *ἀπέδωκεν* with *τὰ ὑπερβάλλοντα* for its subject. The sense of *ὄγκος* is common: a good instance is *frag.* 506, ὦ τέκνον, ἀνθρώποισιν ἔστιν οἷς βίος | ὁ μικρὸς ἐκράς ἐγένεθ', οἷς δ' ὄγκος κακόν: the plural however does not seem to be elsewhere found outside technical writers. *μείζους ἄτας ἀπέδωκαν ὄγκοι* resembles a good deal the last sentence of Sophocles's *Antigone*, with its *μεγάλοι λόγοι τῶν ὑπεραύχων μεγάλας πληγὰς ἀποτείσαντες*. *ὄγκος* and *οἶκος* have been confounded, as was natural, in other places, for instance at *Ion* 15, *γαστρὸς διήνεγκ' ὄγκον* (Brodaeus, *οἶκον* MSS.), where Cobet ap. Badham adduces Dionys. Hal. *ant. Rom.* III. 11, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ὑμετέρα πόλις ἀπὸ μείζονος αὐχίματος ἀρχομένη εἰς ἐλάττωνα ὄγκον (οἶκον MS.) συνήκται. *Aesch. Ag.* 961 should be read thus: *ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δὲ νῦν κατασβέσει; | τρέφουσα πολλῆς πορφύρας ἰσάργυρον | κηκῖδα παγκάμιστον, εἰμάτων βαφάς. | ὄγκος* (Tycho Mommsen, *οἴκος* MSS.) δ' ὑπάρχει τῶνδε σὺν θεοῖς, ἀναξ, | ἔχειν· πένεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται δόμος: here *ὄγκος* *εἰμάτων* means a great pile of raiment, as Herodotus has *ὄγκος φρυγάνων*: ‘the sea abounds with purple to dye our vesture, and of vesture for the dyeing we have plenteous store’: no fear then of dearth on either hand. Porson's *οἴκος* will not serve, for *ὑπάρχει τῶνδε* fails to convey the notion of abundance.

In conclusion I give vv. 122–30 consecutively in order that their last state may be compared with their first:

τὸ γὰρ εἰθίσθαι ζῆν ἐπ' ἴσοισιν
πρῶτα μὲν εἰπεῖν χρῆσθαί τε μακρῶ
κρείσσον· ἐμοὶ γοῦν ἐπὶ μὴ μεγάλοις
ὄχρως εἴη καταγῆραςκεν.
τῶν γὰρ μετρίων τοῦτομα νικᾷ,
τὰ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντ' ἄρρωστα βροτοῖς·
μείζους δ' ἄτας, ὅταν ὀργίσθῃ
δαίμων ὄγκοις, ἀπέδωκαν.

The following passages will not take so long to examine.

24—26.

κείται δ' ἄσιτος, σῶμ' ὑφέϊσ' ἀλγυδόσιν,
τὸν πάντα συντήκουσα δακρύοις χρόνον,
ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἦσθετ' ἡδικομένη.

The old commentators took *συντήκουσα* for *συντηκομένη*, a use without example. The construction is now thought to be *συντήκουσα* *χρόνον*, and *τήκει βιοτήν* v. 141 is quoted as parallel. But parallel it is not: *τήκει βιοτήν* is a mere equivalent of *τήκει ἑαυτήν* or *τήκεται*: *αἰανῶ βίον* in *Soph. El.* 819 is just the same thing as *αἰανοῦμαι* in *Phil.* 954, and when Callimachus writes ὥμοσα σὸν βίον Catullus translates it *adiuro te*; moreover if to melt time down meant anything at all it would apparently mean to shorten time or make it pass quickly. Clearly the sense wanted is that which *συντηκομένη* would give, that of *I. A.* 398, ἐμὲ δὲ συντήξουσιν νύκτες ἡμέραι τε δακρύοις; and this Mr. Verrall elicits by supplying *σῶμα* from the preceding verse. Euripides, I think, might have devised something more elegant than this; and I would credit him rather with writing τὸν πάντα *συντήκουσα* δακρύοις *χροάα*, comparing 689 τί γὰρ σὸν ὅμμα *χρῶς* τε *συντέτηχ'* ὅδε and especially *Hel.* 1419, μή νυν ἄγαν σὸν δάκρυον ἐκτέτῃς *χροάα*.

319—20.

γυνὴ γὰρ δέξιθμος, ὡς δ' αὖτως ἀνὴρ,
ῥᾶν φυλάσσειν ἢ σιωπηλὸς σοφός.

Mr. Verrall's seems the only possible account of the construction: possible I think it is, though the position of *σοφός* is curious. But what still perplexes me is the gender of *σιωπηλός* and *σοφός*: I do not understand why the parenthetic ὡς δ' αὖτως ἀνὴρ exerts this influence, considering especially that the speaker's whole practical concern is with a woman. It is strange if the poet, who already in *δέξιθμος* and *ῥᾶν* had employed two adjectives suiting masc. and fem. alike, did not end the sentence with a third and write *σιωπηλόστομος*. These compounds are frequent in tragedy: *θρασύστομος*, *κακόστομος*, *σεμνόστομος*, *χαλκόστομος*, *ἀθυρόστομος*, *αιολόστομος*, *ἐλευθερόστομος*.

339.

τί δ' αὖ βιάζει κοῦκ ἀπαλλάσσει χερός;

τί δ' αὖ is quite inappropriate and the τί δ' οὖν of one MS. is no better: Mr. Verrall proposes τί οὖν; but it seems clear that the archetype had τί δ' αὖ, which surely points to τί δαί. Brunck and Porson, as is well known, were for expelling this word from tragedy; but let us weigh the evidence. The text of

Aeschylus presents δαί once, at *Prom.* 933, τί δαί φοβοῖμην; here syntax rejects it and demands δ' αὖ in its stead: we infer then that Aeschylus did not use it. The text of Sophocles presents it once, at *Ant.* 318, τί δαί ῥυθμίζεις; here MS. testimony is worth nothing, for if Sophocles wrote δὲ the scribe had a metrical temptation to an error always easy: we infer then that δαί was not used by Sophocles. If now Euripides did not use it, we might expect his text to offer two or perhaps three suspicious instances; but if instead it offers at least half a dozen which of themselves give no handle to suspicion at all, the inference is obvious.

351—356.

προυννέπω δέ σοι,
εἴ σ' ἡ' πιοῦσα λαμπὰς ὄψεται θεοῦ
καὶ παῖδας ἐντὸς τῆσδε τερμόμων χθονός,
θανεῖ· λέλεκται μῦθος ἀψευδὴς ὅδε.
νυν δ', εἰ μένειν δεῖ, μίμν' ἐφ' ἡμέραν μίαν·
οὐ γὰρ τι δράσεις δεινὸν ὦν φόβος μ' ἔχει.

Verse 356 makes no sense, has few defenders, and is usually now sent into exile with its innocent neighbour 355 for companion; but why it was inserted no one can say. I offer this transposition and amendment:

θανεῖ· λέλεκται μῦθος ἀψευδὴς ὅδε·
μή γάρ τι δράσης, δεινὸν ὡς φόβος μ' ἔχει.
νυν δ', εἰ μένειν δεῖ, μίμν' ἐφ' ἡμέραν μίαν.

for I am horribly afraid lest you do mischief. Compare 281 sq. δέδοικά σε . . . μή μοί τι δράσης παῖδ' ἀνήκεστον κακὸν and *frag.* 608, 4, φόβος πρόσσεστι μή δράσωσί τι. If the first letter μ was lost the change of η to οὐ was not difficult: οὐ for ἦ is found at *I. A.* 1189, and at *Med.* 695 we cannot tell whether ἦ should be οὐ or μή. It now becomes possible to believe the hitherto incredible statement of the scholiast that after this verse Didymus read *σιγῇ δόμους ἐσβᾶσ' ἔν' ἔστρωται λέχος*.

381—383.

ἀλλ' ἐν τί μοι πρόσαντες· εἰ ληφθήσομαι
δόμους ὑπερβαίνουσα καὶ τεχνωμένη,
θανοῦσα θήσω τοῖς ἔμοις ἔχθροῖς γέλων.

I should like some proof that we can say δόμους ὑπερβαίνειν for ὀδὸν ὑπερβαίνειν: the δόμων ὑπερβᾶσ' of *supp.* 1049 will not suffice and is moreover very uncertain. But however this may be, I think that ὑπεσβαίνουσα, which is precisely the *σιγῇ δόμους ἐσβᾶσ'* of v. 380, will be much more expressive. Bothe has conjectured ὑπερβαίνουσα.

734—740.

πέποιθα· Πελίου δ' ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶ μοι δόμος
735 Κρέων τε. τοῖτοισ' δ', ὀρκίοισι μή ζυγείς
[ἀγοισιν οὐ μεθείς ἂν ἐκ γαίας ἐμὲ]
λόγοις δὲ συμβᾶς καὶ θεῶν ἀνώμοτος,

ψιλὸς γένοι' ἂν κάπικηρυκεύματα
οὐκ ἀντιθεῖο· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενῇ,
740 τοῖς δ' ὀλβος ἐστὶ καὶ δόμος τυραννικός.

'I trust you; but Creon and the house of Pelias are my enemies; and against these, if instead of a binding oath you make only a verbal pact without attestation of gods, you will be left defenceless and unable on your part to retort their diplomatic messages.' Here I have accepted Mr. Verrall's ψιλὸς for φίλος in v. 738, together with his general view of the sense, which seems absolutely necessitated by πέποιθα, v. 734, and strongly though superfluously confirmed by vv. 743-4; then I have altered μὲν to μὴ in v. 735; ejected with Badham the interpolation which μὲν occasioned, v. 736, containing as it does a barbarism if μεθεῖς is kept and a tortured construction if it is changed to μεθεῖ; and amended ἂν πίθοιο in v. 739 to ἀντιθεῖο, which perhaps merely because it is my own I prefer to Verrall's ἀντιστοῖο or Leo's and Munro's ὀκνῶν πίθοιο. With τούτοις ψιλὸς γένοι' ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἀντιθεῖο for τούτοις, ψιλὸς γενόμενος, οὐκ ἂν ἀντιθεῖο, compare Soph. *Ant.* 1279 sq. τὰ δ' ἐν δόμοις | ἔοικας ἥκειν καὶ τάχ' ὄψεσθαι κακά.

856—859.

πόθεν θράσος ἢ φρενὸς ἢ
χειρὶ σέθεν τέκνων
καρδίᾳ τε λήψει
δεινὰν προσάγουσα τόλμαν;

The upshot of the criticism bestowed on this passage is that τέκνων must be replaced by an accusative answering θράσος. Since μένος is not easy nor τέχνην adequate, while σθένος, though it might be absorbed by σέθεν, would not account for τέκνων, I do not see what else the word can have been but κότον, which is confounded now and again with τόκον, and that with τέκνον. Euripides seems to imitate Aesch. *supp.* 65 sqq. παιδὸς μόρον, ὡς αὐτοφόνως ὤλετο πρὸς χειρὸς ἐθεν δυσμάρτορος κότου τυχών.

1317.

τί τάσδε κινεῖς κάναμοχλεύεις πύλας;

There is no more innocent-looking verse in all Euripides. But Porson quotes these passages: ὁ καινῶν ἐπὼν κινητὰ καὶ μοχλευτὰ from *Ar. nub.* 1397, following on an allusion to the *Aeolus* of our poet; τί τούσδε κινεῖς κάναμοχλεύεις λόγους; from two places in the *Christus patiens*; and τί ταῦτα κινεῖς κάναμοχλεύεις; τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν from Heliodorus's *Aethiopica*. All this celebrity was never won by anything so simple as our text: Mr. Verrall then rightly infers that

a strange word or a word strangely used stood here in lieu of πύλας, and he proposes δπας. This will amply account for the notice attracted; but whether it will suit the verse itself is not so sure: it does not seem to me that the δπαί or perforations of a door are things one can be said to ἀναμοχλεύειν any more than one unlocks keyholes in English. My own suggestion is πάγας. πηγνύναι means to make fast; and accordingly a right to mean anything that makes or is made fast is the inalienable heritage of πάγη. To show how various may be the meanings of a verbal substantive no better examples could be taken than words of this very family: πάγος, *frost* or *rock*, πήγμα, *scaffold* or *rennet* for curdling. The liberty of a poet to set colloquial use at naught and impose on πάγη that meaning which specially appears in the related verb πακτοῦν (compare *Ar. Lys.* 265, μοχλοῖς δὲ καὶ κλήθροισιν τὰ προπύλαια πακτοῦν) ought not I think to be doubted; but we can go further. We know that Euripides again bestowed this same meaning in defiance of custom on another cognate of πηγνύναι, and that Aristophanes again laid hold on it as characteristic. In *Acharn.* 479, Euripides, interrupted at home in the writing of a tragedy, has acceded with tolerable urbanity to the endless requests with which he is pestered by Dicaeopolis; but when it comes to σκάνδικά μοι δὸς, μητρόθεν δεδεγμένος, that is too much, and he ends the interview and returns to the altitudes of tragedy with ἀνὴρ ὑβρίζειν κλῆε πηκτὰ δομάτων: the point of this we learn from Pollux, x. 27, who informs us that Euripides somewhere or other used the words λῦε πακτὰ δομάτων, *frag.* 991. Here too then I suppose that Euripides made πάγας mean the fastenings of a door; but πάγη in common parlance meant nothing but a net, and Use and Wont, 'grey nurses, loving nothing new,' promptly resented the innovation through the lips of their champion Aristophanes.

If this singular use of πάγη were found in a MS., we should tranquilly record it in our lexicons without suspicion or surprise. Emendations, as is right and natural, are less readily received; but it happens that our lexicons already contain a use of the cognate πήγμα equally unexampled and equally destitute of MS. authority: I mean the ὄρκον πήγμα γενναίως παγέν restored by Auratus to Aesch. *Ag.* 1198, where πήγμα has a meaning otherwise unknown, and the MSS. have not πήγμα but πῆμα.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

A FRAGMENT OF THE LOST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THE passage, where it stands, is without connection before or after: neither will it fit in elsewhere in the Epistle: we have only to remove it, and the continuity of vi. 13 and vii. 2 is unmistakable. It comes in the middle of an impassioned outpouring of personal affection, almost in the middle of a sentence—*πλατύνθητε καὶ ὑμεῖς... χωρήσατε ἡμῶς*, 'Enlarge your hearts [as I do...make room in your hearts for me.]'

Stanley suggests three hypotheses to explain the 'dislocation of the argument.' One, that St. Paul really wrote the passage in this place, tacking it on to vi. 1, *παρακαλοῦμεν μὴ εἰς κενὸν τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ δέξασθαι ὑμῶς*, these words being understood to refer to contamination by heathen vices. But is it credible that in the very midst, at the very height, of his personal appeal to his friends to bestow upon him a more generous confidence, a fuller reciprocity of love, St. Paul should have gone off into an exhortation to abstain from heathen vices? Between *πλατύνθητε καὶ ὑμεῖς* and *χωρήσατε ἡμῶς*! Another hypothesis is, that at vi. 13 he was interrupted in the composition of the letter. That this paragraph was caused by some passing reflection during the interval which elapsed between the composition of what precedes and what follows. Can it be believed that vii. 2-4 was written after such an interval; that St. Paul thought it worth while and found it possible to resume the broken thread of his appeal so exactly where he left it, and so exactly at the same pitch of eloquence and of feeling; that he yet deliberately allowed this passage to break the continuity which he was so careful to preserve?—Another suggestion is, that the passage belongs to our First Epistle.

It is difficult to resist the suspicion that we have here a fragment of a lost epistle to Corinth, earlier than the First. In I. v. 9 St. Paul says, *ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι πόρνοις*, referring to some general precept which he had given; and then he goes on to show how this is to be limited in its application. Now in our First Epistle he had so far spoken only of immorality within the Church. He had com-

manded them to punish the man who had made the scandalous marriage, and in general terms to cast out the old leaven. Nothing that he had said could bear the interpretation that he required them to cut themselves off from all intercourse with immoral livers, whether within or without the pale of the Church, and so by inference from all intercourse with the heathen society in the midst of which they lived. And *ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ* (unless in a postscript) could not be said of the present letter. Evidently, St. Paul had written to the Corinthians before; and his letter had contained some such command expressed in general terms, which had been misunderstood and had created perplexity; and for the clearance of this, among other reasons, Stephanas and the other messengers had been sent by the Church, to obtain from St. Paul a more explicit statement of his meaning. I believe that we have here a fragment of this earlier letter. And the passage is precisely such as might have created the misapprehension which St. Paul in 1 Cor. v. corrects. 'Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers...Come out from among them and be ye separate...Let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit.' The passage was intended to warn them against the contamination of heathen vices. They understood it as a command to separate themselves altogether from heathen society. Heathen vices, St. Paul explains in 1 Cor. v., are to be excluded from the Church: they are to withdraw from all intercourse, not with unbelievers but with men of immoral lives calling themselves Christians.

If the passage had been preserved, as it very well might have been, as an extract from a letter the rest of which had perished, and preserved, as it would have been by the Corinthians, with our two Epistles, there is no great difficulty in supposing that the MS. of it was mixed with the MS. of the Second Epistle, and that where it was found it was allowed to remain, under the impression that it belonged to this.

R. WHITELAW.

NOTES ON THE *PHARSALIA* OF LUCAN.

Most of the following notes bear upon the recent English commentary by Mr. C. E. Haskins. To avoid misapprehension, it seems well to state at the outset that his work is thoroughly sound and serviceable on the whole. Mistakes are few and far between. But it is precisely in such a case that it is worth while to point them out; a book which has many on every page deserves nothing but neglect.

In regard to textual criticism, Mr. Haskins has, I think, just missed doing a notable service to classical study. If he had bestowed a little *more* pains upon MS. readings, he would have shown how *little* of such matter is necessary to a quite readable and satisfactory edition of a classical author. As it is, he has played into the hands of his enemies. In the few places where he does deal with the text, his suggestions are very good, and they are made with commendable caution (e.g. 'Sabini' in IX. 821).

BOOK I.

76. Tellus extendere litora nolet
Excutietque fretum.

'The land shall no more seek to advance her shore-line nor throw off the sea.'

'The negative is carried on to the second clause, as is frequently the case in Lucan.'

In support of this Mr. Haskins quotes two passages which *fare* quite simple and not really like this one (II. 372-373, and IX. 589-590). Here a negative for 'excutiet' has to be extracted from 'nolet.'

It would perhaps be rash to pronounce this altogether impossible. But it is at least unnecessary. The words may very well mean, 'The land will refuse to set its shores as a long barrier to the waters, and will shake off the sea' (violently, so that it returns, we may imagine, with overwhelming force). Bentl. proposed to read 'quaeret.'

291. Sic postquam fatus, et ipsi
In bellum prono tantum tamen
addidit irae.

H. says '*ipse* is often used by slaves of their master, and by disciples of their teacher.' Here 'his leader.'

'Et ipsi in bellum prono' is simply *μερῶντι καὶ αὐτῷ*. Eager as he was in himself, of his own will, Curio's words nevertheless gave his passion a fresh impulse.

577. Horruit Alcides viso iam Dite Megaeram.

This is not so simple as many passages on which Mr. Haskins *does* give a note. Hercules had seen Dis in his own realm, yet Megaera is terrible enough to make him shudder.

BOOK II.

103. Stat perhaps = *πέπηγεν, ἐπανθεῖ*, of stiff, clotted blood.

587. Umbras nunquam flectente Syene.

'i.e. S. is exactly under the equator, so that the midday sun being vertically overhead casts no shadow.'

Syene is on the northern tropic, not on the equator. And the sun would be precisely overhead there only once in the year, namely, at midsummer. It was the first place, to a traveller going south, where this *ever* occurred. Lucan exaggerates. In the middle of winter, at Syene, the midday sun would be about half-way between the zenith and the horizon.

It may be added that, even if Syene were on the equator, the sun would be precisely overhead only twice in the year, namely, at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes.

BOOK III.

168. Pauperiorque fuit tum primum
Caesare Roma.

(Lucan has just described how Caesar broke into the treasury in spite of the resistance of Metellus.)

H.'s note is brief: 'Weise thinks that this is a reference to Caesar's former debts.'

The point is surely a much more obvious one. To Lucan, writing under Nero, 'Caesare' would mean 'a Caesar' or 'the emperor.' Since the time when Caesar broke into the treasury, Rome had often been poorer than its master. The 'fiscus' rivalled and overshadowed the 'aerarium' (cf. Statius, *Silvae*, III. 3, 86-105).

BOOK IV.

124. For 'vellera' cf. Varro Atac. fr. 21, *nubes ceu vellera lanæ*, the original of the passage in Virgil which H. quotes. Varro writes '*ceu* vellera': to Lucan the word is familiar as a name for a species of cloud.

168. Exiguo paulum distantia vallo.

'Exiguo vallo' is a descriptive ablative. Two separate things are said about the camps: they were very near each other, and the rampart was low.

286-7. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xi. 477, ὄφρ' αἶμα λιπαρὸν καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη, a passage which Lucan may have had in mind when he wrote.

526-8. Nam sol Ledaea tenebat
 Sidera, vicino cum lux altissima
 Canero est:
 Nox tum Thessalicas urgebat
 parva sagittas.

'The sun was in the constellation Gemini, when at midday it is nearest to Cancer and at midnight to Sagittarius.' There must be some mistake or misprint here, for it is quite incredible that Mr. Haskins meant that the sun passes through all the signs of the zodiac in twenty-four hours! At midnight in summer the sun is still in Gemini, next Cancer, Gemini and Cancer being then under the northern horizon.

The passage is to be explained as follows. 'The sun was in Gemini when his light is highest, with Cancer close by' (vicino Canero) is like 'exiguo vallo' in 168, a descriptive abl. or even an abl. absolute, giving a distinct and subordinate fact about his position). The sun is highest then, about twenty-three degrees above the celestial equator, and therefore rises earlier than at any other period of the year (525, nec segnis mergere ponto | tunc erat astra polus), 'a short night sees Sagittarius low in the southern sky': or perhaps—though I think this less likely—there is very little night left after Sagittarius crosses the meridian, little night pursues him.'

Weise, whose note is quoted by H., seems to have had some vague conception of these facts, but he puts Cancer on the wrong side of Gemini ('praecedat Cancer solem').

Owing to the precession of the equinoxes the 'lux altissima' would be nearer Cancer than it is now.

643-4. Quisquis inest terris in fessos
 spiritus artus
 Egeritur; tellusque viro luctante
 laborat.

'Egeritur: rises from it, *i.e.* into his body,' H.

Rather 'is drained into...'

'Laborat: labours to assist him.'

This misses the point of the ablative. It is the earth that suffers or is exhausted, though he is the visible combatant.

667-9.

Qui robore quamquam
Confusus Latio regis tamen un-
dique vires
Excivit Libycae gentis extrema-
que mundi
Signa suum comitata Iubam.

Mr. Haskins says, "The power of the King of the Libyan tribes," *i.e.* Juba. Grotius suggests Libyae gentes in apposition to vires, a reading which, according to Oud. is supported by some MSS.'

Grotius's suggestion was a good one, and Mr. Haskins' view wants more defending than he gives it. There are two objections to taking gentis as a genitive. Would Lucan write so awkward and formless a construction as...regis...Libycae gentis? And would he lengthen the -is of the gen. before a vowel? As regards the latter point, it may be noted that (a) on no theory of the passage is there a strong pause after gentis such as sometimes accounts for lengthening of this nature; (b) in Mr. Heitland's introduction (p. ci.) a list of peculiar quantities in Lucan is given, which does *not* include this or anything quite like it, the writer adding, 'This list is as nearly complete as I can make it. There is very little to note under this head, and it is just this fact that is significant.'

670-675.

Non fusior ulli
Terra fuit domino: qua sunt
longissima regna
Cardine ab occiduo vicinus
Gadibus Atlas
Terminat: a medio confinis
Syrtibus Hammon.
At qua lata iacet vasti plaga
fervida regni,
Distinet Oceanum etc.

This obscure description is best explained by the fact that Lucan wrongly conceived Africa as extending much further to the east than it really does—extending far out towards Ceylon (cf. X. 292 and H.'s note: the Seres are near the sources of the Nile, though even they have not seen the river's cradle). 'A medio' will then mean simply 'in the middle' (not 'a medio cardine,' supplying 'cardine' from cardine ab occiduo). Plaga fervida will mean the *eastern* region of Libya, whence comes the sun (not the south, as H. takes it). 'Distinet Oceanum,' not 'separates the ocean, *i.e.* extends to the ocean in both directions, to the North and South,' but 'separates...to the *East* and *West*.' This is more in keeping with the ideas of the ancients. They speak of the

Ocean stream, it is true, as encircling the whole globe, but that it lies to the E. and W. is more clearly realized and more readily suggests itself (the sun rising thence and setting in it again) than its northern and southern circuit. Would Lucan speak of the Mediterranean, which bounds Africa on the N., as 'Oceanus'?

BOOK V.

93-94. Here and on I. 89 Mr. Haskins quotes the prayer of Hecuba, ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κ.τ.λ. (where nothing is said about αἰθήρ or ἀήρ), when the following quotation would have been more apposite:

ὁρᾶς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα
καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;
τοῦτον νόμιξε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.
Eur. *fr. inc.* 935 (Nauck).

140. Ora quibus solvat nostro non invenit aeo.

Why should not 'ora solvere' here have the sense which it has in l. 98, oraque vatis solvit—who deserve that he should lend them utterance, unlock *their* lips, make them his προφῆται?

159. Nisi mergeris antris.

The use of si with the present indicative found in Lucan and his contemporaries is strange enough to require notice from a commentator. Here mergēris would be the strictly accurate construction. In l. 533 'si iussa secutus me vehis Hesperiam' would mean properly 'if it is in obedience to dictation that you are carrying me to Italy.' It does mean, 'if you obey me *and* carry me to Italy' (vehes, vexteris). L. 349 is another instance. So IX. 212:

Et mihi si fatis aliena in iura venimus
Da talem, Fortuna, Iubam.

Here we are tempted to interpret, 'if subjection *is* the gulf to which we are drifting'; and similar explanations can be devised in most of the other instances. But it is simpler to recognize a certain looseness of construction. V. 533 can hardly be explained away: for Caesar *has not yet embarked*.

BOOK VI.

311. Nec sancto caruisset vita Catone.

This curious phrase is perhaps best explained by taking 'vita' to mean 'society,' 'the world.' Martial sometimes uses the

word in a sense like this, as when he says of his own writings:

Agnoscat mores *vita* legatque suos.

437. Quarum quidquid non creditur ars est.

All that is most incredible (*i.e.* horrible) is their daily trade.

(H.'s note is 'ars est] quam profitentur. Sulpitius.')

550. 'Quodcunque' is questionable. Lucan is usually precise in such constructions. 'Quacunque...nudum...videt' is proposed in Weber's note.

BOOK VII.

26-29. Crastina dira quies et imagine maesta diurna

Undique funestas acies feret,
undique bellum.

Unde pares somnos populi noc-
temque beatam?

'To-morrow's night of horror haunted by the sad image of the day's events.'

'Imago diurna' suggests rather the following sense: 'To-morrow a dreadful dream will come, a waking vision of horror (οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπναρ ἐχθρόν), presenting to every glance the deadly ranks of battle.'

On l. 28 Mr. Haskins proceeds to resuscitate a view rightly condemned by Corte, that 'pares' is a verb (somnos populi, 'sleep such as the people enjoy'). Corte himself wished to read 'populis' (for which he cites several MSS.) in the sense of 'the Pompeian forces.'

Neither interpretation gives a sense at all relevant to the context:

O felix si te vel sic tua Roma videret!

Lucan wishes that Pompey and *the people of Rome* (utinam et idem contigisset populo Romano, *Schol.*) had met in the land of dreams (vel sic), if nowhere else, for a last farewell. And line 28 must, I think, lead up to this idea. 'Would that the people could enjoy like slumbers, a like night of bliss!' The genitive 'populi' is difficult, but not unintelligible (O for like slumber to *be theirs*, O that like slumbers were theirs!). The dat. is the usual construction, but with a 'populo' in the next line Lucan would avoid it.

144. Si liceat superis hominum conferre labores.

'*Sc.* superum laboribus, 'σχήμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος,' comparatio compendiaria.

185-7. What wonder that the combatants were filled with fear? Romans

everywhere felt that trouble was impending. 'Populos' means the nations or contingents on the field of battle 'whose last hour had come.' H. says 'populos appears to refer to Romans living abroad,' quoting l. 436, which does not help him. This mistake forces him to attach an unnatural sense to 'lux extrema'—'the last day worth living.'

198. Aethera seu totum discordi obsistere caelo
Perspexitque polos.

Construe: aethera polosque obsistere perpexit.

202. Si cuncta perito
Augure mens hominum caeli nova
signa notasset
Spectari toto potuit Pharsalia
mundo.

'Cuncta mens hominum is probably equivalent to mens cunctorum hominum: perito augure, under the guidance of a skilful augur: but it is possible that "cuncta perito" should be taken together as "skilled in all things".' This is very unsatisfactory. 'Cuncta' must be taken with 'signa.' 'If through the eyes of a skilled augur the mind of man could have marked all the altered signs (constellations) of heaven, Pharsalia might have been read in the whole sky.' H. says 'all the *world* might have known that Pharsalia was being fought,' forgetting that this would have been expressed by *toto orbe* (*Schol.* in *toto caelo* spectari Pharsalia potuisset).

280. Sitque palam quas tot duxit Pompeius in urbem
Curribus unius gentes non esse triumphi.

'Are not *material* for a single triumph.' H. This is ambiguous at least. The meaning is, 'cannot *help him* to a single triumph,' 'to *one* triumph,' as the sequel shows.

675. Sed tu quoque, coniunx,
Causa fugae voltusque tui: fatisque
negatum
Te praesente mori.

H. takes '-que' disjunctively, 'but...', a sense which it undoubtedly has in Lucan sometimes. It is better to make 'negatum' a third subject to the predicate 'causa,' and the fact that Cornelia was not there to see him fall' (omitting the colon after 'tui').

760. Decipitur quod castra rapit.
The singular decipitur is strange, when

the soldiers have just been spoken of in the plural (757, putabunt). Should we read 'decipitur qui castra rapit?' ('victor' in that case being Caesar).

792. Et Magni numerat populos.

H. quotes Caesar *B.C.* III. 99 for the number of Pompeians killed at Pharsalia (fifteen thousand). Perhaps 'counts the number of nations—nationalities—that Pompey had led.'

794. Cf. *Stat. Theb.* I. 702.

Asdiduum pelago non quaerere Delon.

(Not to have to look for Delos, not to look in vain for it, since it is no longer *φορητὰ κυμάτεσσι παντοδαπαῖς τ' ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖσι*. I quote this partly because Baehrens with his usual boldness printed 'nunc quaerere,' explaining 'nunc scripsi non codd.')

BOOK VIII.

18. Gravis est Magno quicumque
malorum
Testis adest.

Not 'a danger to Magnus,' but oppressive to him. Magnus 'cannot bear to meet' any witness of his defeat.

44. Tristes praesagia curas
Exagitant

is rather 'besiege' or 'torment her sorrowful heart' than 'forebodings *excite* gloomy anxiety.'

BOOK IX.

211. Scire mori sors prima viris, sed
proxima cogi.

Mr. Haskins' translation does not make the contrast clear. 'Scire mori' would suggest by association 'consciscere sibi mortem.' The things contrasted are 'to find death by one's own hand,' and 'to have it thrust upon one.' So on 571 *numquam successu crescat honestum*, his translation is vague and unincisive ('the right never grows greater by success'). The meaning is 'an honourable cause is no *more* honourable because it succeeds.'

578. Why does Mr. Haskins adopt the cumbrous and infelicitous reading, 'estque...ubi...rather than estne...nisi...?'

579. 'Ultra' is rather 'beyond these,' 'elsewhere than in these' (terra, pontus, aer, caelum, virtus) than 'beyond ourselves.'

645. Numenque secundum
Phorcus ajuis.

'The deity propitious to the waves.' H.

Perhaps rather, 'A God with only one above him'—Posidon; he is Ποσειδάωνος ὑποδμῶς, like Proteus in *Od.* iv. Cf. IV. 110, sorte secunda, of Posidon himself, to whom Zeus is superior.

Book X.

321. If any quotation is wanted on

'multo murmure montis,' Horace's 'non sine montium clamore' would give the key to the sense most readily.

452. 'Non timuit fatumque sibi promisit iniquom' means 'he did not fear or look for an adverse issue.' This is the construction which Mr. Haskins explains in his note on I. 76. But he does not apply that explanation here, and takes the passage quite differently.

W. R. HARDIE.

THE BODLEIAN MS. OF PERSIUS, SAT. III.

Persius, Cod. Bodl. Auct. F. i. 15 (formerly No. 2455).

AFTER reading Mr. M. H. Morgan's note in the July number of the *Classical Review*, I have examined and collated this MS., and beg to send you the following notes on it, in hopes room may be found for them in the *Review*.

It consists of 16 ff. of vellum; the text is contained in 14 of the folios, 26 lines going to the page. The first folio merely contains the statement of Leofric's gift of the MS. to his cathedral, and the last is blank.

The size of the pages is 15 in. × 10 in.

It is beautifully written, each letter being most carefully formed. Mr. F. Madan pronounces it to be written in the tenth century, in Caroline minuscules, but showing peculiarities which clearly prove it to have been written in England. The open *g*'s are undoubtedly English, and Mr. W. H. Stevenson has pointed out to me that Runic letters are used as signs to mark the places to which marginal scholia refer. These scholia, both interlinear and marginal, are copious. They appear to be by the same hand as the text, and are certainly all or nearly all of the same date. The titles at the beginning, and at the beginning of each Book, and the first line of each Book, are painted in red and green capitals of various sizes. The first letter of each line throughout is a capital painted in red. There are no other capitals in the text.

It is bound up with four fragmentary ff. of a treatise of Boethius on the metres used by himself, and with 73 ff. containing Boethius's *De Consolatione*, the Persius coming at the end of the volume thus formed, which is strongly bound in white sheepskin. Mr.

Madan tells me the style of the binding would of itself be enough to prove the volume came from Exeter, and he considers the binding certainly not later than the fourteenth century.

Its history from the time of Leofric is clear and uneventful. It bears, as stated above, an inscription in Latin and Old English, to the effect that Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, gave it to the cathedral there for the use of his successors. This inscription is confirmed by an Evangelium, Bodl. MS. Auct. D. ii. 16, which has at its beginning an inventory of land recovered for the cathedral by Leofric, and land, church furniture, and books presented to it by him. In this list occurs 'liber boetii de consolatione,' and (in another part of the list) 'liber persii.' These are clearly the two MSS. now bound up together.

It appears from Mr. Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian Library* that when Bodley was collecting books for his new library, in the year 1602 (the very year in which it was solemnly opened), the Dean and Chapter of Exeter made him a munificent present of eighty-one Latin MSS. from their Chapter Library, where the books appear to have been getting very damp. Five at least of these volumes were among the gifts of Leofric to his church. Among them was our volume of Boethius and Persius, which has thus been in the Bodleian from the date of its opening.

To trace how the Persius MS. came into Leofric's hands is I suppose impossible.

Leofric was Bishop of Exeter from 1050, when the see was founded, to 1072, having been made Bishop of Crediton in 1046. He is variously described as a Burgundian, and as 'Britonicus,' which again is variously

taken to mean a Breton and a Cornishman. Yet Leofric is a Saxon name.

Wherever born, he was brought up and educated in Lotharingia, whence he probably came over to England as chaplain to King Edward, when that monarch came and assumed the crown 1042 (*vid.* F. E. Warren, *Leofric Missal*).

On beginning to collate the MS. I was struck by the continual agreement of its readings with those of the MS. in the Gale Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge, which was apparently unknown to Jahn (Jahn's γ is a different MS.), and the readings of which Prof. Conington has printed under the text in his edition.

Conington refers the Gale MS. (on Bradshaw's authority) to the ninth or tenth century.

I have therefore collated the Bodleian MS. (Jahn's β) throughout with this Gale MS. (which for brevity I will call ω) as described by Conington. The similarity is not quite so marked in some of the later Satires as in the first, but throughout seems very noteworthy.

β seems to have been very carefully written (much more carefully than ω) and corrected with extreme care after it was written. There are some points, it is true, in which it goes all abroad.

(1) h is inserted or admitted arbitrarily.

(2) α and e are treated as interchangeable; also often i and y are confused, also i and ii , single and double consonants, e.g. s and ss , final is and es .

(3) It is inconsistent as to assimilation of letters, generally assimilating more than ω , e.g. β . supplantat, ω . subplantat.

(These points, and the divisions between the words, have not been taken account of in the following figures.)

In other respects the number of mere slips uncorrected in β seems astonishingly small.

As to the agreement between β and ω , I reckon that in 77 cases where the MSS. differ, β and ω agree absolutely; to these may be added 12 where ω shows a correction, and $\beta = \omega$ as corrected. In 14 out of these 89 cases $\omega + \beta$ stand alone against all the MSS. known to Jahn (ed. 1843). In 2 more $\omega + \beta$ have only one other MS. agreeing with them.

In these cases of unique agreement, the difference from the other MSS. is no doubt generally slight: e.g. II. 45, $\omega\beta$. furtunare, *cet.* fortunare; II. 57, $\omega\beta$. mittent, *cet.* mittunt; III. 75, $\omega\beta$. munimenta, *cet.* monumenta.

In 6 other cases β agrees with ω , but

mentions a *vl.* unknown to ω (N.B.— β often superscribes *vv.ll.* prefixed by a 'vel' or 'al.'): e.g. VI. 49, ω is almost alone in
al. duco

reading 'in luco.' β has in luco.

But the most noteworthy fact of all appears to me to be this, that in 43 cases β appears to have had the reading of ω (in the great mass of them certainly had it: in a few an erasure leaves a little uncertainty what was the original reading), and has been corrected away from it. In 10 of these ω 's reading (as far as Jahn shows) is unique: e.g. V. 179, ω is alone in reading actum; β has at cum; but it can be seen that the c was originally a t , and the t a c . I. 131, ω alone reads insecto; β has secto with an erasure leaving room for two letters before the s . So much for the agreement, against which must be set the following differences.

In 9 cases $\omega = \beta$ as corrected. Most of these are unimportant, for β makes an obvious slip, and then corrects itself.

V. 15 is noticeable: ω teris, β teres.

In one passage, V. 111, ω appears to have corrected away from β 's reading; but Conington is here doubtful about ω .

In 44 cases ω stands absolutely alone, in almost all of them being obviously wrong.

In 8 cases β is similarly alone and wrong.

Where the MSS. are divided, ω and β differ in 29 places. Among the more important differences are: I. 57, ω . extet, β . extat; III. 78, ω . sapio satis est, β . satis est sapio.

It would seem I take it from these facts that there must be some rather close connexion between the two MSS. On the other hand the differences clearly negative the possibility of β being a simple copy of ω . From the number of *vv.ll.* inserted in β , and from the number of corrections in it, some of them not merely corrections of slips but alterations from one possible reading to another one, it seems evident that the writer and corrector of β had more than one MS. before them. Is it possible that ω may be one of two MSS. they had before them, and that they sometimes used their wits on a given passage before copying down either reading? I do not know enough about MSS. to judge whether this is a very unlikely hypothesis, but it appears β is not alone among MSS. of Persius in giving a number of *vv.ll.*, and I see Jahn complains that it is almost impossible to classify the MSS. of Persius in families, because they are so up and down in their agreements and differences: a fact which would seem most

easily explicable by supposing a scribe often had more than one MS. before him.

Possibly β may be copied from the archetype of ω . In any case the number of instances where it agrees or did originally agree with ω , where all other MSS. appear to differ, is striking; unless indeed there be a whole family of English MSS. which Jahn has neglected.

It is certainly very curious that Prof. Conington, who collated 7 MSS. for his edition, 2 of them being Oxford ones of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries respectively, gives in his preface no hint that he knows of the existence of this tenth century MS. in the Bodleian.

I may note that Jahn's information found in the Berlin Library as to the readings of β is very defective indeed, and not seldom quite wrong. It would appear that now and then the notes given Jahn by Hauthal of the readings of Oxford MSS. refer to β . e.g. V. 15: Jahn's note reads 'teres (supr. i)

Oxon. antiqu. ap. Hauthal. terris β .' Here what Jahn supposes to be the readings of two MSS. are really a correct and an utterly incorrect account of the same MS. given him by his two authorities.

As to the passages Mr. Morgan specially asks about: VI. 26, β reads metuas, Harte. right, Jahn defective; VI. 46, β reads
vel s

uictis. VI. 51, β reads audeo inquit. VI. 69, Unge puer caules, mihi festa luce coque-
tur. Jahn right.

I shall be glad to furnish Mr. Morgan with any other information he wants about β 's readings.

N.B.—It is of course possible that in some instances my inferences from Conington's silence as to ω 's reading—that it agrees with his text—may prove fallacious. I shall hope soon to get a sight of ω and test this.

G. R. SCOTT.

LEAF'S *ILIAD*.

The Iliad, with English Notes and Introduction, by WALTER LEAF, Litt. D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol II. Books xiii.—xxiv. (London, Macmillan & Co. and New York, 1888). pp. xvii. 505.

DR. LEAF'S second volume has followed his first with comparatively little delay, a fact in itself deserving of great commendation, especially in the editing of an author requiring such wide reading and patient toil. His work continues to be of the same high order as in the earlier volume; there is the same independence of thought, sound judgment, and common sense. Nor has the editor sickened of his task and grown careless as he struggles towards the end. With Dr. Leaf it has been a labour of love to the very last line. There is no trace of hasty or ill-considered work in a single note; all has been thought out with care. The notes are full of information on all departments of Homeric study, whether textual, linguistic, or antiquarian. It is his manysidedness which gives such a charm to Dr. Leaf's notes. He is not simply master of the dry bones of scholarship, but his knowledge and interest in Greek Archaeology and the history of early institutions enable him to make the

dry bones live. Dr. Leaf has himself been a genuine first-hand worker at Homer, and often embodies in his notes fresh and valuable suggestions of his own, some of which have already appeared from time to time in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Hence it is that he is at home in the Homeric world, and never, as so many have unwittingly done, falls into the fatal mistake of thrusting into his subject ideas derived from the later ages of Greek life or from mediaeval chivalry.

In a short introduction the editor discourses afresh on the 'Origin of the Poems.' In his former volume (p. xxiv.) he had expressed an opinion 'that the original battle at the ships belonging to the *Mênus* could not be extricated from M-N-Ξ-O.' Further examination has now led him to alter this view and, although the composition of these books is highly complicated and doubtful, he thinks that he has found a clue to guide him to a conclusion as probable as any of those hitherto aimed at. 'This clue is the presence or absence of the wall and moat about the Greek Camp.' These seem to have been absolutely unknown to the original poem; any mention of them is to be ascribed to the later hands. Armed with this criterion of the wall (which

Thucydides employed for estimating the amount of the Greek forces when they landed at Troy), he proceeds to decompose the above-mentioned books into their component elements. He thinks that the best proof is to be found in Book II (XVI.). The wall having been made a leading feature in the assault upon the ships could not be entirely passed over in the retreat; but the attempt to introduce it in II has in every case led to hopeless confusion. This thesis has been carefully and persuasively worked out in the excellent introductions to the several books and in the notes on special passages. The wall is constantly found likewise keeping bad company, being continually in connexion with passages which betray signs of later style.

Dr. Leaf regards the Aristeia of Idomeneus (N 136-672) as standing by itself, being 'earlier than the invention of the wall, yet not reconcilable with the *Mêvus*.' He likewise regards as another individual addition the making of the Arms (last part of Σ) led up to by the very conservative skilful additions to II, probably by the larger additions in the last part of P, and by some alteration of the early part of Σ. He ascribes to a far inferior hand the large additions to T, Y, and Φ, whilst the end of X shows a close analogy with the most beautiful part of Z.

The best part of Ψ and all Ω are due to a poet of the highest order, who, if not the author of the best portion of the *Odyssey*, at least stands in close relations with that poem. Professor Jebb's view that he is the poet of I is regarded as possible and plausible.

Then follows an elaborate table setting forth in five columns the separate strata of which the *Iliad* is composed in their (supposed) chronological order. To the *Mêvus* some 3400 lines are ascribed.

The introduction likewise gives an account of the three Papyrus-fragments of the *Iliad*. We are never very likely to all agree as to what are interpolations and what are not, but as long as the spirit of progress exists, scholars will not cease striving to solve the enigmas which surround the bulk of the *Iliad*. So long as those efforts are directed to ascertaining the relative ages of the various strata all must heartily approve, but when Dr. Leaf evinces a desire to reject Nestor's speeches on the ground of their inferiority of style, it makes us wince. What! The *Iliad* without Nestor! For if we take from him his long didactic harangues, we may retain his name, but his personality is gone.

Those who follow out the strictly critical examination of the Poems have to guard against the danger of forming an ideal of the poet of the original kernel. They are inclined to picture him to themselves as incapable of writing a single line which is not of the highest order (according to their own notions of perfection). Any passages then which do not attain to this standard and do not deal directly with the subject of the original *Mêvus*, quickly come under their ban. And yet all admit that some of the noblest poetry in the *Iliad* is found, the admittedly later parts, in the last six books.

The criticism of later years however is all tending to the satisfactory conclusion that, whether or not the Poems have undergone change from time to time as their original Aeolic gave place to Ionic forms, all parts of them save a few sporadic lines can lay an honest claim to great antiquity. Linguistic and grammatical science as well as the customs and institutions portrayed all point to the same conclusion.

The introductions to the different books are models of concise and clear summary. Every point of importance in the structure of the book is touched on, whilst the reader is not wearied by laboured diffuseness which so often mars similar attempts. The introduction to Σ may serve as an excellent sample.

Space of course forbids an elaborate examination of the matter in the notes. But Dr. Leaf has left little opportunity for anything save praise. He has made a notable addition to our means for ultimately solving that most important passage, the Trial Scene (Σ 500), by taking *ἀναίετο* in its proper Homeric sense of 'refused' instead of the traditional 'denied,' and by his very ingenious explanation, based on the procedure in the *Eumenides* (already published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*). On N 697 he has a good note, but we should have liked something more explicit about *γυνὸς*. Words denoting kinship are of such importance for the knowledge of early society that we cannot spare any light which can be cast on them. The derivation from *γενέσκω* seems absurd. I have long thought that possibly the true explanation was that *γυνὸς*: *γον* (*γόνος*) = (*κασι*)*γενήτος*, *γενήσιος*: *γεν* (*γένος*). The wonder is that this has not been suggested long ago. *γυνὸς* is thus simply a *kinsman* and in Homer is in process of being narrowed down to mean brother, as was the case ultimately with *κασιγνήτος* and the Latin *frater*. In N 130 I would prefer to explain (following the indication of the

schol.) *σάκος σάκει προθελύμνω* as locking shield upon the shield that formed the layer in front, just as was done in the *συνασπισμός* of later times.

There are some excellent notes on *βλήο* (N 288) and in the very difficult *προκρόσσας* in *Ξ*. 36. By the way it may be noticed that the ladies of the Homeric period had no combs; at least *Ηρα* (*Ξ* 176) combs her tresses with her fingers, which recalls the Tragic periphrasis for fingers, *κτένες χερῶν*. Is it more likely that the cestus of *Aphrodite* (*κεστὸν ἱμάντα*) was a leathern girdle ornamented with a pattern of *punctures* rather than *embroidered*? Such a form of ornament is, I believe, common among modern savages. From l. 214 it seems to have represented

the *ταινία μαστῶν* of later times rather than the *ζώνη*. In *Σ* 373 one hardly sees why Dr. Leaf takes *τρίποδες* = tables, instead of caldrons, the usual meaning of the word in the *Iliad*. Nor do we feel quite satisfied with his explanation of *πυθμένι* in 375. Can the fact that we so often get the form *τείνω* = *τίνω* in Inscriptions lend any support to *νείσοντο*, the MS. reading for *νίσσοντο* in *Σ*. 568?

In conclusion let us again congratulate Dr. Leaf on having achieved one of the most remarkable pieces of scholarship attempted for many years in England, and may we express the hope that he will advance into fresh fields of Homeric study.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

SCHUCKBURGH'S HERODOTUS.

Herodotos VI. With Introduction, Notes and Maps. By E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A. (Pitt Press Series.) Cambridge: 1889. 4s. 6d.
Herodotos IX. 1-89 ditto. 1887. 3s. 6d.

THE Eighth Book of Herodotus by the same editor has not come to hand; but, to judge by the Preface to the first volume cited above, is drawn up on the same lines as the books under review, and no doubt with equal care and success. The separate publication of a section of the Ninth Book was presumably dictated by the exigencies of education or of examination, and the editor has apparently had in view all along the needs of comparative beginners. The aids afforded to the beginner are almost too generous; there will be little left for his master to do but to see that he gets Mr. Shuckburgh by heart! His comprehension of the story in Herodotus is assisted by an English analysis inserted in the text, almost chapter by chapter, as well as by an historical Introduction (pp. ix.—xl. in the case of Book VI., ix.—xxvi. in the case of book IX.) An *Historical and Geographical Index*, consisting of short articles on the proper names occurring in the text, supplements the *Introduction*, and leaves the editor free to devote the *Notes* mainly to points of grammar and scholarship. Some notes on the text are inserted as a separate article. The edition of Book IX. contains an Appendix (after Abicht) on the Dialect. From this account of the edition it will be obvious that, assuming the notes and so forth to be

sound and pointed, these little volumes viewed as school-books leave very little to be desired, according to the English practice of reducing oral instruction to mere discipline. A painstaking passman too might, with one of these volumes in hand, dispense with a 'coach,' and almost with that *bête noire* of his—a lexicon.

It is fair to add that the editor holds up a sound standard of historical criticism in his introductions, by the employment of the supplementary sources, of which good examples are to be found in the figure of the *τρικάρηνος ὄφις* and in the translation of Pausanias' account of the picture of Marathon in the Poecile Stoa. The grammatical notes appear on the whole admirable, Mr. Shuckburgh having a quick sense for moods and tenses. More advanced students would find his textual notes worth consulting, e.g. the defence of *ἐξοδήσι* in VI. 56, and of *τε καὶ ἐδόθη* in IX. 80, and would be interested in the citations from Polybius *passim*: they will not however learn much from the editor's historical notes and criticisms, which at times indeed may mislead or puzzle young and old. To confine the instances to the notes on Book VI.: 'Ephesos' p. xxx. is an obvious misprint for 'Ephoros,' and 599 B.C. on p. 243 should obviously be 549 B.C. (overthrow of the Medes): but 451 B.C. given as the date of the 'so called Peace of Kimon,' p. 207, suggests a grave doubt as to a possible confusion in the editor's mind between the truce with Sparta of c. 451 B.C. and the supposed treaty with Persia, vari-

ously dated but never, I believe, assigned to 451 B.C., the year before Kimon's last great expedition to the East. It is very startling to be told that 'from Aegina the first Greek commercial centre in Egypt, Naukratis, was established,' and not less startling to find Megakles, the bridegroom of Agariste of Sikyon, represented as grandson of Megakles the opponent of Peisistratos, pp. 235, 236. Mr. Shuckburgh is not a safe guide in regard to the Alkmaeonidae; he apparently thinks that Xanthippos by descent belonged to that family (p. xxxvi.). The notes on Athenian constitutional matters leave something to be desired. Olneis, p. 187, is only a misprint, but the remarks on the Kleisthenic reforms and on the position of Strategi and Archons are not adequate or correct; and the notes on the date of the Plataean alliance, p. 167, are unsatisfactory. The first note seems to incline to the conventional date 519 B.C. and does not fairly state Grote's argument for 509 B.C. or thereabouts: the second note treats the conventional date as doubtful and gives practically Grote's argument against it. To describe the Spartan kingships as a 'double monarchy' is obviously inexact, and courts of 'international arbitration' is an overstatement for the institutions of Artaphernes in Ionia. That the Ionian Amphiktyony was religious and had 'nothing in common with a political league' (p. xiii.) is an aberration, which the note on p. 89 partially corrects. The antithesis is, however, not strictly applicable. 'Der Schwerpunkt des Alterthums ruhte in dem Gedanken dass politische und religio-

Interessen zusammenfielen.' This statement of Nissen's is only unsatisfactory inasmuch as it takes the conscious antithesis of 'politics' and 'religion' for granted in antiquity.

We shall never perhaps get in English a satisfactory method of transliterating Greek proper names. Scholars at present have abandoned the old Latin equivalents and forms without venturing to the exact reproduction of the Greek originals in English letters. The result is an extraordinary and mongrel nomenclature. All perhaps that can be expected of individuals is that they should be consistent in regard to each particular name. Mr. Shuckburgh should make up his mind between Skythians and Seythians, Cambyzes and Kambyses, Darius and Darios (Dareios?), Aristides and Aristeides, and so on. Further, if he writes 'Herodotos' he ought not to write 'Olorus.' 'Histiaios' and 'Hekataeos,' 'Odeium' and 'Olympeion' belong to different systems of transliteration: 'Ajax' and 'Pollux' come in strangely among the Greek forms generally adopted. In regard to translations, there is not much to find fault with, but *ὑποθερμότερον* is not well rendered by 'somewhat bitter' nor *ἐξώγκωτο, ἐξώγκωμένοι* by 'puffed out (up).'

It was superfluous to duplicate the note on *λέγειν*, p. 176. Delium, p. 43, and Mytileneas, p. 239, are obvious misprints; but on the whole, considering the great number of different types employed and of references given, the accuracy of the printing is highly to be commended.

R. W. M.

HOLDEN'S LIFE OF TIMOLEON.

Plutarch's Life of Timoleon, with Introduction, Notes, Maps, and Lexicon by the Rev. H. A. HOLDEN. University Press, Cambridge, 1889. Pp. lxxxv. and 274. 6s.

DR. HOLDEN has already edited the lives of Themistokles, Nikias, the Gracchi, and Sulla, in a manner which has received high commendation in America, France, and Germany, as well as in England. The companion volume which has just been issued has all the merits of its predecessors, exhibiting sound scholarship, sobriety of judgment and the most unwearied industry. The original authorities are throughout carefully compared and no

later contributions to his subject seem to have been overlooked. The thoroughness and completeness of the work will be seen from a mere statement of its contents. After a pleasantly written preface, in which high praise is bestowed upon Mr. James Rhoades's *Timoleon*, there follows (1) the introduction of fifty pages on the primary and secondary sources of information which were accessible to Plutarch for his biography, and the proof, based mainly on a careful comparison with the language and matter of Diodorus, that the chief authority used by the former was Timaeus; (2) a chronological table of Sicilian affairs from B.C. 740 to 337; (3) the text (pp. 1—47); (4) explanatory notes

(pp. 51—151); (5) critical appendix (pp. 155—179), containing (a) an account of MSS.; (b) a very full bibliography, and (c) various readings; (6) indices (pp. 182—274), (a) of matters, (b) of authors cited by Plutarch, (c) of grammatical constructions, followed by a list of unusual words &c. which occur in the biography, and (d) a complete lexical index, in which five different marks are employed to distinguish words of special interest.

Having stated the general character of the work, I shall endeavour, as far as I can, to fulfil the second duty of a reviewer, when he comes across a really good book, and that is to add any suggestions which may be of use in view of a second edition.

The first point I would note is as to the arrangement: would it not be more convenient to give at any rate the various readings under the text? It is a nuisance to have to refer backwards and forwards from text to notes and again from notes to readings and occasionally to index. Under the head of misprints I have noted the following: p. lvii. n. 99 for *ὑπερπήνεσε* read *ὑπερπήνεσε*; p. 72, l. 5 for *s.v. μή* read *s.v. οὐ*; p. 76 in note on *ἀνατείνειν* read *ἐπανάστασις* and *σεις* for *ἐπανάστασις* and *-σεις*; p. 219 add reference under *δυναστίης*; 274, l. 6 for *ατε* read *ἄτε*. With these may be reckoned the slip in p. 59, note on iii. 11 *μήτε προσιόντα τοῖς κοινοῖς ἔτι* 'although he had not yet taken part in public business,' which of course should be 'though he was no longer taking part &c.,' referring to his retirement from public life after his brother's death. Here also may be mentioned the occasional inconsistencies between the explanatory and critical notes, or between the notes and index. Examples may be found on p. 83, where the preference seems to be given to Amyot's rendering of *ὀψόπωλιν*, 'vivandière,' but in the index the right rendering is given without alternative: xxvii. 1, 3 *τὸ μὲν ἔτος...πρὸς τὰς τροπὰς συνήπτε τὸν καιρὸν* is rightly translated in the index *coneciebat*, but the only note on the passage is a reference to xxv. 4, where it is quoted as an instance of the meaning *accedere*: xxvii. 6 *παρεγγλόντων ἄγειν* is translated in the note 'urging him to lead them on without delay,' but in the index more correctly 'to pass the word (of command) along the line': viii. 3 in the text *μὲν* is inserted with Sintenis², but in crit. not. p. 170 good reason is given for its omission.

Dr. Holden tells us that 'the latest recension of Sintenis forms the basis of his text,' but that he has himself exercised an indepen-

dent judgment, availing himself both of Sintenis's collation and also of that of an Italian MS. (M^e). published by C. T. Michaelis. I think he is perhaps inclined to err in the same direction as Sintenis by being too 'sparing in the introduction of good conjectural emendations.' Thus in iv. 3 Blass' *βαρέως δὲ φέρων* seems required instead of *δέ*, the sentence, though long, not being so complicated as to make Plutarch oblivious of its construction. In v. 15 the MS. reading *φονὰς τε δεινὰς καὶ κατὰρας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀρᾶσθαι* seems to need such an insertion as the *προϊεσθαι* of Blass. In ix. 1 Dr. Holden keeps *σπεύδοντες ὡς τὸ πέλαγος διαπλέοντες ἐκομίζοντο παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν*, which he explains in the note 'making haste, as they were crossing the open sea,' but the synchronistic tenses seem to imply a contradiction. How can they be coasting along at the same time that they are crossing the open sea? In the critical note Dr. Holden mentions the suggestion *διαπλεύσαντες* (I suppose with the omission of *ὡς*), and himself suggests 'si quid mutandum, ὡς διέπλευσαν, ut sensus sit *postquam celeriter cursu sunt emensi pelagus*.' Either reading would do, but *σπεύδοντες* must be taken, I think, with *ἐκομίζοντο*. ix. 34 (the Corinthians thought it impossible to overcome the Carthaginians and the force under Hiketās) ἢ *στρατηγήσοντες ἤκοιεν* 'which they were come to take the lead of.' But can the plural be used of all the Corinthians (*πᾶσι* just above)? Is not Madvig's emendation *συστρατεύσοντες* necessary? xvi. 28 (the assassins employed by Hiketās who mingled with the crowd surrounding Timoleon) *ἐγγυτέρω κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπεχείρουν*. Dr. Holden translates this '*propius accedebant ad rem aggredendam*,' but I do not see how the Greek will bear it. Surely we must read with Madvig *ἐπεχώρουν*. xxxvi. 1. 32 *ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἱερὸν ἰδρυσάμενος Αὐτοματίας ἔθυνε, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν ἱερῷ δαίμονι καθιέρωσεν*. No editor seems to have found any difficulty in the phrase *ἱερῷ δαίμονι*, but the epithet is very much out of place: Dr. Holden would hardly translate 'the Holy God' with Grote. Plutarch referring to the same circumstance (*Mor.* p. 542 E, quoted here by Dr. Holden), says that he dedicated his house, not *ἱερῷ*, but *Ἀγαθῷ, Δαίμονι*, and surely that is what we should read here: *ἱερῷ* has slipped in by mistake from the line above. Dr. Holden has a very attractive emendation on the difficult passage xxx. 44 *τῆς δίκης αὐτοῖς ἀπολογουμένης τῇ Τιμολέοντος εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπιτιθεμένης*, for which he gives *ἀπολεγομένης τὴν Τιμολέοντος εὐτυχίαν* and translates, 'punishment being laid upon them when they renounced T.'s success.'

This would do admirably if spoken of the deserters who suffered at the hands of the Brettians the penalty due for their sacrilegious plunder of Delphi; only, since it was T.'s good fortune which had so far saved them from the punishment due to sacrilege, I should prefer the literal 'good fortune': when they deserted, they put away from them this protecting fortune. But could so strong a word as ἀπολέγεσθαι be used of those who were acting under orders from Timoleon himself (xxx. 3. 25 and 42)? Certainly in their case the reading suggested by Bernardakis, ἀπομονοιμένοις τῆς T. εὐτυχίας, would be more appropriate. Another emendation of Dr. Holden's, ἐξ ἧς εἰσέπλει (for ἐπλει) τὰ ἐπιτήδεια (xviii. 1), seems to be almost certain. On the other hand I see no reason for the suggested omission of τῶν πολιτῶν in xxiv. 1, ἐπιρρεόντων πανταχόθεν εἰς αὐτήν τῶν πολιτῶν, where the translation is 'by the continual stream into it from all quarters.' But why should not Plutarch speak of 'its citizens streaming into it from all quarters,' whether we understand 'its citizens' of new-made citizens, or of the original citizens who were now returning from exile?

I go on now to the explanatory notes. On Proem l. 14 it would have been better to refer to Zeller, i. p. 836⁴, or some other history of philosophy, than to give Langhorne's confused and erroneous note on the εἰδῶλα of Democritus; and I think συμφέρηται is hardly = *accidant*, but refers to the combinations of εἰδῶλα which may present themselves to us. In l. 6 is it necessary to understand ἐκείνων either of 'those lives' or 'the lives of them'? It is a long way from βίω, and may be more simply translated 'those men,' like αὐτῶν in the next sentence. iv. l. 5 ὁ ἵππος πληγῇ περιπεσὼν means of course 'being wounded,' as in the examples cited; the translation 'receiving a cut' is ambiguous. vi. 2 ἵνα πράττωμεν δοκιμάσαντες, the note and index agree in the sense 'comprobo': is it not rather 'that we may act after full examination'? the figure which follows bears upon want of *discrimination* in eating. vii. 3 while Timoleon was busy about the expedition letters came to Corinth from Hiketas μνημόντα τὴν μεταβολὴν αὐτοῦ, is it right here to say that αὐτοῦ is used for the reflexive? the clause is written from the point of view of the Corinthians. iv. l. 15 δεδιότες μὴ πάθωιν οἷα καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἀποβαλόντες τὴν πόλιν, is it necessary to follow Held in connecting ὑπὸ with ἀποβαλόντες? Surely it is simpler to translate 'fearing that they should receive from their allies the same treatment as before,

when they lost their city.' ix. l. 17 λόγους τοῖς πραττομένοις ὁμοίους 'proposals as bad as his proceedings.' Is it not rather 'of the same tenor as his negotiations with the Carthaginians,' i.e. having for their object the exclusion of Timoleon from Sicily? *ib.* l. 20 κοινωνὸν εὖ διαπραγμαμένων ἀπάντων 'a partner in all his successes.' I think it is better to take the gen. as absolute. x. l. 2 τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ περαίνειν ἀπειθῶν; 'for what would he gain by withholding compliance?' rather 'what could he accomplish if he refused?' xi. l. 1. οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τοῦ Τιμολέοντος ἀνηγμένου χαλεπῶς φέροντες ἐν τῷ κατεστρατηγῆσθαι διατριβὴν τοῖς Ῥηγίνοις παρέιχον, εἰ Φοίνικες ὄντες οὐκ ἀρέσκοντο τοῖς δι' ἀπάτης πραττομένοις, Dr. Holden takes διατριβὴν with ἐν τῷ κατεστρατηγῆσθαι (furnished amusement in their being outwitted); but is not the source of the amusement their *indignation* at being outwitted? I should therefore take χ.φ. with ε.τ.κ. xii. l. 27 ἐπιπορεύμενος 'visiting,' rather, as in the example quoted from Plut. *Alex.* c. 31 and often in Polyb., 'going through the ranks.' xiv. l. 8 ἐθεώντο πολλὴν ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους καὶ προδύλοις τὴν τῶν ἀδύλων αἰτιῶν καὶ θεῶν δύναμιν: here the note is 'πολλὴν...ἀσθενείᾳ...προδύλοις are all predicative-adjectives.' It would be difficult to give a predicative force to προδύλοις: one pair of attributes ἀνθρωπίνους καὶ προδύλοις are opposed to another pair ἀδύλων καὶ θεῶν. xvi. l. 55 οἱ πεμφθέντες κατὰ τύχην πυθόμενοι μέλλοντα θύειν αὐτὸν ἤκον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν: here the note is 'as their good fortune would have it' to be taken with μέλλοντα θύειν not with πυθόμενοι, as the English translators suppose.' Dr. Holden's strictures on the English translators are in general richly deserved, but here I think *they* are more in the right than *he* is. How can it be said that it was 'their good fortune' which brought the assassins to the temple at this time, when it led to one of them being killed on the spot and the other at any rate failing in his aim? Dr. Holden refers to iii. 1, but there is no more reason to translate κατὰ τύχην 'good fortune' there than here, or in xxxi. 31, where it is rightly rendered 'as it happened.' It has much the same force as ἀπὸ τύχης (l. 52, below), which is rendered '*forte fortuna*,' though I see no reason for adding that 'it is to be taken with σωτηρίαν.' Plutarch is continually dwelling on the providential good fortune which accompanied Timoleon. In each particular case it is a seeming accident (κατὰ τύχην) which contributes to the carrying out of the Divine will. xx. l. 22, θαναμαζόντες τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν εὐφύιαν καὶ τῶν

χωριων τὴν κατασκευήν, 'expressing their admiration of the convenience of the sea and the situation of the adjacent buildings.' I cannot think that these were so likely to have engaged the attention of the soldiers who were fishing, as the 'productiveness of the sea' (Blass) and the 'construction of the forts.' Just below they go on to speak of πόλιν τοσούτους ἐξησκημένην καλοῖς, and in xxii. we are told how Timoleon razed to the ground the royal forts, not sparing them, as Dion had done, διὰ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς κατασκευῆς (here translated 'architecture' by Dr. Holden). xxi. l. 20 ἀνατραπέντων: scil. ταῖς ψυχαῖς 'losing heart.' But is the word used in this sense by itself? Why not simply 'being overthrown,' as in Plut. *Pomp.* p. 643 Καῖσαρ τοῦτον ἀνέτρεψε καὶ κατέβαλεν? xxv. l. 21, μαινομένων παρ' ἡλικίαν: Dr. Holden approves Amyot's version 'plus téméraire que son âge ne portait.' It might have been well to support this by quoting other passages where παρ' ἡλικίαν has the same force, as Plut. *Vit.* p. 181 (of the aged Fabius), ὁρῶν τὸν Φάβιον εὐρύστως παρ' ἡλικίαν διὰ τῶν μαχομένων ὠθούμενον. xxvii. l. 17, λευκάσπισι: here we are told that 'the Sacred Band of Carthage was armed with huge shields covered with elephant hides'; would it not have been more to the point to explain that shields were painted of different colours for the sake of distinction, and that there was a regiment of white-shields in the Macedonian army? xxvii. l. 23, συνιδὼν τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτοῖς ταμιεύοντα τοῦ πλήθους τὸν πολεμίων ἀπολαβεῖν ὅσοις ἐθέλοιεν αὐτοὶ μάχεσθαι: "that the river was controlling for them how many they should single off from the entire host and engage at one time." The middle (ταμιεύεσθαι) is generally used in this sense...The infinitive ἀπολαβεῖν depends, as an indirect object, upon ταμιεύοντα in the same way as after verbs of giving.' I should rather translate 'perceiving that the river portioned out their work to them and so cut off from the multitude of the enemy as many as they themselves might choose to fight with.' For the construction of συνοράν with inf. cf. 2 Macc. 4. 4, συνιδὼν Ἀπολλώνιον μαίνεισθαι. In the passages cited in the note ταμιεύεσθαι is used because the agent portions out to himself: here it is the river which is supposed to do so to others. xxvii. l. 42, τῷ πάθει παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν οὕτω διατεινόμενος: Dr. Holden translates π. τὸν ἀγῶνα 'because of the inward struggle.' I should prefer to take ἀγῶνα in its ordinary sense, joining it with ἐνθουσιασμόν by hendiadys, 'raising his voice in his excitement

owing to the intoxication of the combat.' xxxvii. l. 19, ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ σοφισταὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων τῶν πανηγυρικῶν αἰεὶ παρεκάλουν πράξεις τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐν αὐταῖς ἀριστεύσας: here Dr. Holden refers to Isocrates 'whose πανηγυρικός was an urgent appeal to the Greeks to combine against their common enemy the Persians'; but it could hardly be said that Timoleon had realized these hopes. Grote more appropriately speaks of 'that which rhetors like Lysias had preached in their panegyrical harangues, that for which Plato sighed in the epistles of his old age—the renewal of freedom and Hellenism throughout Sicily.'

No two minds will be agreed as to the exact amount of notes required. I should have thought some unnecessary, while on the other hand there are points left unexplained which might either cause perplexity to an ordinary reader or which at any rate would justify further illustration. Such are the account of the attempted suicide of Mameucus xxxv. l. 34 πρὸς τι τῶν βάθρων δρομῷ φερόμενος συνέρρηξέ τὴν κεφαλὴν; the change of construction in xxxv. l. 22 ἧς μὴ προσάψαιτο μηδὲ κατακοσμήσειεν; the antecedent to ὅθεν in xxxv. l. 7; the way in which the mail-clad Carthaginians were impeded by their tunics xxviii. l. 23; the force of γοῶν, ib. l. 40; the asyndeton with εἶτα xxii. l. 5; the odd phrase τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔτος ἱσταμένον θέρους εἶχεν ὥραν xxvii. l. 1; ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος viii. l. 17; the distinction between τύραννος and δυνάστης; above all the hopeless sentence xxii. l. 17 foll, where I think the difficulties should at any rate have been more fully pointed out, e.g. ὑπήκουε, without any previous mention of invitation given. If emendation is despaired of, it would at any rate have been some slight solace to the reader to know that he had the sympathy of the editor in his just indignation at a writer, not being an Aeschylus or a Browning, who could leave his ideas in such an undeveloped state.

One of the best features in the book is the lexicography; see the excellent articles on φιλοχωρεῖν p. 51, ἀποθεωρεῖν p. iii. foll., ἀνατείνειν p. 76, προχειρίζεσθαι p. 259. Here and there the classification of meanings might be improved; thus the phrase ἀνγρόρεον ὑπὸ κηρύκων is given as an example of the use of ὑπὸ with active verbs = 'owing to,' p. 269, and ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος is given as an instance of the meaning *hostiliter ingredi*.

As the index claims to be complete it may be as well to note the following omissions: ἄκρος xii. l. 44, γηγῶν iii. l. 24, ἡλικία xxv. l.

23, ὡδή xiv. l. 16, ἐφέλκεσθαι xix. l. 33; and why is ὁστρεογραφίης untranslated?

The list of unclassical words used by Plutarch (p. 196) needs revision: such words as παραλαμβάνειν, παράλογος are thoroughly classical.

These are the gleanings which I have been able to pick up in my examination of a book for which the thanks of all lovers of classical literature are due both to Dr. Holden and to the Cambridge University Press.

JOSEPH B. MAYOR.

ELLIS'S COMMENTARY ON CATULLUS.

A Commentary on Catullus. By ROBINSON ELLIS, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. University Reader in Latin Literature. Second Edition. (Clarendon Press.) 16s.

A more than common interest attends the appearance of this book. It is in the first place the outcome of thirty years' continuous labour, and as such it takes its place naturally in the short list of permanent classical works which have maintained for this generation the best traditions of English scholarship. Further, Mr. Ellis, who it is fair to conjecture has here closed, for the present at least, his series of works on this subject, is also the father of Catullian literature in this country: and it is not given to many men both to initiate and to consummate for their own age a subject so large and worthy as the poems of the impassioned and divinely-gifted Veronese.

In the Preface, which is new, Mr. Ellis traces the literary history of Catullus from the revival of letters to the present day. It is a chapter of extreme interest, having for its main object the vindication of the merits of the early Italian correctors of the text—an essay in short upon the theme that 'that age was best which was the first.' On this subject Mr. Ellis speaks with an authority which it would be an impertinence in us to criticise. His remarks come as a timely counterblast to a since published eulogy of Scaliger, 'who ('by his Catullus etc.') first taught criticism to walk in the road in which it should go' and 'reclaimed it from the hap-hazard guesswork' in which 'the Italians had been the great offenders' (M. Pattison, *Essays*, i. p. 160—2). One wonders whether the essayist had overlooked the preface to Scaliger's rather scrubby little edition (Geneva, 1577), in which 'Deum testem laudo, ne integrum quidem mensem illis tribus poetis recensendis impēdimus.' This is a custom which our English editor happily has honoured in the breach. But

when Mr. Ellis goes on to complain that 'for the recovery of the *vera manus* of Catullus disappointingly little has been effected since the Renaissance,' we wish to suggest that the reason lies as much in the poet as in his critics. *Non cuivis homini*. The peculiar quality of Catullus's genius offers unusual difficulties to the emendator, as a glance at the twenty-fifth or twenty-ninth poem will show. For Catullus never wrote save under the impulse of vehement emotion and he has hardly left a line that does not bear the impress of his passionate personality: yet at the same time he had all Wordsworth's gift of using the commonest words in a far from common way and, like Wordsworth, he was content to draw his inspiration from 'the common things that round us lie'

fratresque unanimos anumque matrem

and to strike the ἄφαντον φῶς of poetry from the crudest matter:—

istos qui in platea modo huc modo illuc
in re praetereunt sua occupati.

Suppose the latter half of such a line as 'haec atque illa dies atque alia atque alia' had been mutilated beyond recognition, which of the critics would have been Catullus enough to supply the words we know the poet to have written? And, yet, what words could suggest the long procession of 'to-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow' better than this simple 'alia atque alia'? If the critics had been more mindful of what Mr. Ellis happily terms the 'inimitable spontaneity' of Catullus, they would have been less prone to 'madly thrust' on this rare poet the coat of a bourgeois Horace, a blatant Ovid or a knowing Martial, and would not, on the strength of a quotation from one or other of these writers, have fathered upon him such readings as 'furta' for 'facta' (23, 10), 'ducentum' for 'disertus' (12, 9), or 'vividæ' for 'Lydiæ' (31, 13). One is glad to remember that a modern

admirer of Catullus, who, if not a critic, is a poet, has not found the 'Lydian laughter' of Sirmio 'too learned an allusion' in the last quoted passage. If 'minuta' for 'inimica' (25, 12) is 'the finest emendation which has been made in Catullus,' it is a good instance of the limitations within which he can be emended with 'certainty.' One might therefore hesitate to apply the epithet 'certain' even to the dozen or so conjectures which Mr. Ellis accepts as final (p. xiv.), and suggest that those who deserve best of Catullus are not the 'aucupes syllabarum,' but rather the scholars who, like Schwabe, Schmidt and Mr. Ellis himself, have laboured to expound and illustrate what the poet certainly wrote.

Mr. Ellis' new edition runs to five hundred and sixteen pages as against four hundred of the first. Its significance is not primarily critical, because the editor's view of the text remains practically what it was in 1878. He repeats his belief in the value of the Datanus and only in a very few passages does it appear that he proposes to alter the text of his critical edition. On 65, 2 he now accepts Munro's 'Catulle' for 'Catullo'—a change surely due to the syntax: in 66, 92 he restores the MSS. 'effice cur iterent,' with 'fulgeret' as pres. subj.: 64, 23 the fragmentary 'matrum Progenies' is adopted as a Grecism, 'with a nature like your mother's': 16, 34 Meineke's 'Cieros' for 'Scyros' is now admitted, and the same word is by a bold conjecture introduced into 350, 'cum in Ciero' for 'incurvo' (MSS. incivium). The bulk of the new matter is to be found in excursus, discussing but rarely adopting the views of recent critics, in occasional expansions of the explanatory notes, and in the introductions to the poems, which are in many cases rewritten. The omissions, on the other hand, are few: e.g. the excursus on 41, seeking to establish a legal allusion in the poem, is now given up. (May not the point lie in 'non est sana' l. 7? *Insanire* is sometimes used of extravagance in money matters: cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 4, 3, 37, 'a primo homo insanibat': Pl. *Mil.* 755, 'insanivisti': Liv. vii. 2, 'quam ab sano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem insaniam venerit': and perhaps Theocr. 4, 4, *λυσσῶν*. So here: 'What, give a fright like that 10,000 HS. ! *insanit*. Give her a straight waistcoat—and a looking-glass.') And in 44 the old view, that Catullus caught his cold going to Sestius's dinner—surely a frigid jest—is now abandoned, and the influenza is ascribed simply to the infection of his friend's style. We may

compare Ar. *Acharn.* 138: *ἐπῆξε τοὺς ποταμούς... ὅτ' ἐνθαδὶ Θέογνις ἡγωνίζετο*.

Mr. Ellis's critical edition must almost have been passing through the press when the 'Criticisms and Elucidations' appeared (1878), so that he could then do no more than report Munro's views in brief excursus at the end of the volume. It now appears that Mr. Ellis but rarely adopts the conclusions of his great critic, to whose memory he here (pf. xi.) pays a just and generous tribute. In a few points Munro's unrivalled scholarship has borne fruit: *ex. gr.* 48, 8, where the note on 'hilare,' etc., is now omitted, cf. 16, 14 on 'putidius': 67, 44, speraret: 68, 143, 'nec tamen': 66, 31, 'an quod': on 67, 34 'the valuable Brit. Mus. MS. a' has now lost its epithet, cf. M. p. v.: 29, 21, 'a comic formula,' is now omitted, cf. M. p. v., (but is the argument saved?): but on the larger battle fields, such as the integrity of 54, the circumstances of 67 and the relation between the two parts of 68, Mr. Ellis still declines to yield. On the last point it is interesting to note that two of the most recent editors, as well as Dr. Magnus, have joined Mr. Ellis's side in regarding Allius and Mallius as one person. Of the critics who have written since Munro, it does not appear that any has pushed our knowledge of Catullus far beyond the point reached ten years ago, with indeed one notable exception. Mr. Ellis has already done justice in the pages of this *Review* to the merits of the Prolegomena to the beautiful volume with which B. Schmidt has recently (1887) enriched the Tauchnitz Library. One feels therefore a little disappointed that he has not given so prominent a place in his commentary as was to be expected to some of Schmidt's leading conclusions, especially his account of the chronological order of the poems. Mr. Ellis's own view will be found on five or six pages (xiv.-li.) grim with figures, from which, in some dismay, we turn to the lucid and (in our judgment) convincing account of Schmidt, who tells the story of the poet's life with a glow worthy of the romance it really was. Schmidt also in some interesting remarks on Catullus's literary position (p. lxi.) finds a special force in the phrase 'saeculi incommoda' (14, 22) which Mr. Ellis hesitates to accept. Yet it seems to suit the context well, especially if the 'malum pedem' of this passage is intended to carry on the hint already given in 'impiorum' (l. 7: cf. Mr. Ellis's note), Catullus meaning to bid the 'profanum vulgus' of poetasters to quit the holy ground on which they have intruded. Cf. Prop. iii. 1, 6, 'quo pede ingressi,' and

Mayor *ad* Juv. x. 6 : 'dextro pede concipis.' Further, those who agree with Schmidt's view that *in faceto rure*' (22, 14) and 'pleni ruris' (36, 4) are illustrated by Cicero's remark (*Or.* 161) on the elision of the final *s* as '*subrusticum*,' will feel surprised that the editor still reads 'beatu's' (23, 37 : cf. his note on 'dabi' 116, 8).

Of Mr. Ellis's many-sided erudition it is now unnecessary to speak : it has been long admitted that in this respect Catullus has been as fortunate in his English editor as Lucretius and Juvenal have been in theirs. We are not less struck by the judicial tone which dominates this commentary. Here are no traces of special pleading or *parti pris*. Both sides of every question are always stated with admirable candour and lucidity, and if the reader is ever tempted to dissent from Mr. Ellis's conclusions, he does so on evidence supplied by the editor himself. To exemplify Mr. Ellis's method we may cite an instance which is new to this edition. In 17, 32 the MSS. agree in 'chineæ'—a local epithet, of which no trace seems to survive in modern Brescia. A Venetian writer, Zanchi (1531) quoted the verse with the reading 'Cygneæ,' from 'nonnulla haud contemnendæ vetustatis exemplaria,' explaining it of the arx of Brixia called after its founder Cydnus, 'quem Graeci Cyenum vocant' : and it appears from later writers—Rossi (1695), Gagliardi (1718)—that a hill near Brescia was called 'Cigno' as early as the seventeenth century. Hence it is no wonder that Vossius and more than one modern editor have adopted the reading of Zanchi. But Mr. Ellis, who acts on the motto *ῥᾶπε καὶ μέμνα'* ἀποστῆναι, has pursued the question for himself through a mass of recondite Italian literature and shows (i.) that Zanchi, the earliest authority for the name, does not vouch for the existence of a hill 'Cigno' in his own day : (ii.) that it is unknown to his younger contemporary Bagatto (1566), an antiquary and a Brescia man, or to the earlier Capriolo (1500), whose 'Chronica de rebus Brixianorum' makes no reference to 'Cigno,' but several to 'chinnea.' He therefore adheres to the MSS. reading, drawing the interesting conclusion that Zanchi's learned support of his reading, perhaps his own conjecture, supplanted the real name, and instead of the reading being due to an actual hill, the seventeenth century Cigno is due to the reading. Similarly on 56 Mr. Ellis dissents from the view of all the commentators that the Cato there addressed is the poetaster alluded to by Ovid in terms that might seem to justify the

tone of Catullus's repellent verses, and identifies him with the Stoic statesman M. Porcius Cato. To defend this position he has to put together a chain of proof—lengthened and strengthened in the new edition—of which the acumen and research might compel assent, did not this view rest on *à priori* evidence still stronger. For surely Mr. Ellis shows true feeling for the manner of Catullus, when he urges that in the ordinary view the poem lacks an adequate motive. Coarse though Catullus can be, coarseness with him is not, as it often is with Martial, the main object. It is not the mark at which he aims, but rather the feather that fedges his bolt, be it for hate or scorn or even for pathos, as in the fifty-eighth poem, of which 'the pity of it' is surely the prevailing note. There was possibly something in the events of the day, now lost to us, which gave special point to these verses : meanwhile we may be content to regard them, with Mr. Ellis, as an attempt to 'score off' a 'rigidus Cato.' We could have wished that a similar argument had weighed with Mr. Ellis in interpreting 49, where Catullus's name is linked with that of another great Roman, Cicero's. He regards the lines as eulogistic : but there is much to be said for those who feel that the ring of the whole poem is ironical. Just as in reading 56 we feel that Catullus was far too much of a gentleman to exhibit himself exchanging merely ribald jests with an unprincipled scribbler, so here we believe that his sense of humour would never have allowed him to go down to posterity posing, awkwardly enough, hat in hand, as Cicero's very humble servant. The poet and the orator must often have met, and as far as we can judge their relations can hardly have been very friendly. Catullus was the friend of Hortensius, Cicero's rival : he was the lover of Clodia, Cicero's enemy : he was the assailant of Vatinius, Cicero's client. And though Mr. Ellis (p. xxxiii.-iv.) has made it probable that Catullus is not included in the 'cantatores Euphorionis' of *Tusc.* iii. 45, still Cicero's well-known sneers at the *νεώτεροι* (*Att.* 7, 2) and 'novi poetae' (*Or.* 161) sufficiently indicate his attitude towards the school of which Catullus was the exponent and the pride. It may be fanciful to find in the 'Romuli nepotum' of v. 1 an allusion to the long struggle of the 'Romule Arpinas' with Hortensius for the 'regnum iudiciorum' (1 *Verr.* 35) : but if Cicero's name had been publicly coupled with Catullus's in an eulogistic poem such as this, it may be doubted whether the orator would have written as he

has (*Tusc.* v. 63): 'adhuc neminem cognovi poetam . . . qui sibi non *optimus* videretur.' At best, there is a leer in the equivocal 'tanto . . . quanto' (v. 6), and equivoque has no place in eulogy.

There are other instances, however, where Mr. Ellis's habitual *εποχή* seems to be carried to excess. Of these the more important have been long ago noticed by the reviewers of his earlier edition, and only call for remark now because they reappear stated with additional emphasis, though hardly, we think, supported by fresh proof. Mr. Ellis still holds that the poet's praenomen was Quintus, and that he went to Bithynia in 65 B.C. On the former point, he has re-examined the MS. evidence at some length (p. xi.), and concludes that the 'Q' of D and Pliny's inferior MSS. may be traced to xiii. cent. and may represent a genuine tradition. And these hypotheses outweigh with him both the negative evidence of G. O. and Pliny's best MSS. which recognise no praenomen, and the positive evidence of Apuleius and of Jerome, who has Gaius 'writ large,' so completely that he still reads 'Quinte' in 67, 12. This may pass. The bloom of Catullus's 'florida aetas' will smell as sweet under Quintus as any other name. It is a different matter when we come to the Bithynian journey. This is the one definite episode in the life of Catullus that has come down to us, it is the *mise en scène* of much of his most exquisite verse, it had doubtless a direct bearing on the composition of the 'Attis' and the 'Peleus and Thetis'; and if we follow Schmidt in thinking that this appointment came as the answer to the prayer of the divine seventy-sixth poem, it gains fresh interest as dividing the life and writings of Catullus into two sharply contrasted periods. It is important, therefore, to be right about its date. Mr. Ellis's view has been attacked, as is well known, by Munro, though on grounds some of which it is not easy to appreciate. (*Crit. and El.* p. 46-7.) For even if the 'sudaria' of 12 were sent in 65 B.C. it does not follow that that poem was written in the same year, and Munro's appeal to 58 begs the question of the date of that poem, which is indeterminate. But Mr. Ellis's chronology raises the question of the poet's birth-year in a manner which seems to demand a fuller consideration than it has received. He admits that Catullus must have been born either in 87 or 84 B.C. Of these dates the latter is surely the more probable. It alone can be made to harmonize satisfactorily with the statements of the ancient authorities, it has

the support of Munro and Prof. Sellar, and, in addition to their arguments, it may be noted that it helps to explain Catullus's life-long companionship with Calvus, who was born in 82. But if Catullus went to Bithynia in 65 he cannot have been born in 84. For the sixty-eighth poem, which precedes the Bithynian journey, must then have been written when the poet was at most eighteen, and it is inconceivable that a lad of that age, who was no prig either, could have written 'tempore quo primum vestis mihi tradita pura est' etc. (68, 15). Further, if this poem belongs to 66 B.C. then the earlier Lesbia-cycle must belong to the two years previous: and we are to believe that a country-bred boy of sixteen or seventeen won the favour of the first lady in Rome and then sang in lyric verse the praise of her 'whose dead songster cannot die'—a supposition which becomes only less incredible if the birth-year is put back to 87. Lastly it should be remembered that before Catullus went to Bithynia he had his head-quarters in Rome (68, 35), and a house of his own ('ero' 31, 12) at Sirmio, while his father seems to have lived at Verona (68, 27: Suet. *Jul.* 93); and surely these facts suit a man of seven or eight and twenty better than a youth still in his teens. We find nothing in Mr. Ellis's book we would so gladly see changed as his views on that Bithynian journey, unless it be this. Though he quotes, with apparent approval, the appreciative comment of a true critic on 91, 2: 'in misero hoc nostro hoc perditio amore fore,' he still describes 73, 6 'quam modo qui me unum atque unicum amicum habuit' as 'probably the most prosaic verse in Catullus.' Far other to our feeling is the effect of these 'duriusculi,' these rasping syllables, which only Catullus can propine 'flammeos medullitus.'

We have scarcely scratched the surface of the mine discovered by the noble labours of Mr. Ellis. Our wish is merely to offer a cordial and respectful welcome to a work of the first moment in classical literature. At the outset there seemed some danger of falling into terms of extravagant eulogy in speaking of a book to which we owe so many hours of pleasure and profit: as it is, we have neared the opposite extreme. But a critic very properly patronizes a book which has taught him all the little he has gleaned of the subject, and in any case Mr. Ellis, after his thirty years' 'fraternum sodalicium' with Catullus, can afford to smile at the fret of a modern Suffenus, 'the irresponsible, indolent reviewer.'

W. T. LENDRUM.

THREE ESSAYS ON ASINIUS POLLIO AS A WRITER.

Untersuchungen zu Caesar u. seinen Fortsetzern: insbesondere über Autorschaft u. Komposition des Bellum Alexandrinum und Africanum, von Dr. G. LANDGRAF. Erlangen, 1888. 3 Mk.

THE aim of this very ingenious monograph is to prove that C. Asinius Pollio, the famous orator, poet and historian, is the author of the military diary which is included among the works of Caesar under the name of the *Bellum Africanum*; that he is also the *rédacteur* of the remains of Caesar and his literary executor Hirtius, whose death at the siege of Mutina (Apr. 27, B.C. 43) cut short his plans for the completion and final publication of the *Corpus Caesarianum*.

It would be impossible in the brief space at our disposal to give an adequate digest of the argument: but its general course may be indicated. It will be remembered that in the received editions Books i.—vii. of the *De Bello Gallico* are attributed to Caesar, Book viii. to A. Hirtius, the *De Bello Civili* (three books) to Caesar; and the supplements to the latter, viz. the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, *B. Africanum*, *B. Hispaniense*, appear under the name of Caesar. But even in antiquity the authorship of these last three was a disputed point (Sueton. *Vit. Jul.* lv.), some attributing them to Oppius, some to Hirtius. It was Nipperdey who raised the question afresh in his *Quaestiones* prefixed to his edition of Caesar (1847), and sought to prove that *B. G.* viii. and *Bell. Alex.* were by Hirtius, to whom (and not to Oppius) the language of the *Epistula ad Balbum*, prefixed to the former by its author, is appropriate. This epistle plainly shows what Hirtius's design was, viz. to weave the Commentaries of Caesar into a connected whole and carry them down to the date of his death. Apart from the actual state in which the literary legacy of Caesar has come down to us, it is scarcely conceivable that Hirtius could have accomplished his design in the short and busy period which intervened between Caesar's death and his own. The facts of his consulate and his illness must be borne in mind. Nipperdey thinks that for *Bell. Afric.* and *Bell. Hispan.* he had done no more than to collect materials.

This hypothesis, though most valuable as clearing the ground for further investigations, was not in itself fully satisfactory.

There are undeniable differences of style between *B. Alex.* and *B. G.* viii. which militate against a unity of authorship. A distinct advance was made when it was recognized in part by Petersdorff, more fully by Schiller, that the depositions of eye-witnesses were incorporated in all parts of the work and that variety of styles is due to the variety of original sources. Schiller conjectures that Hirtius worked *over* these materials, without working them *up* into organic unity: it is the connecting and transitional chapters, he finds, which are stamped with Hirtian peculiarities. It is in reference to *Bell. Alex.* that Schiller formulates his theory.

Here then Dr. Landgraf takes the question up. He takes, one by one, all the members of the *Corpus Caesarianum*: they reveal to his fine perception of style the touch of one, of two, and in one case (*B. Alex.* i.—xxxiii.) even of three hands. He has made the remarkable discovery that C. Asinius Pollio was the eyewitness and original authority on whom Hirtius relied for those parts of the war in which he had not himself been engaged; and that he, as the next to Hirtius in Caesar's intimacy, undertook to complete, in outline at least, the literary project which fate had not allowed his friend to accomplish. The *Bell. Africanum* he published exactly as he had made it over to Hirtius. Its style, if the text be rectified, is much better than critics have allowed.

The evidence is partly external, partly internal. (a) While no ancient writer connects the name of Pollio with the authorship of the supplements to Caesar's work, he is mentioned by Suetonius (*l.c.*) as a somewhat severe critic of the Commentaries: 'parum diligenter parumque integra veritate compositos putat.' He did moreover write a History of the Civil Wars himself (*Hor. C.* ii. 1). He had served in the African war himself; had also been governor of Further Spain from the year B.C. 45, so that he may well have furnished Hirtius with information upon the Spanish events narrated in *Bell. Alex.* xlvi. —lxiv. He was in a position to supply from personal knowledge—conformably with his severe veracity—a discreditable fact in *B. G.* viii. 23, 3—6, 47, 48, 1—9, which Caesar had suppressed in its right place, vii. 75. It may be doubted if any other Caesarian had similar qualifications for the task. (b) The internal evidence of diction, &c. is the

strongest. In spite of the ravages of time, enough has survived of Pollio's composition by which the theory may be tested: especially three letters to Cicero, *Ad Fam.* x. 31, 32 and 33. We know from the *Dial. de Oratoribus* and Quintilian that his style admitted archaic and poetic elements, and even colloquialisms. Examples are (1) *portendo*, in the *Corp. Caes.* only in *B. Afr.* 82, 2, and in *Ep. ad Fam.* x. 32. 5. (2) In the *B. Afr.* the following poetical expressions, *suppetias ire, tristimonia, sauciis decem factis*: (3) *nullum vestigium ab aliquo discedere*, *Ad Fam.* x. 31, 6., *B. Afr.* 73, 3. Dr. Landgraf certainly makes out a strong case for Pollio as author of the *Bell. Africanum*: besides style and diction, the absence of partisan unfairness, as in the treatment of Cato's character, is given in evidence. The very faults of the work—its haste, triviality and want of historical perspective—may be accounted for if it was a soldier's diary, not a history.

The main objection to the theory will be this. Why is Pollio never mentioned in the Commentaries, although he distinguished himself so much in the field (*Plut. Caes.* 52)? For the same reason probably which led him to grudge to the Caesarian remains that effort which might have given them an artistic uniformity and unity which they lack. He had his own literary ambition, to make himself the historian of the First Civil War; and he had no mind to forestall himself by a work, of which two-thirds of the renown would belong to Caesar and Hirtius. So he studiously dissociated his reputation from their work, while he was too loyal to neglect to make it worthy of theirs. But it must be confessed that it is difficult to understand how it was that his disguise baffled all detection by critics, ancient or modern, until Dr. Landgraf pierced it. We understand now that Prof. Wölfflin has in preparation an edition of the *Bellum Africanum*, to be published, *missis ambagibus*, under the name of C. Asinius Pollio. Dr. Landgraf promises us (p. 78) a future discussion of the contribution made by Pollio to the *Bellum Civile*: pointing out for the present the Pollionisms in *B. C.* iii. 108–112, the opening of the Alexandrine war. No student of the diction of Caesar can afford to neglect the contributions to the subject which enrich Dr. Landgraf's pages, e.g. the valuable note on *postquam* with subj., p. 20.

But it is not true that the historic infin. is used by Cicero 'only in the Verrines and the Letters' (p. 41): v. *Cluent.* §§ 59, 177; *Pis.* § 69; *Phil.* xii. § 1; *Acad. pr.* ii. §§ 11, 63.

Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio in den bei Cic. ad Fam. x. 31–33 erhaltenen Briefen mit Berücksichtigung der bei Quintilian, Seneca, etc. überlieferten Fragmenta, von J. H. SCHMALZ.

Wölfflin, *Archiv*, vi. pp. 85–107, 'Ueber die Latinität des Asinius Polio.' München, Beck, 1889. Mk. 1.40.

A REVIEW of Dr. Landgraf's treatise would be incomplete without a short notice of these two essays, the former of which discusses the diction of Asinius Pollio as it appears in the *Letters*, the latter that of the *Bell. Africanum*. In their general conclusions they are at one: that Pollio (or Polio as Wölfflin prefers to call him) did not give allegiance to the Latinity of Caesar and Cicero, but consciously copied other models, and stands nearer to the speech of the archaising Varro, and the abrupt and sometimes colloquial Sallust. Surely it is curious that he himself criticised the archaisms of the latter—'Asinius Pollio in libro quo Sallustii scripta reprehendit ut *nimiam priscorum verborum affectatione oblita*' (*Suet. gramm.* 10), while he allowed himself the use of such archaic words as the following *pollicitatio*, *commeatus* 'a way,' *superesse* 'survive,' *quiritare* (which has lived on in popular speech to become *Fr. crier*, *Ital. gridare*), *palpari*, all cited by Schmalz: *suppetiae*, *grandis* 'large,' *rapsare*, *tristimonia*, *satagere infatuo conpotare* (these three perhaps old-fashioned colloquialisms), cited by Wölfflin. It seems possible that in his maturer work Pollio was less unwilling to part with some of the angularities of his style, though still the declared foe of Ciceronianism gone mad (*Quint.* x. 2. 17, *si quid modo longius circumduxerunt, iurant ita Ciceronem locuturum fuisse*). The task which at present occupies Landgraf and the others is to prove that Pollio forms a link, in the development of Latin prose, between Varro and the historians Livy and Tacitus. They may afterwards hope to consider the growth of Pollio's own style in the fragments preserved to us.

Both writers show exhaustively that there is alike an archaic and a poetic element in the style which we are considering: our author uses *communibam*, a form which 'Cicero would have barely touched in kid gloves' (Wölffl. p. 88), an *isolated* form (if we can trust our MSS.) which Pollio may have picked up from the *sermo castrensis*; he uses *rectigaliorum*, and a few other anomalous forms. It is further shown that he deals in colloquialisms, such as the use of

compound words in the sense of the simple forms (*commendare se fugae, ex promerito, inibi, depugno* = *pugno*). Lastly, in his earlier work at any rate Pollio cannot be acquitted of the charge of occasional slovenly writing. The abl. absolute is carelessly used: *B. Afr.* 24, 2, Pompeio adveniente oppidani usque eo passi propius accedere, donec cet.; and even *Ad Fam.* x. 31. 4, nam quibus commeatibus invito illo per illius provinciam legiones ducerem? *V.* also *B. Afr.* 63. 5. But for the sake of *distinctness*, such a thing is not unknown even in Cicero: *v. Roby*, 1247. Again we find a sort of Homeric construction in relative clauses, *B. Afr.* 97. 3, Leptitanos

quorum bona Juba diripuerat et ad senatum questi...sua receperant. Other idioms, such as *dubito* with acc. and inf., *opto* with inf., *studeo* with acc. and inf. (*Schmalz*, 26--28) seem to be due to the influence of the older poets. But is not the pregnant use of *in* (*Ad Fam.* x. 32. 4, in victoria = si vicisset) commoner in Cicero than *Schmalz* implies on p. 20? *V.* my note on *Cluent.* § 32.

An examination of the facts adduced in these two treatises will lead, I think, to the conclusion that even in his Letters Cicero was much more of a purist, than Pollio in his most studied efforts.

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NETTLESHIP'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO LATIN LEXICOGRAPHY.

Contributions to Latin Lexicography. By HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A., Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1889. 21s.

THIS book, like the larger work of Professor Key which appeared a year ago, contains the portion of a Latin lexicon which was more or less advanced when death in the former case, and disinclination or other engagements in Professor Nettleship's case, interfered to prevent the completion of the undertaking. Necessarily they appeal not so much to the general public, even of classical scholars, as to the makers of lexicons or to special students, but both were worth publishing, and will doubtless contribute to improve the Latin dictionaries of the future. Both lay great stress on the early Roman literature, both are the work of independent scholars, and both testify to a great deal of thought and labour. Professor Key no doubt aimed specially at setting forth his peculiar views of etymology. Professor Nettleship has a bit of a bias for another side of the investigation. He has paid great attention to the Latin glossaries, and among numerous other recondite additions has quoted many of them in the articles which form the present work. Such sources have some sort of value for lexicons on a large scale which profess to give the materials, important or not important, for the history and signification of a Latin word. I have myself a poor opinion of Latin glossaries: they are evidence of very uncertain character—uncertain in their age, in their author, in their ultimate origin; they may

be witnesses to a regular use and meaning, they may record merely the momentary fancy or whim of a speaker or writer, or they may embody a misunderstanding of the reporter or a blunder of a copyist. And even the better authenticated productions of Latin grammarians are so uncritical, that I think them often much overrated testimony. Unless we have the context and the circumstances, a reported use of a word requires special corroboration from general analogy or probabilities before it is entitled to any considerable weight. The desperate eagerness of scholars to throw some fresh light on obscure or disputed matters seems to me often to result in a very factitious importance being attributed to the dustheaps of antiquity.

About two-thirds of the present volume is occupied with the letter A; the rest contains articles on various words, which for some reason or other attracted Professor Nettleship's attention. He tells us he has included nothing in this volume which, in his own judgment, is not a necessary improvement of Lewis and Short's Dictionary, either by rearrangement of the matter, or by novelty in explanation, or in instances, or by correction of references, or by the supply of omitted words. Possibly he has in this adopted the right principle, but the result is that one never quite knows whether any article should be regarded merely as a supplement and correction of Lewis and Short, or really representative of what Professor Nettleship considers a proper and adequate treatment of the word. However the articles are always scholarly and clear,

and many exhibit a very rational and suitable arrangement of the matter. I have no intention of detracting from a general appreciation of the book, if I notice a few cases where I think Professor Nettleship has slipped. Most of these small points relate to legal expressions.

On p. 19 he says the title *de accessionibus* of Dig. Book XXII. includes *usuræ* and *fructus*. On the contrary the title contains all three words, and *accessiones* are neither *usuræ* nor *fructus*. Below he speaks of *accessio temporis* as if it were more technical than it really is, and defines it as 'the period of time reckoned in order to make up the year required to get the benefit of the *interdictum utrobi*, Gai. IV. 151.' But a year was not required for this purpose: the question was simply which of the litigants had been longer in possession within the period of a year immediately preceding the suit. On p. 252 he asks what is the meaning of *adprehendit* in Dig. XL. 7, l. 2 pr. *qui statu liberi causam adprehendit*. The meaning is simply 'he who gets the position of a *statu liber* (slave contingently freed).' On p. 203 he translates *annalis* 'annually recurring,' but in two of the instances quoted the word refers to the period, not the recurrence, of a year. So Varr. *R. R.* 1, 27, where Varro speaks of the *annale tempus quod sol circuitu suo finit*. In the other, Dig. XV. 2, l. 1, an action is said to be *temporaria id est annalis*, i.e. it must be brought within one year from the right of action accruing. On p. 263 Professor Nettleship misunderstands in some degree the nature of book-obligations (*litterarum obligatio*), and thus after rightly explaining *arcaria nomina* (Gai. III. 128) as 'debts contracted by the actual payment of ready money to the debtor,' hesitatingly adds, 'without any evidence given in writing.' But the presence or absence of evidence in writing does not constitute the difference between these classes of debts. *Arcaria nomina* were doubtless often accompanied by documentary proof, although their obligation rested on the actual cash payment, not on a bond or on a book entry. In the other case the entry in the books of the creditor, or of both creditor and debtor, was the very ground of the obligation; and for this reason, because the loan or sale or other transaction, which may have preceded, was by the agreement of the parties merged in the book entry, the former debt, if any, was extinguished, and the only debt now existing was that created by the book entry, and was attended only by the incidents belonging to that. The

nearest English analogy is where previous transactions involving debts and credits are summed up and superseded by a bill of exchange for the balance, drawn by one and accepted by the other party.

On p. 440. *dispunctio* is said to mean 'rewarding according to deserts,' and *dispunctior*, 'one who allots payment.' This is, I think, a mistake. *Dispungere* is 'to check' or 'examine accounts' and is so used in the Digest: e.g. *dispungere est conferre accepta et data*, Dig. L. 16, l. 56: cf. XL. 7, l. 6, § 7; XLII. 5, l. 15, § 1; and the same meaning appears to me clearly applicable to the passages quoted from Tertullian (who, be it remembered, was probably a lawyer himself), *Apol.* 18, *suscitatis omnibus ab initio defunctis et reformatis et recensitis ad utriusque meriti dispunctionem*, 'All the dead from the very beginning being raised and reformed and reviewed for an account to be taken of their good or evil deserts,' and so in *Marc.* V. 12; IV. 17. *Dispunctior* in the inscriptions (in some we have *DISP.* only) is I presume simply a public accountant.

On pp. 68 and 456 we have the old word *fatis*, found in *adfatim*, explained as 'weariness.' I long ago suggested that it meant 'yawning,' cf. *faticere*, *fatigare*. I doubt also whether my account of *noxæ* and *obnoxius* (see Introduction to Justinian's Digest, pp. 132—134) has fallen under Prof. Nettleship's attention. He seems to me to invert the true order, when he gives *noxæ* the meanings (1) punishment (2) offence (3) harm instead of (1) harm (2) guilt (3) amends. I cannot see why he is not contented with the old and perfectly easy derivation from *nocere*, nor why he suggests that *obnoxius* is not from *nocere* and *noxæ*, but from a verb *obnectere* which he has found in Festus and a glossary. I take *obnoxius* to be formed from *ob noxam* and to have passed naturally from the specific meaning of 'liable for a hurt' to the general meaning of 'liable.'

Attribuere in official or technical language is used of giving an order on a person to pay money, the person being put in the accusative and the money (sometimes) added in the genitive. This usage Prof. Nettleship has noticed. But he has misunderstood the analogous use of *pecunia attributa*, 'money for which an order is given,' e.g. Cic. *Verr.* i. § 13 *pecunia attributa numerata est*, where he strangely takes *attributa* as 'paid over.' What then is *numerata*? The most illustrative passage is *Verr.* iii. § 165, *cum posita esset pecuni apud eas societates unde erat attributa, binis centesimis faeneratus est, deinde permultis civitatibus pro frumento*

nihil solvit omnino, 'when the money was lying with the companies on whom an order was given him for its payment, he lent it out at two per cent. and paid to town

upon town nothing whatever for the corn they supplied.' (This use of *attribuere* is noticed in Mommsen's *Staatsrecht*, ii² 444. n. 2.)

H. J. ROBY.

ABBOTT'S LATIN GATE AND POSTGATE'S SERMO LATINUS.

The Latin Gate: a First Latin Translation Book. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT, D.D., Head Master of the City of London School. London. Seeley & Co. 1889. 3s. 6d.

IN this book, which we may call Dr. Abbott's legacy to classical education on retiring from the active practice of his profession, we have what is really an educational experiment of some interest and novelty. The author recognises most truly, as the leading defect of the teaching of Latin in middle class schools, that the short time available for the study is most wastefully spent on Composition and Grammar, with the result that at the end the pupils cannot translate easy Latin at sight. The cure for this evil he would seek in more rapid and economical methods of teaching to read the language: less grammar learning and prose writing, which, useful enough for those who mean to pursue a larger scheme of study, lead practically to nothing for those who leave off at sixteen: and the insistence, in all public examinations, on translation at sight as the most searching and useful test. Of these lines of improvement the last depends on the examining bodies; the second is obviously in the control of the schools. This book is intended by Dr. Abbott as a contribution towards the achievement of the first, namely the improvement of method in teaching boys to read Latin.

The first part of the book is practically an attempt to help the mastery of the *vocabulary*, by keeping the beginner's attention on the identity of Latin words with the corresponding French and English. All teachers no doubt do this at times, and in a desultory way: but Dr. Abbott well suggests, in his second and third chapters, how it may be done more systematically. If these chapters are used, as the author plainly means, not as lessons to be learnt (which would be cram of a dreary kind) but by the teacher as a guide to method, and by the pupil only for reference, we think the result would be excellent. The Latin vocabulary would be mastered more easily and securely:

and there would be something like a real understanding gained of the Latin element in French and English.

The next part is called 'How to translate a Latin sentence': and is virtually an attempt to give help in the first real problem of the reader of Latin, the solving of the structure. Dr. Abbott begins with the usual rule, Find the verb, and then proceeds to deal practically with the chief common difficulties in relation to the verb. One suggestion here is valuable: that the student should drop this rule as soon as he can, and 'begin to translate *mentally straight on*, making allowance for the Latin way of putting things.' *A propos* of this, there is a good deal about *order*: perhaps (as Composition is out of the question) rather too much; but we are glad to see a reference to Professor Hale's brilliant essay on the Art of Reading Latin, from which Dr. Abbott quotes an amusing illustration of the importance of order in a long sentence. Professor Hale takes a passage from Livy, and shows in detail how the apparently arbitrary disregard of the logical order is really due to the fact that the order is everywhere *natural*. When this is perceived the student gets great encouragement to try translating 'mentally straight on': and nothing helps so much to rapid reading, *i.e.* to reading Latin as a *language*.

The rest of the book is reading lessons graduated in length with full notes. First proverbs and short sentences: then longer sentences: then a book of Phaedrus, and lastly a book of Caesar. The main novelty here is that the sentences are carefully chosen to be either striking sayings or anecdotes. For ourselves we much prefer the anecdote for the young beginner. Many of the striking sayings simply bore the boy, who has no experience of life to make him appreciate them: others disgust him by their medicinal flavour: and many lose much of their effect and even their meaning without the context. What can a boy care for '*vox populi vox dei*,' '*ars longa, vita brevis*,' '*silent leges inter arma*,' and the rest of them? But he takes some

interest in Martial's statement (for example) that 'he would rather have a tank than a vineyard at Ravenna' (where water is bad and scarce): and complains that an innkeeper 'had cheated him by selling him *neat wine*, when he had ordered wine and water.' Or again he will relish Catulus' reply to the bad speaker who asked him whether he had not moved the feelings of the audience in his peroration: 'Certainly,' said the cruel Catulus: 'nobody I should think was so hard-hearted as not to feel great pity—for your speech.' In Dr. Abbott's second and third series there are many excellent anecdotes like the above, which tide the learner over the initial flats and bars of Latin reading.

We may note a few slips—though, as the first edition is only issued to teachers, for comment and correction, they have perhaps already been emended.

The note on accent (§ 64) is confusing: syllables were surely retained because they were accented, not because the accented syllable was significant.

The phrase 'national instinct' in § 67 is not happy: the syllables were simply modified by wear and tear in spoken use.

§ 70, *plaisir* for *plaire*.

§ 76, *on* (in the phrase *on dit*): the learner would think *on* confined to that use.

§ 91, *peignant* from *pingentem* is not really a case of transposition: the *y*-sound which has supplanted the *g* is still *after* the *n*.

§ 103, the form *mien* should be mentioned as well as *mon*.

§ 131, iv. *pingere* misprint for *pingere*.

§ 185, 'The subject is sometimes the *action* implied in the verb' is not a clear account of *sic itur*.

But these are trifling blemishes in what is an interesting, and likely, if properly used, to be a valuable schoolbook.

Sermo Latinus; a Short Guide to Latin Prose Composition. By J. P. POSTGATE. Pp. 90. Macmillan. 2s. 6d.

THIS unpretending little book, consisting as it does of some sixty pages of advice and discussion, followed by forty-one exercises, we commend most heartily both to those who have to teach, and those who wish to learn, Latin Prose Composition. Without professing to be exhaustive, Dr. Postgate has succeeded in being, in the best sense, practical: and we feel sure that both teachers and learners will find his remarks helpful and suggestive.

The first chapter is a brief statement of the educational value of Latin Composition. We agree with the author's main point, the value in training of that *recasting* of a thought which translation into an ancient language necessitates. Perhaps he is claiming too much when he says that 'controversies would often dissolve into emptiness' if disputants would put them into Latin Prose. It would often do as well to translate them into plain English: and even Romans, in spite of their 'direct and concrete expression,' were not exempt from the common frailty of quarrelling about nothing.

The two remaining chapters, however, constitute the valuable part, and the main part, of the book. The first one (chap. ii.) is addressed to teachers. The author touches with great felicity the first great difficulty of the teacher, when he feels that a version offered 'won't do,' but is unable to say why. Dr. Postgate justly says he must neither disregard this feeling nor think it infallible. It is perhaps a pity that we are not more decisively warned that the teacher should never be content till he has analysed and made definite this instinctive criticism. The suggestions on retranslation are good and stimulating. But the most striking part of this chapter is the passage on class-teaching of Latin Prose: and Dr. Postgate's hints will, it may be hoped, really help many a reader to succeed in this most difficult branch of the art, in which the writer is evidently a master. Particularly would we refer teachers to the admirable example, too long to quote, where he discusses and translates a difficult passage from Froude.

The third chapter is addressed mainly to the pupil, but will be found very useful for teachers too. With the remarks on the use of dictionaries we heartily agree. In dealing with the difference of expression in the two languages the main point is well brought out and excellently illustrated, that the Latin always clings close to actual concrete fact. Indeed this principle forms so large a part of what the student has to learn, that we would gladly have had more detail on this head, even at the cost of some of the remarks about *order*. It is to this principle that is really due the objection of Latin to what we may call the 'picturesque alias' (like 'the conqueror,' 'the iron Duke,' 'England's greatest general') which Dr. Postgate ascribes to the *poverty* of Latin. Latin is quite able, of course, to render all these aliases of 'the Duke of Wellington'; but, as they are mere flourishes, its practical instinct refuses to have them.

The expansion of 'Balbus is building a wall' is amusingly and cleverly done, and will be found instructive: but a playful protest may be permitted against the portentous sentence into which it finally grows, lest the learner should be beguiled into taking it as a model.

In treating of order, we should have liked to see more about the variety due simply to the desire of pleasant sound, and the wish to avoid dulness. Perhaps also more thorough analysis and illustration might have been given of the common English tendency to what we may call 'concealed oratio obliqua': the tendency, that is, to present what is really the view or the suggestion of one of the actors in the narrative as part of the narrative itself. For example:

'The general did his best to restrain the ardour of his troops. Over-haste was likely to be as fatal as delay. The plot was hardly ripe: and to venture at once would easily end in losing all. Accordingly he took measures, etc.'

The second and third sentences here are really of course the general's, and in Latin must be oblique. The instance from Gibbon which the author gives on p. 36 (an admirable piece and well-discussed) is less likely

to mislead the pupil than the passage we have written above, which is one of a common kind in modern English.

Dr. Postgate's little book is certain to require soon a new edition. We should like to suggest that he should enlarge its scope, so as to give us more detailed hints from his own varied and carefully recorded experience on many points where he is now content to quote from other well-known works on composition. Might we also suggest, that in this case he should suppress the rather scornful note on p. 6, against the proposed substitution of French and German for Classics in the case of certain students? The grounds for this proposal lie far outside a mere comparison of the languages: and they commend themselves, as Dr. Postgate must be aware, to many who are earnest believers in the Classical tongues as educational instruments. Even if it were not so, the modernisers would not be converted by the bald assertion that 'it will not be long before Englishman will (except for special reasons) as little think of learning either [French or German] as they do now of learning Dutch or Welsh.'

A. S.

PLESSIS ON GREEK AND LATIN METRE.

Traité de Métrique grecque et latine, par F. PLESSIS. Paris, Klincksieck. pp. x., 336. 3 fr.

THIS little work forms one of the useful series in which Riemann's *Latin Syntax* and some others noticed in this *Review* have already appeared. It is based, in a great measure, on the *Métrique grecque et latine* of Havet and Duvau (1888), the *Métrique* of Gleditsch in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, and the well-known works of Lucien Müller and Wilhelm Christ. But the matter is well digested, and the subject is set before the reader with clearness and precision. After some preliminary 'notions générales,' the author proceeds to treat of the construction of the hexameter and pentameter in both languages, and then of the various iambic and lyric metres. In a series of short excursions he deals with the position of words in Latin verse, the relative proportion of dactyls and spondees in the first halves of hexameters and pentameters, the prosody of archaic

Latin including the Saturnian metre, and the law, commonly known as Meineke's, of the division of Horace's odes into quatrains. The correctness of such a division he impugns. There is lastly an Index Rerum so constructed as to include a sufficient explanation of the grammatical and metrical terms employed.

The scientific method which characterizes good modern handbooks, even when the subject is versification, has something in it rather chilling to the young student. It is formidable to see tabulated, as here (p. 80), the exact percentage of elisions in Catullus, Propertius, and the rest; or to have calculated decimally the permutations of dactyls and spondees admitted by those poets in the open feet (pp. 281 *sqq.*). With some minds the result might be a distaste for efforts at verse composition, like the disinclination felt for reading Shakespeare after a study of end-stopped lines and weak endings. But the process is inevitable, and in the manual before us the thing is certainly done well.

One advantage of treating Greek and Latin metres side by side is that the continuity of development pervading them can be better seen. The way the pentameter forms a connecting link between the *κατὰ στίχον* and the lyric metres (p. 100), the gradual restrictions on its last syllables (p. 116), and the slow but subtle influence of accent (pp. 295-6), are clearly brought out. The subject of accent, indeed, as affecting and affected by metre, is an interesting one, and one which has not received in English text-books the attention it deserves. Discarding the use of the terms *arsis* and *thesis*, as being now generally understood in a sense exactly contrary to their original one, the author adopts a notation (p. 3) slightly differing from that of Havet and others to designate the *temps fort*, or stress, as distinguished alike from quantity and the tonic, or true, accent. The first of these three he makes equivalent to the modern accent (p. 34), while the last was simply a momentary raising of the pitch, a 'note musicale plus élevée.' Such lines as :

Itáliam fáto prófugus Lavínáque vénit

show how unaffected the metrical stress was by the accent proper. The fact no doubt remains that in the last two feet of the hexameter we often find the stress or *temps*

fort and the accent coincide, as in 'rura manebunt,' 'lumine caelum,' and such like common types. But Havet (*Métrique*, p. 60) will not allow this to have been intentional, and he decides that 'le rôle de l'accent est absolument nul dans la versification latine.' Weil and Benloew, in their *Théorie générale de l'Accentuation latine* (a treatise unfortunately now out of print), come to much the same conclusion (p. 241), on the ground of the tendency of the Latin accent to coincide with the stress (the Romans having for example no words accented like *Αἰσχύλος*), and of stress again to coincide with quantity. In the long run accent carried the day, and made possible the metres of the Christian poets.

Not the least valuable part of the book is that in which the writer treats of archaic prosody (*Excurs.* iii.), especially as affecting the scansion of Plautus. The book is carefully printed, and we have noticed very little to add to the list of errata. On p. 222, in the first line of note 2, 'sur la finale' should be 'sur l'initiale,' and the last number on p. 279 should be 42 instead of 41. We think the work will be found very serviceable in the higher forms of classical schools.

J. H. LUPTON.

VIERECK'S OFFICIAL GREEK.

Sermo Graecus quo Senatus populusque Romanus magistratusque populi Romani usque ad Tiberii Caesaris aetatem in scriptis publicis usi sunt examinatur : scripsit PAULUS VIHERECK, Dr. Ph. Gottingae, MDCCCLXXXVIII. (5 Mark).

THE subject of this careful and scholarly prize-essay ('praemio regio ornata') may at first sight appear to be of narrow range, but the reader will find it opening out in various interesting directions. When Rome became mistress of the Eastern world, she had to treat with her subjects in their own tongue, and that tongue was Greek: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*. In the West, indeed, the Roman official might usually employ his native Latin, although probably Greek was the channel of communication between Rome and Carthage in the times of Hannibal; while in Magna Graecia we find *Senatus-consulta* inscribed in Greek, and not in Latin,

late in the first century A.D. (*C.I.G.* 5836, 5838, 5843). But in Greece proper, and over those large tracts of the world which had been Hellenised under the Diadochi, Greek was the official language: even in Palestine the Roman decree or treaty was inscribed in Greek as well as Latin (p. xii).

The writer first addresses himself to the task of collecting and arranging the texts of all the inscribed documents which come within his scope. These are set out in full, the readings being subjected to careful criticism. First come ten Letters from Roman magistrates, the earliest being Flamininus's letter to Cyretiae (circ. 196 B.C.) and the latest (p. 47) a letter of Cn. Lentulus Augur to Nysa (B.C. 1). Next follow eleven *Senatusconsulta*, most of them in excellent preservation and of considerable length, their number being swelled by several more in the Addenda. A third class is formed by the Treaties. None of these documents are

new, and many of them have long been familiar. But they gain greatly in interest by being thus grouped together, and the student of Roman history may perhaps find in this collection some documents that have escaped his notice amid the scattered literature of epigraphy. Some of the *Senatus-consulta* were first published by me in Part iii. of the *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, and if this Essay had then lain before me it would have saved me much trouble in restoring the texts. The collection might have been greatly enlarged, had the author wished to proceed further than the reign of Tiberius. Imperial letters addressed to the Greek cities are being brought to light in almost every excavation. Some are the merest 'notelets': but Greek servility inscribed them all. At this day however they have a certain value, if only in the chronological data furnished by their headings. Few however are so curious as the document discovered at Acraephiae last year (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* xii, 1888, p. 510), which gives us a verbatim report of the high-flown address of the Emperor Nero to the Greeks at Corinth, in proclaiming the liberty of Hellas, Nov. 28, A.D. 66.

Our author, after placing the documents before us, proceeds next (pp. 55 foll.) to criticise their language, under the various heads of orthography, inflexions, syntax, vocabulary and style. There is no doubt whatever that these Romano-Greek documents received their Greek dress at Rome, and were transmitted in Greek to the Provinces. In grammar and diction they differ but little from each other, or from the Greek commonly spoken by educated persons in that day. Latinisms, indeed, of idiom abound, but the number of Latin words bodily transferred into the Greek tongue is remarkably small: nearly every Roman official term received at once its official Greek translation. We must remember that it was as essential for a Roman statesman, even under the Republic, to speak Greek as for an English public man to-day to speak French (cp. Livy, xlv, 29); it was usual for Greek envoys to address the Senate in their own tongue. The extant letters of the Roman politicians afford an amusing evidence of the extent of their acquaintance with Greek. Flamininus's Greek style is crude, involved and obscure; his diction is commonplace, like that of Polybius (p. 75), and not free from Latinism and bad grammar. Mark Antony, whom Cicero so unmercifully banters about his rhetorical

studies, affects a verbose and grandiloquent manner, not always strictly grammatical (p. 77). The literary revival of the Augustan age is reflected in the elegant Greek of Augustus's own letters (p. 78): and very curious ones they are, as illustrating Provincial life and government.

In the course of this discussion of points of style, some interesting illustrations occur of the change of meaning which some Greek words underwent in later days: e.g. *ἀνωτέρω* 'before' of time, or 'above' in a book; *καταχωρίζειν* 'to put on record in a book'; *φιλάνθρωπος* of kindness generally; *καταλογία*, 'distinction,' 'notice,' 'honour'; etc. These pages (72 foll.) are of value to the student of Hellenistic Greek. I doubt the statement made on p. 56 about the revived observance of the *iota adscriptum* in the Augustan age giving rise to its insertion where it was not wanted. Long before the Augustan age, in purely Greek documents of the time of the Diadochi, such otiose insertion of the *iota* was not unknown: Mr. Roberts agrees with me in reading *ὀρκῶσ[αι]* in line 20 of the Lygdamis inscription. Viereck does well, however, in declining to call forms like *ἀπὸ ἑλλοσσαν*, *ἐπασαν* 'Alexandrian,' since they are found equally in other parts of Greece (p. 59).

A separate discussion is reserved (p. 85) for the Greek version of the *Marmor Ancyranum*, which departs so far from ordinary standards of grammar and style, that Nissen believed it to have been made from the Latin by a Gaul of Ancyra. Viereck suggests that the inferior style of this document may readily be accounted for by its length and the great complexity of its contents. These afforded more opportunity for the exhibition of ignorance than the much more simple and formal documents we have hitherto been discussing. He concludes that the Greek of the *Marmor Ancyranum* was drafted by a Roman official in Rome itself, and was transmitted to Galatia, by order of Tiberius upon the request of the people of the province, to be inscribed on the walls of temples dedicated to Caesar-worship.

The examination of so many authentic inscribed documents qualifies the author to proceed yet further, and to discuss the specimens of *Senatusconsulta* and official letters which occur in Polybius, in Josephus and in the Book of Maccabees. Internal evidence satisfies him that Polybius had before him Greek originals of public documents (p. 90). Josephus is convicted of gross carelessness, and something worse, in

his handling of *Senatusconsulta* and official letters borrowed by him from the collections of others. But there is no ground for doubting the substantial accuracy of the documents themselves, which were mostly borrowed from Nicolaus Damascenus, though little trust is to be placed in their headings and the titles assigned to the Roman officials in

them; these are due to the unscrupulous pen of Josephus.

The essay is made the more useful by some good indices. I have noted only one glaring misprint; p. 7, line 11: *templum Veneris Ephesiae*, for *Dianae*.

E. L. HICKS.

PLOIX'S LA NATURE DES DIEUX.

La Nature des Dieux. Par CHARLES PLOIX.
1888. 10 fr.

ONE opens this book, which consists of only 470 pages, with a pleasurable expectation, first because it is written by a Frenchman, and therefore it is not likely to be dull or obscure, and secondly because of the title. The student of the classical religions might hope that he will here find—not one more theory added to the endless number concerning the origins of those religions—but a work which we in England especially need on the actual religious ideas of Greece and Rome in the historic periods. But the whole book is a theory of origins, and its title is an illusion; it is also an astonishing, perhaps an expiring, effort of the familiar school, in which we have all been trained, of philologico-physical mythology. In his preface M. Ploix disclaims style and aspires merely to science. But the book has of course the usual French excellences of style, piquancy of expression and lucidity, while as regards science it reminds us of Mr. Lang's treatise on 'the Gladstone Myth': only M. Ploix means his book to be taken very seriously. It is in fact nothing less than a key to all the polytheistic religions; for what he discovers of the Greeks and the Romans he maintains must be true of the whole human race. Thus at the outset we are startled with the enormous assumption—with the proof of which he does not trouble himself—that 'la marche de l'intelligence humaine a dû être partout la même.'

Plurality of causes is excluded at a single stroke. Ancestor-worship, the sense of the Infinite, personification of moral ideas, and other possible explanations, cannot be applied to any religion of any branch of the human race if they are found not to apply to the religion of Greece and Rome. If one could believe this, one would at least save oneself trouble. With this advantage to start with

M. Ploix works out the great single idea with which his book is inspired, namely, that all the Greek and Latin divinities except Zeus are personifications of the twilight. He has at least maintained his originality, for the twilight is the one department of nature that has not been over-run by his fellow-mythologists. We have become very familiar with the apparitions of the sun, the moon, the wind and the lightning, etc., in the forms of Apollo, Dionysos, Hera, Athene, and many others, but Apollo, Demeter, Proserpine, Eros and Ares as dawn-divinities of twilight are novel characters. M. Ploix is very contemptuous of solar theories, and holds some very peculiar views about the sun. He thinks that primitive man paid very little attention to it, and did not regard it as the cause of light, and supposed it was a very slow thing, and that therefore he could not have personified it as a fast-running hero such as Apollo or Hermes. 'Le soleil ne paraît avoir été anthropomorphisé chez les Grecs et les Latins.' This is a strange statement in the face of the worship of Helios at Rhodes and elsewhere, and his very human activity in many Greek legends.

However, though he disregards all solar, lunar or astral explanations, he maintains as an indisputable view that the divinities were personifications of celestial phenomena: in the first place, because Devas and Divi and Zeus contain a root meaning bright: therefore they must be sky-divinities or deities of light. We are familiar with this argument through Professor Max Müller's writings; but modern philologists by no means accept this conclusion. For the same root may be used for the expression of two independent though cognate ideas: of two derivatives from the same root the one may denote a 'bright being,' the other the 'bright sky,' and yet the bright being need not be a personification of the sky. And after all the Greeks did not speak of Divi but *θεοί*, and

what else this word means besides 'gods' no one yet knows, though M. Ploix thinks he does.

A second argument that M. Ploix urges is the way in which he supposes polytheism arose from fetichism—for he admits promiscuous fetichism as a prior stage. There is some truth and ingenuity in his argument that terrestrial fetiches, because they mostly could not move about, were sooner detected and deposed, and became mere material things; while the celestial fetiches were very active and could maintain the illusion better: more myths were therefore told about them and remained long after the fetich-belief was exploded; thus when no other active and intelligent agency was admitted except that which was human or like human, these persistent myths which seemed to speak of active agency in the heavens gave rise to the belief in personal agents existing there, the deities of the Greek Pantheon.

This exposition is the sanest part of the book but, as it implies that the personal divinities were not likely to be evolved from terrestrial 'fetiches,' there are obvious objections to it: the chief one is the very primitive belief in the earth-goddess and in divinities that clustered round her or emanated from her. Gaia—whom M. Ploix scarcely notices—was a real person with oracular gifts, who certainly was evolved from that largest of all terrestrial fetiches, the earth. And in spite of M. Ploix, divinities such as Cybele, Demeter, Dionysos, had far more affinity with Gaia than they had with twilight.

Another proof he urges in favour of the exclusive supremacy of the celestial personages is that mankind always worship the cheerful and benevolent, not the dark and malign power. Does M. Ploix consider lightning and snakes as cheerful and benevolent, or has he failed to notice that some old Greeks worshipped Python before Apollo killed him, and that the Arcadians worshipped unpersonified thunder and lightning: that Briareus-Aegaeon in Euboea and Tityos, whom Apollo had to slay for his wickedness, are not known to have been benevolent powers, and are yet known to have received worship? He will not admit the existence at any time of animal-worship in Greece; but if the primitive Greeks never worshipped animals, they yet exposed themselves to the gravest suspicions of having done so. Maintaining then that it is only the celestial phenomena that could give birth to divinities, he finds that the only department of nature

in which he can conveniently plant his divinities is the twilight. And certainly the twilight answers the purpose of explaining all the Greek deities and heroes quite as well as the sun; or rather, all the departments of nature, each in its turn, serve almost equally well the purpose of physical allegory.

But the twilight has especial advantages for M. Ploix' argument: it is beautiful, and all the deities are beautiful, except Hephaestus, whom M. Ploix considers to be a twilight 'manqué': it is combative, that is, the morning twilight prevails over the powers of darkness, and the gods also are combative, using spears on occasion, which are the shafts of the morning light. But the subtlest proof of all is the proof derived from the fact that the twilight is the 'commencement' of the day, and M. Ploix finds that nearly all the Greek and Latin deities were deities of 'commencement.' One might doubt whether one is allowed to style a god thus, because the worshippers happened to invoke him when they were beginning something serious. But M. Ploix can plead this much in favour of his theory, that most of the deities and heroes did something and invented something, and therefore must have 'commenced' doing and inventing it.

His observations of nature are innocent, though irrelevant; but his playing with the meaning of names is more serious. 'Αθάνατος as a predicate of a god does not mean 'immortal,' but 'not dead,' as a primitive Greek might remark of his dawn-deity when he saw a fresh twilight in the sky. With quite as much right the Greek might have called himself *άθάνατος* when he got up in the morning. Scarcely any epithets of divinities will he allow to be moral epithets originally: *bonus optimus* he would translate by physical terms (perhaps *bonus* = *duonus* = double = twilight, the twilight being double and most deities having a double aspect, one good and one bad: *optimus* = brilliant, root 'op').

He does not see that to suppose of the distinct Greek and Latin nations that they could not spontaneously predicate moral terms of their deities is to suppose them to be in a state of extraordinary intellectual savagery.

Then he is abnormally prone to the usual error of his school of imputing to the ordinary terms of Greek and Latin writers prehistoric and allusive senses: for instance, Eros is twilight because among other reasons Sophocles in his *Antigone* in the famous ode calls him *άνικατος*, and M. Ploix does not

seem to recognise that Sophocles is writing of the invincible power not of twilight but of love. He maintains that Ἰμερος, whom Hesiod places in Aphrodite's company, does not mean 'desire,' but 'day' = ἡμέρα: for he does not seem to know that the personification of abstract ideas is earlier than Hesiod, and that a capital letter does not radically change the meaning of a Greek word. (We might as well regard the ἱμερος δαριστῦς and πάρφασις in the girdle of Aphrodite as twilight-powers.)

Again, he has the audacity to suggest that Ἀντρέως meant the 'counter-twilight,' although this is a word and figure that was invented very late—some thousands of years after the word Ἔπως could have possibly meant the twilight. His indifference to chronology is also shown in his indiscriminate use of texts, Orphic literature being quoted as a proof of primeval ideas, and Albričius' treatise *De deorum imaginibus* being referred to as a classical authority. Of archaeology he appears to be absolutely ignorant, and his few references to archaeological evidence are worthless. But his

worst offence is his philology, which is perhaps more unscientific than that in which any modern writer of his school has ever indulged. 'Pallas' and 'pallidus' are connected 'because Greek and Latin are kindred languages'; Ἔπως is a derivative from the root *ar* = 'brilliant,' a theory which appears to be possible only if one disregards the stern laws of vowel-change, or if one makes no distinction between a long and a short *a*.

The mythologic theory and the philology of M. Ploix are antiquated: and the method of argument on which the whole book depends—the deduction of all the derivative qualities of the divinity from one single original idea—is wholly unconvincing. He ignores the fact that a nation as it progresses may predicate new functions and powers of its divinities independently of the original idea; or may adopt from some alien religion divine personages fully-formed and endowed with a complex moral nature which, for those who adopt them, has no connection at all with any physical phenomena.

L. R. FARNELL.

SOPHOCLES'S GREEK LEXICON.

Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100, by EVANGELINUS APOSTOLIDES SOPHOCLES. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887. £2 2s.

A FULL notice of the above work must include some account of the life and character of its author. Professor Sophocles was born at Changaranda, near Mount Pelion in Thessaly, in 1807. He entered the monastery of Mount Sinai as a student and was connected with it several years during the Greek revolution (1821-28), living chiefly in the mother-convent at Cairo. He evidently cherished pleasant recollections of these early years, and maintained relations with the Sinaitic convent to the close of his life. He came to the United States under the patronage of a Foreign Missionary Society (A.B.C.F.M.) in 1829, and after studying at the Academy at Monson, Mass., entered Amherst College, but did not stay through the regular course. He taught in Hartford and was assistant in the Yale College library at New Haven. In 1842 he became tutor in Greek in Harvard College and served in that

position until 1845, and from 1847 to 1859. In 1859 he was appointed adjunct professor of Greek, but in the next year he was transferred to the University Professorship of Ancient, Byzantine, and Modern Greek, in which chair he remained until his death in December 1883. He began early to publish text-books for students of Greek. Most known among these are his *Greek Grammar*, *Romæ Grammar*, *Catalogue of Anomalous Verbs* and *History of the Greek Alphabet*. His life at Cambridge was singular and striking to eccentricity. He never married, and lived a secluded life, using two rooms for all purposes, and often acting as his own cook and house-keeper. He partook of his simple meals on the very table which served him as a desk for the writing of this monumental *Lexicon*. His behaviour towards strangers, especially his own countrymen, was not always attractive and he came to have the reputation among them of being crabbed and cynical, but those who had the privilege of a more intimate acquaintance with him found him cordial and tender-hearted. His characteristic as a scholar was penetration. He seemed to see at a glance

what cost others time and labour in acquiring, and so, although he was not versed in German and not acquainted with the results of German research in Philology except as reproduced in English and Latin, the extent and accuracy of his scholarship was not inferior to that of the German masters themselves. The surest evidence of this is the work before us.

This work was first published as vol. VII. (new series) of the 'Memoirs of the American Academy' under the title of 'Glossary of Later and Byzantine Greek.' In 1870 it was republished by the author in an enlarged form under its present title, and again in 1887 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College in a memorial edition. Of this edition, a note by the editor tells us that it differs from the second impression of 1870 by the correction of nearly two hundred evident inadvertencies and 'a few instances of additions.' The *Lexicon* is then substantially as Sophocles left it. As appears from the title itself, it is a work of a very different character from Du Cange's *Glossarium mediae et infimae Graecitatis*. First of all, the periods of the Greek language covered by the two works are not the same. Du Cange's period extends apparently down to his own day (1688). Sophocles does not attempt to deal with writings later than 1100 A.D. the date of the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders. Although the starting-point in both is the same, it does not appear that Du Cange makes any use of the LXX and of the New Testament or other early Christian writers; so that altogether the fields of the two works coincide only for a space of 500 or 600 years. Sophocles refers to over 550 titles; Du Cange to nearly 1100, of which however a large number are titles of brief works separately mentioned which appear in Sophocles' list unified under titles of collected works of authors. Thus Sophocles's 550 titles represent by no means a proportionately lesser body of literature. Again, of Du Cange's 1100 titles 650 were edited at the time he wrote his *Glossary* and the remainder were consulted in MS. form. Since so large a portion of his field was inaccessible to scholars generally, Du Cange as a rule gives complete quotations for illustration of his definitions, while Sophocles in general simply refers to passages of published works. Hence Du Cange saves the student the labour of searching through whole sections in order to verify references, but loses in point of compactness and clearness. Sophocles is able to compress into the same space a larger

number of definitions and references than Du Cange. We turn to a word like λύσις and find in Du Cange two senses attached to it: (1) *rescripta et responsa imperatorum*, supported by seven citations, and (2) *reconciliatio ecclesiae*, supported by one. In Sophocles the same word is found in nine different meanings: (1) *loosening*, with one reference, and idiom λύσις κοιλίας, (2) *divorce*, two ref., (3) *absolution*, two ref., (4) *barley-meal*, two ref., (5) *resolution* of a long syllable to two short ones, two ref., (6) *omission of conjunction* = *asyndeton*, one ref., (7) *rescriptum*, four ref., (8) *seminal emission*, one ref., (9) *permission, leave*, one ref. The common word ἀφορίζω is not found in Du Cange, but its radical meaning is given under the derivative ἀφορισμός as *censurae ecclesiasticae species communionis privatio*, with three distinct citations and a *passim* reference to the Synodical Decrees of the Greek Church. Sophocles in treating the word gives the verb separately with the following senses, each abundantly supported by references: (1) *to separate*, (2) *to separate and cut out*, (3) *to excommunicate* = ἀκωνόητον ποιεῖν, (4) *to put in the ἀφορίστρια* (a sort of dungeon in monasteries); and in addition he treats separately of the following derivatives, altogether omitted by Du Cange: ἀφόρισμα, ἀφοριστικός, ἀφοριστικῶς, ἀφορίστρια. In the treatment of this latter word there appears another feature of Sophocles's work as compared with that of Du Cange, viz. the methodical arrangement of the various definitions and a general progress from the generic to the specific, and from the etymological to the historical sense. Perhaps another common word of the Byzantine period will illustrate this difference. For σήκηρον (σέκρερον) Du Cange gives the meanings: (1) *secretarium aedis sacrae*, (2) *secretarium forum tribunal juridicum*. Sophocles is more methodical as follows: (1) *secret*, (2) *privy chamber*, (3) *office, apartment of an office*, (4) *an association* (Porph. Cer. 6). Very notable is this difference in the word εὐαγγέλιον. Both lexicographers give it eight different senses, but an examination shows that those given by Du Cange are within a narrow range, whereas Sophocles's treatment proceeds on a regular method and covers all the usages of the word, as the following summary of the treatment will make plain. Du Cange: (1) *evangelium, Novum Christi Testamentum*, (2) *liber ecclesiae Graecorum in quo descripta sunt evangelia*, (3) = εὐαγγέλια ἐωθινά, (4) = εὐαγγέλια ἐωθινὰ ἀναστάσιμα, (5) = εὐαγγέλια ὁσιακά, (6) = μικρὰ εὐαγγέλια, a mulieribus vice φυλακτῆριων

gestata, (7) = εὐαγγελιστάριον, (8) = τετρα-εὐάγγελον, *codex quatuor evangeliorum*, &c. Sophocles: (1) *good tidings*, (2) applied to the revelation by Christ = *Gospel*, (3) *Gospel*, a history of Christ, (4) *the gospels collectively*, (5) *the book containing the four gospels*, (6) *the gospel of the day*, (7) *evangelistary*, the book containing the gospel of each day, (8) *a book of faith*; cf. εὐαγγέλιον Εὔας, Ἰούδα, Σκυθιανοῦ. This compactness and method naturally enable and lead Sophocles to notice unusual meanings of words not noted by Du Cange. The word ἐκκλησία is found in Du Cange in the ordinary senses of: (1) *conventus Christianorum*, (2) *Aedes in quam conveniunt fideles*, and (3) *cathedrales civitatum* (cf. μεγάλαι ἐκκλησίαι). In addition to these, all mentioned by him, Sophocles gives: (4) *local church*, (5) *Ecclesia*, female of Aeon in the Valentinian theogony, (6) Roman *comitia*, and a note on οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας or οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας = *members of the true church*. Quite often the two works are equally full, but each in a different line; e.g. εὐλογία is given in Du Cange in nine senses and in Sophocles in seven. Of Du Cange's nine the first appears as (3) in Sophocles, the second as (4), the third as (5), the fourth and fifth not at all, unless they be referred to (1) = *blessing* in general; the sixth appears as (7), the seventh as (2); the eighth, like the fourth or fifth, not at all or under (1), and the ninth (*pestis species*—small pox, no doubt) not at all. On the other hand, Sophocles adds as (6) = *nuptial benediction* = στεφάνωμα. Similar is the case with other words, cf. σταθάριος, ἀββᾶς, τόπιον. Occasionally a word quite fully treated in Sophocles is not found in Du Cange's *Glossary*, cf. ὀφείλω, σαλεύω. But above these differences, a special excellence of Sophocles in comparison with Du Cange is his philological treatment of words. His knowledge of the history of the Greek language is complete; he is familiar not merely with classic antecedents of his special period of that history, but also with the various streams that have flowed in and mingled with it, and as a rule he traces words of foreign origin to their respective sources, as he also generally connects purely Greek words with their classic antecedents. Thus Latin words are traced to the Latin, and Hebrew or other Shemitic words to their Shemitic roots. There are of course exceptions, cf. ἀββᾶς, Φαρισαῖος, Σαδδουκαῖος; but perhaps these are treated like proper names. The Egyptian origin of βαῖον (as per Stephens) Sophocles either consciously or unconsciously omits. Combined with this

linguistic knowledge we discern a peculiar familiarity with the customs, institutions, and history of the Eastern (Greek) church in Sophocles which at times goes beyond even Du Cange's thorough acquaintance with these things. On δεσπότης, for example, Du Cange merely gives the secular sense of *dominus*; while Sophocles gives: (1) *master* in general, (2) *emperor, emperor's son*, and (3) *the ecclesiastical bishop, priest*.

This comparison need not be carried into matters of external and mechanical execution, such as type and form. It goes without saying that in these respects the more modern work is an improvement upon the old. It is enough to point out the cumbrous system of appendices and addenda in Du Cange, in contrast with Sophocles's perfect simplicity. Nor need anything more than the mere fact of Sophocles's independence from Du Cange be noted here. His method of treatment, his point of view, his references and quotations are different. A comparison of ten words with an aggregate of about 150 references by Du Cange and 200 by Sophocles shows that only about 15 to 20 references are identical. (Greater precision is impossible owing to the difference in the titles as quoted by the two lexicographers, and the inaccessibility of many of Du Cange's authors.)

Altogether, Du Cange's *Glossarium* is more of a collection of short historical monograms on a list of words, whereas Sophocles's *Lexicon* is a lexicon with more or less precise etymological and methodical definitions.

But aside from comparison with Du Cange's *Glossary*, this work of Sophocles may be commended as at present the only aid to the scholar in his studies of the earlier Greek Fathers. It is not perfect of course. In its introductory portion, one or two changes would increase its scientific and logical character: e.g. in the periodology of the Greek language, we fail to see the importance of the hegiric era 622 as an epoch-making date; the event it marks was too remote to exercise a direct influence on the course of the Greek language. It would be much better to substitute the year 780 (the date of the separation of the Eastern and Western churches), as marking a new departure in Byzantine history. A similar change of the beginning of the Alexandrian period from 283 to 332, though less obvious, would nevertheless be a real improvement.

Every one will sympathise with the author when he tells us in the prefatory note that he had been compelled to leave out certain

classes of words there described, 'the alternative being to give up the intention of publishing the book.' All omissions of words familiar to the scholar from classical usage will naturally be attributed to this same necessity; but why should distinctly post-classical (Roman and Byzantine) usages be omitted, such as the meanings of *κύων* (1) = *fetlock joint of a horse* (Hesych.), (2) = *κυνικός σπασμός* (Gal. VIII. 41), (3) = *crust used as spoon and thrown to the dogs* (Eust. 1859, 19), (4) = *a throw at dice*; Lat. *canicula damnosi canes* (Poll. IX. 100; Eust. 1289)? Or under *διδάσκω* the phrase *διδάσκειν τὸν λαόν* = *to preach*, or under *κλέπτω* the sense of *concealing* (Syn. 283 C)?

Again Sophocles is not perfectly consistent in the omission of classical words; or in the grammatical suggestions appended, e.g. he gives the fut. of *βηματίζω* but the aor. of *βηγλέω*, *βιωθανατέω*, and neither the fut. nor the aor. of *βαιομαχέω*. Or, in proper names, he gives *Ἰεροσόλυμα*, *Ἰεριχὺ*, *Ἀλεξάνδρεια*, but leaves out *Δαμασκός*, *Ἰόππη* &c., just as common and important, or *Γάμαλα*, *Γίσχαλα*, *Ἰωτάπατα* &c. (Josephus) less known. If the choice in all these points is on principle, a brief intro-

ductory note would help the user as a guide when to consult and when not to consult this *Lexicon*. It would have been better also, especially for the use of students, to give the English of Greek equivalents, either with or instead of the Greek. The word *ἀβίβλαβον* is given as = *κρίνον*, *ήμεροκαλλίς*, which is familiar to the scholar, but not to the student; and so with a large number of equivalents.

But these are mere blemishes in a great work. It is not to be denied that a great step forward was taken in Greek lexicography when this *Lexicon* made its appearance. But the diligence with which historians are at present investigating Byzantine literature deserves and demands a fuller and more scientific work, and the next step forward must be in that line. Hence we cannot look with unmixed joy upon the announcement of a *facsimile* reprint of Du Cange's *Glossary*. If this reprint is to serve as a mere historical monument, it is well; but if it is to occupy the place which belongs to a more modern and exhaustive work, it is to be deprecated.

A. C. ZENOS.

Vollständiges Wörterbuch über die Gedichte des Homeros und der Homeriden, nach dem früheren Seilerschen Homerwörterbuch neu bearbeitet von CAPELLE. Neunte verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig, 1889. Mk. 4.80.

THE ninth edition of a well-known work, improved but not greatly altered, demands no extended review; but the preface calls attention to the notable number of important works on Homer which have appeared since the publication of the eighth edition in 1889, and every page bears the marks of careful revision. In the great majority of cases, the best meanings and derivations are given concisely, and a long list might be made of words about which this dictionary gives better information than is found in the seventh edition of Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*. E.g. *πεφυζότες* X 1 must mean 'frightened,' cf. *φύζα* I 2, for which L. and S. makes no provision; *μέλλεν μὲν ποτε οἶκος ὅδ' ἀφνειὸς καὶ αὐτόμων* α 232, L. and S., 'was destined to be' etc., instead of 'doubtless was,' as Capelle rightly has it. In *αἶ κεν ἐμὸς Ζεὺς | δῶ καμμοῖν, σὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀφέλωμαι* X 256 f., L. and S., following a prosaic scholiast, renders *καμμοῖν* by 'victory as the reward of steady courage.' Far better, if not necessary, is it to take *καμμοῖν* literally (with Capelle, 'Ausdauer'), 'steadfastness.' 'If Zeus grants to me to stand steadfast, and I take from thee thy life.' Here the first half verse is explained by the second.

Occasionally Capelle is unsatisfactory, and guilty of such slight inconsistencies as naturally arise in such a work. E.g. under *ψευδής* he treats of *ψευδέσσι* Δ 235; but explains this as *ψεύδεσσι*, under *ἀραγός*. But an immense amount of accurate information is

contained in this book of 605 pages, sold for about four shillings. This dictionary is a condensed commentary, and if a man were limited to one book on Homer, besides the text, he might well choose this.

T. D. S.

Dinarchi orationes adiectis Demadis qui fertur fragmentis ὑπὲρ τῆς δωδεκαετίας, iterum editit FRIDERICUS BLASS. 1888, Teubner. 1 Mk.

SINCE 1865 Professor Blass has been active as a student of Greek orators and oratory and has acquired a well deserved prestige in this field. Seventeen years have intervened between the first and this the second edition of Dinarchus. It would indeed be a matter of substantial interest to know how many copies of the first edition were issued, for it would enable one to judge of the extent of classical reading at large, particularly in the case of this, the last of the ten Attic orators, both in time and in literary attractiveness. One may say that these slender bequests of the Corinthian speech-writer owe their survival to the interest which history has shown in all the literary tradition that bears upon the career of Demosthenes.

The two most valuable MSS. are both in England, an Oxoniensis and a Crippsianus.

On the whole Blass has been conservative as an editor, rarely on the whole admitting the interpolations claimed by the Cobetian critic Kleyne, *Mnemosyne* (older series), viii. Blass says very sensibly, *praef.* p. ix.: '*ipse id tenui ne quod verbum ideo deletem, quia abesse potest vel posse videtur. Nimis facile est in quovis scriptore invenire quae recidere possint; sed non est oratoris qualis hic est quam paucissimis ubique verbis uti.*' Indeed one may

fitly characterize this speech-writer as long-winded and strong winded. It may safely be doubted whether in all the compass of classic Greek prose there can be found a more ponderous or more awkward period than that beginning §18 *contra Dem.* οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖτε and ending μὴ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις at the conclusion of § 21 (cf. *Transactions of the American Philol. Association* for 1885).

Some of the points to be noted after a comparison of the first and second editions of Blass' *Dinarchus* are the following. Blass now proceeds radically in making elision to avoid hiatus, not hesitating even where the resulting form might be ambiguous, as μηδέν for μηδένα. Many changes have been made in the matter of pointing, generally in the direction of more articulation. In questions of form and spelling he desires conformity with epigraphic evidence of the times and refers to Meisterhans' *Grammatica der Attischen Inschriften*. He writes the perf. of τρέπω τέτροφα. With one exception (§54 c. *Dem.*) he writes γίγνεται, not γίνεται, and spells Μουνιχία and ἐκτείνω for ἐκτίνω, ἐκτεῖσις for ἐκτίσις, probably from epigraphic considerations. Of passages where the reading is still in grave doubt we may note § 2 c. *Dem.* οὐ γάρ ἴν' ἐνοχλῶμεν κ.τ.λ. Following Meisterhans he reads ἐπιτεθηκότες in § 23 c. *Dem.* for ἐπιτεθεικότες of the MSS.

A few critical suggestions may be here appended. It was suggested (*Proceedings Am. Philol. Assoc.* for 1885, and *Am. Journal of Philol.* vol ix.) to insert οὐδέν after πάποτε c. *Aristog.* 15, in which remark we coincide with Bekker. τοιοῦτον for τοῖς τοῦτον in the same section would seem to be more in harmony with grammar and context. E. G. SIHLER.

New York.

In the *praefatio* xi. line 4, *Hermes* xxii. 78 is a mistake for 378.

Supplementa ad Procli Commentarios in Platonis de republica libros nuper vulgatos, edidit RICARDUS REITZENSTEIN. Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen. Viertes Band. Drittes Heft. Breslau, 1889. pp. 1—31. 1 Mk.

THIS short pamphlet has been issued in view of Cardinal Pitra's recent publication (from the MS. Gk. Vat. 2197) of Proclus's commentary on the story of Er, the son of Armenius, in *Tom. v.* part ii. of the *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata* (Parisii 1888). Cardinal Pitra seems to have been unaware that a second copy of this work of Proclus, made by Angelus Maius, is preserved in the Vatican library: and Reitzenstein has published a revised text of part of the commentary (= pp. 25—32 and pp. 1—12 of Vat. MS. 2197) from a comparison of the original MS. with Maius's copy. Pitra's text contained many errors, and probably was not finally revised by him when he died. Reitzenstein has corrected most if not all of his mistakes, and made many certain emendations where the manuscript is unintelligible, e.g. δαυτός for οἶτος on page 7, line 2: μὲν ὄν for μένον on 7, 23: ἀκην for διπλῆν on 9, 15: ἀνάγειν εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα for ἀνάγει τὸν αἰθέρα on 10, 24: ποιεῖν εἴκεν for ποιικεν of MSS. in 12, 14: χάσμα for χίσμα on 17, 30: ἀπ' ἁλλων for ἀπ' ἀλλήλων on 29, 14: and ὄχημα for σχήμα on 31, 7. It may however be doubted if the editor is justified in inserting ἐπὶ before τὸν αἰθέρα on page 10, 26, ὡς ἐπὶ δικαστικὸν τόπον ἀνίεναι τὸν αἰθέρα: in such cases, as is well known (Cobet, *Var. Lectiones*, p. 165 foll.), the preposition is idiomatically inserted only once, viz. after the ὡς (ὡσπερ, καθάπερ), provided the ὡς clause comes first. We have no reason for denying this elegancy even to Proclus. Reitzenstein will confer a boon on readers of Plato and Proclus if he will publish the remaining parts of the commentary. J. ADAM.

Bellum Alexandrinum, erklärt von R. SCHNEIDER. Berlin: Weidmann. 1888. pp. viii. 65. 90 pfg.

THE writings of Caesar's continuers were, until lately, among the most neglected portions of Latin literature. The text had been edited but textual criticism had not been applied in detail and, since 1830, no commentary appears to have been written on any part of them except the last book of the 'Gallic War.' But the energy recently developed in the study of Caesar has extended to his continuers also. Merguet and Menge-Preuss have indexed them, and Dr. Schneider offers a brief commentary on the pamphlet describing the Alexandrine war, that is the events from the battle of Pharsalus to Caesar's entry into Rome. The book comprises a short introduction, critical and explanatory notes, and an index. The critical notes give the readings of the four chief MSS. and select conjectures. In constituting the text, Dr. Schneider has been reasonably conservative (as conservatism is now understood); he appears, however, to rate the literary capacities of his author higher than previous scholars have done. Some of his conjectures are certainly attractive, e.g. ch. 8 *consolatione et hortatione* for c. et ratione; ch. 17 *Pharidae* for pariter; ch. 42 *in Illyricum sinum* for *in illum s.*, and the geographical restorations (for instance in ch. 52, *Ilipa* and *Naeva*) are well worth considering. If I may venture myself a suggestion, I would suggest *appetuntur* for *aplantur* in ch. i., comparing Caesar's *appetere unum gladio* (*Bell. Civ.* 2, 35). On the whole, Dr. Schneider's text is a distinct improvement on previous editions. The same cannot be said of the notes—for there is practically no previous edition on which they could constitute an advance. But they are (as would be expected from the writer) well chosen and scholarly, and, though never lengthy, they seldom leave the reader in the lurch. The whole book deserves to be very warmly recommended.

F. HAVERFIELD.

Der Codex Mediceus, Pl. xxxix. n. 1 *des Vergilius*, von DR. MAX HOFFMANN. Berlin, Weidmann, 1889. 3 Mk.

THIS is a new collation of parts of the Medicean manuscript of Vergil, comprising part of the sixth Eclogue, and the remaining Eclogues, the Georgics, and the first and sixth Aeneids. In minute details it supplements Ribbeck, who mainly depended on Foggini's transcript. The account of the different classes of corrections is especially interesting. As the corrected or double readings are all printed in facsimile, the collation will be of great service to students of Latin palaeography; but whether it throws much new light on the text of Vergil is very doubtful. H. N.

Lettres Inédites de Michel Apostolis, publiées par HIPPOLYTE NOIRET. Paris, Thorin, 1889.

A very interesting and valuable contribution to the history of Greek erudition in the fifteenth century. Michel Apostolis was a professor in Crete from 1455 to 1474 (or later) and lived during this troubled time by teaching, and copying Greek manuscripts. Forty-eight of his letters (the forty-seventh being incomplete) had been published by Legrand in the appendix to the second volume of his *Bibliographie Hellénique*. The present volume contains seventy-four more letters of Apostolis, hitherto unpublished, and now edited by M. Hippolyte Noiret, whose early death at the age of twenty-four is a great loss to letters. They were found in two Vatican MSS., *Palatinus Graecus* 375 (once at Heidelberg) and *Vaticanus*

Græcus 1395. The volume was prepared for the press and brought out by M. Desrousseaux, to whom Noiret was indebted for his first acquaintance with the two Vatican manuscripts. It contains (1) an account of the manuscripts: (2) an essay on the classification and chronology of the letters: (3) a biographical notice of Michel Apostolis and his numerous correspondents: (4) the letters themselves. In the case of the letters previously edited by Legrand only a collation of the newly discovered manuscript is given; the rest are printed in full.

H. N.

The Cradle of the Aryans. By G. M. RENDALL.
London: Macmillan. 1889. 3s.

THIS little work is not, and does not pretend to be, more than 'a clear account of present controversies regarding the origin, local and racial, of the Aryan stock.' The work is done probably as well as it could be done in the limited space of 63 pages. Mr Rendall gives the arguments of Schrader against accepting the Asiatic hypothesis, summarises Penka's works, and concludes in favour of 'the large northern plateau extending from the German Ocean to the confines of the Black Sea and Caspian watersheds' as the local origin of the Aryans; and considers that 'Penka has gone far towards establishing an association between Aryan speech and the race of blond whites, whose central and immemorial home is found in Scandinavia.'

Mr. Rendall 'makes no claim to original discoveries in the field of language.' In the field of anthropology he bases himself mainly on Penka, with the proviso that he is 'not competent to check Penka's anthropology.' However, if the English reader (for whom the book is intended apparently) comes, as he probably will come, to the conclusion that Penka's speculations are as yet too remote from actual facts, philological and anthropological, to provide even a working hypothesis, that will not be the fault of Mr. Rendall's way of summarising Penka. From the point of view of the history of culture one or two observations may be made. Mr. Rendall approves of the beech argument. But at the recent meeting of the British Association doubts were expressed as to the Königsberg-Crimea line: further search in the bogs east of that line might very well reveal the existence of beeches. Still greater weight

is assigned by Mr. Rendall to the anguilla—*ἔγχελος*—*ungurys*—*agulja* equation for 'eel.' He says: 'here then at last we are driven to a corner, and must accept the inference that the European unity was maintained.....at some point in Central or Western Europe which the evidence forbids us to place far east of Russia's western frontier. This if tenable will prove decisive to the whole controversy.' But it is at least conceivable that the agreement between the languages cited is casual, that each people quite independently of the rest used for the designation of the eel, when they made its acquaintance, a diminutive of a pre-existing common word for 'snake.' Surely two or more peoples might quite independently have called the eel a little snake? The lion question again is not quite settled by Mr Rendall. He may be quite right in concluding that the primitive Indo-Europeans knew nothing of the lion; but the fact that all members of the European branch have a common name for it—even though a loan-name—would seem to indicate that they jointly made the acquaintance of the lion after leaving the original home. The Indo-Iranians again made the lion's acquaintance separately after leaving the original home, wherever it may have been. Obviously we want some place which did not rejoice itself in lions, but was bounded both on the east and on the west by districts more favoured in this respect. Such a locality would be (not W. of the Königsberg-Crimea line but) the southern steppes of Russia, supposing the distribution of animals was in pre-ethnic times the same as it was in the times of Herodotus and Aristotle, who testify to the presence of lions in Thrace and the neighbourhood. Again, assuming that J. Schmidt's Undulation or Transition theory is true, and admitting that we must therefore suppose the original home to have been free from great physical obstructions, such as the Caspian and the Caucasus, we can only infer from this that the original home was a plain or plateau; we are not compelled to assume that the plain was west of the Caspian and north of the Caucasus. Finally, Mr. Rendall uses, I think, 'Aryan' indiscriminately as equivalent both to Indo-Germanic and Indo-Iranian; and this must be puzzling, e.g. on p. 34, to the class of reader for whom the book is intended. Schmidt's *Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse d. Indog. Spr.* more than once appears as *Verwantschaftsverhältnisse* etc.

F. JEVONS.

NOTES.

Hom. *Il.* xix. 221 sq.

αἰψά τε φυλόπιδος πέλεται κόρος ἀνθρώποισιν,
ἧς τε πλείστην μὲν καλᾶμην χθονὶ χαλκὸς ἔχενεν,
ἄμητος δ' ὀλίγιςτος, ἐπὴν κλίνῃσι τάλαντα
Zeús, ὅς τ' ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο τέτκεται.
225, γαστέρι δ' οὐ πως ἔστι νέκυν πενήθῃσαι Ἀχαιοῦς.
λίην γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπήρτιμοι ἥματα πάντα
πίπτουσιν· πότε κεν τις ἀναπνεύσειε πόνον;

'Swiftly, we know, do men find surfeit of battle, wherein, though the steel sheddeth on the earth haulm in plenty, yet the harvesting is but scant, what time Zeus hath inclined the balance, Zeus, who is a dealer out of war for men.' Odysseus had already (157) given his vote against sending the men fasting to the field, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔσται φύλοπις: he is here only repeating that advice under

a metaphor. 'The men,' he says, 'have a long (πλείστην) and thankless (ὀλίγιςτος) day's work before them: therefore they should have a good meal first, for they will find that Zeus is a ταμίης πολέμοιο, not a ταμίης, σιτοῖο δοτήρ (44). ἐπὴν κλίνῃσι κ.τ.λ. seems to mean no more than 'when the day is over,' the aor. subj. having, as is usual in this form of sentence, the force of an English fut. perfect. φύλοπις, then, will not be 'a pitched battle' as opposed to a 'siege,' nor will ἄμητος have any reference to 'plunder,' but is merely due to the metaphorical cast of the thought, which is kept up in 226, 'for very many in number and in thick piles are they mowed down,' as in 18, 533: δράγματα δ' ἄλλα μετ' ὀγμὸν ἐπήρτιμα πίπτον ἔραζε (quoted by La Roche, who notes that πίπτουσι is passive of ἔρχεσθαι, 221). And this perhaps determines the sense of the next

words (227), which Mr. Monro seems to regard as a merely parenthetical exclamation equivalent to 'we are never done fighting.' But if this were the sense, it may be doubted whether Homer would have added *κεν*, which is quite in place if the words have their protasis in the context: 'if we are to fast for every man that falls, then (*κεν*) indeed we have our work (*πόνος*) cut out for us.' That this sense of *πόνος*, 'hardship of fasting,' is not 'post-Homeric' perhaps appears from 22, 488:

ἦν περ γὰρ π ὁ λ ε μ ὄ ν γ ε φύ γ η πολύδακρυ ν Ἀχαιῶν,
αἰεὶ τοι τούτῳ γ ε π ὄ ν ο ς καὶ κήδε' ὀπίσσω
ἔσσοντ' ἄλλοι γάρ οἱ ἀπουρίσσουσιν ἀρούρας.

HOM. *Il.* xix. 76.

τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
αὐτόθεν ἐξ ἔδρης, οὐδ' ἐν μέσσοισιν ἀναστάς.

'Agamemnon spake from the place where he had been sitting and not after going to stand in the midst of the assembly.' Sch.: οὐ προελθὼν εἰς μέσσην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἢ ἣ, ἀναστὰς ἐδημηγούρει οὐκ ἐν μέσσοις, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας τῶν βασιλέων. The above view does not appear to conflict with *Od.* 13, 56:

οἱ δὲ θεοῖσιν
ἔσπεισαν μακάρεσσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν ἐϋρὺν ἔχουσι,
αὐτόθεν ἐξ ἔδρ' ἑών· ἀνὰ δ' ὕστατα οὐδὸς Ὀδυσσεύς
Ἀρήτη δ' ἐν χερσὶ τίθει δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον—

for surely the Phaeacians did not 'say grace' sitting, and ἀνὰ δ' ὕστατα obviously implies that Odysseus not merely rose from his seat but moved away to another place. L. 77 is bracketed by Mr. Monro and by Mr. Leaf, who objects that 'the distinction (between ἔδρης and ἐν μέσσοις) is void of meaning.' But his own note on 85 might suggest a defence of the line. It may be a part of the poet's attempt to convey the embarrassment Mr. Leaf well points out in Agamemnon's opening words, natural to a speaker who knows he is to blame (86 ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἴτιος εἰμί) and piqued at the applause (81 πολλὰ δὲ μάδω) which had followed Achilles's gallant speech (56–73). Already in 51 we find Agamemnon coming to the assembly δεῦτατος, ἔλκος ἔχων, making as it seems more fuss about his wound, though it was after all only in the arm, than did Tydides and Odysseus about theirs, who though hit in the leg arrived before him, σκάδοντε, and took their places μετὰ πρώτῃ ἀγορῇ (47–50). Where Agamemnon sat we are not precisely told; but it seems that on arising to address the assembly he was shy of taking the prominent place usually occupied by a speaker in the ἀγορά. If then the line is an 'emblem,' our old friend the interpolator cannot have been such a bad fellow after all: at least his verse is not unworthy of the author of a similar, though finer, touch in 21, 36, where Achilles comes an ἀνώιστον κακὸν to young Lykaon:

ὁ δ' ἐρινεὺν ὀξεὶ χαλκῷ
τάμνε νεὸς ὕρηκας, ἵν' ἔρματος ἄντυγες εἴεν.

But we now see that Mr. Leaf, with a far more 'remorseless hook' than innocent Lykaon's, threatens to lop off this beauty too from Homer's book.

W. T. LENDRUM.

* * *

HECATE.—Mr. Bury's ingenious etymology seems to be based on a fallacy. The comparison of Ἐκάτῃ with *ἐκατόν* is specious, but surely some account must be taken of the first syllables. It is not *ἐκατόν* but **-κατον* that corresponds to the Goth. *hund*.

There seems little objection to the explanation of the *έ-* adopted by Brugmann *Gr. Gr.* § 101. In any case it must be either (1) formative—has Mr. Bury any similar explanation to offer for the corresponding syllable of Ἐκάτῃ?—or (2) an (impossible) accretion—does Mr. Bury regard the *έ-* as a similar accretion to a different root, and if so can he justify such an extraordinary coincidence? The same objection will apply to his explanation of *ἐκάφεργος* and *ἐκηβόλος* as formed from the base *k(υ)η-*.

Mr. Bury makes Hecatus a masc. formed from Hecate, rather than *vice versa*. Is it not of some evidential value that the epithet *ἑκατος* of Apollo is common in Hom., whereas Ἐκάτῃ is post-Homeric?

ἐκατηβόλος may very well stand as a contamination from *ἑκατος* and *ἐκηβόλος*.

Finally a hint of at least the Homeric interpretation of the epithets may perhaps be seen in *Il.* i. 48.

J. H. VINCE.

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A PINDARIC SCHOLION.—*A vetus scholium* on Pindar, *Nemean* iii. 62 ἐν φρασὶ πάσαιθ' runs thus (ed. Abel, p. 103):

πλαγίως λογίσαιτο καὶ κρίνοι· ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς πέρας ἄγοι
Abel's note is: *num μή ante πλαγίως addendum?* I am surprised that none of the many German scholars who have investigated the Pindaric *scholia vetera* perceived the obvious correction of *πλαγίως*.

Read *παγίως* λογίσαιτο κ.τ.λ.

The whole point of the explanation of *πήξαιτο* is contained in *παγίως*.—

J. B. BURY.

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SOPH. *Antigone*, 2—3.

ἀρ' οἷσθ' ὅ τι Ζεὺς τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίου κακῶν
ὁποῖον οὐχὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶσαι τελεῖ;

It seems to be agreed that either *ἐστὶ* or *τελεῖ* is to be supplied here—with ὅ τι most editors say. Is it not possible that the 'τελεῖ' in the text is the 'τελεῖ' which belongs to ὅ τι and that it is with the other clause that *τελεῖ* has to be 'supplied' or 'understood'? If Sophocles had written

ἀρ' οἷσθ' ὅ τι Ζεὺς τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίου τελεῖ,
ὁποῖον οὐχὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶσαι, κακῶν;

he would have written harshly, but the construction would have been plain: the parenthetic clause would mean 'otherwise than upon us in our lives.' Now if the clause *ὁποῖον...ζῶσαι* be isolated by commas, or by pauses in actual delivery, the construction is equally plain:

ἀρ' οἷσθ' ὅ τι Ζεὺς τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίου κακῶν,
ὁποῖον οὐχὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶσαι, τελεῖ;

This is not altogether satisfactory, but the construction would at least be fairly clear to a hearer. How could an actor deliver the first line in such a way as not to excite vain expectation of a verb to follow? This he would have to do, if the *τελεῖ* in the text belongs to *ὁποῖον* οὐ.

* * *

SOPH. *Ant.* l. 4.

οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἀλγεῖν οὐτ' ἄτης ἄτερ
οὐτ' αἰσχρὸν οὐτ' ἀτιμὸν ἔσθ', ὁποῖον οὐ
τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν οὐκ ὥπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν.

This, the reading of the MSS., yields no tolerable sense, and most editors have directed their emenda-

tions to the words οὐτ' ἄτης ἄτερ. Prof. Jebb, however, has drawn attention to the scholium in *L* which proves that ἄτης ἄτερ was already the traditional reading in the time of Didymus, *circ.* 30 B.C. The Scholium runs: Δίδυμος φησὶν ὅτι ἐν τούτοις τὸ ἄτης ἄτερ ἐναντίως συντάσσεται τοῖς συμφραζομένοις· λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὔτε ἀλγεινόν, οὔτε ἀτηρόν, οὔτε αἰσχρόν δ' οὐκ ἔχουεν ἡμεῖς. ἄτης ἄτερ δέ ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθόν. Is it not possible that the true corruption may be confined to the word ἀλγεινόν, and that the line may originally have stood thus: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτ' ἀτηρόν οὐτ' ἄτης ἄτερ? In this case we shall have both in ἀτηρόν and οὐτ' ἄτης ἄτερ a reference to the semi-technical sense in which ἄτη is used by the tragedians of an hereditary curse, so that we may paraphrase: 'There is no misfortune involved by the curse upon our house, nor any general calamity either (*i.e.* not directly referable to that curse), etc. It would be in this sense then that Didymus remarked τὸ ἄτης ἄτερ ἐναντίως συντάσσεται τοῖς συμφραζομένοις. (The rest of the scholium I take to be not the words of Didymus, but an attempted explanation of them by the scholiast in *L*. The reading ἀλγεινόν may have originated from a gloss on the rarer word ἀτηρόν by a scribe who, failing to grasp the technical sense of ἄτη, did not perceive the true antithesis of ἀτηρόν and ἄτης ἄτερ.) C. B.

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SOPH. *Phil.* 1383.

πὼς γὰρ τις αἰσχύνοιτ' ἂν ὠφελομένους;

This line is usually left with the manuscript reading on the supposition that the verb has a unique middle sense. Wecklein tries to avoid this by suggesting ὠφελῶν τινά. If we read simply ὁ φίλ', ὠφελῶν, it is a perfectly easy matter to trace the process by which the manuscript reading was evolved. The very close similarity of ὁ φίλ' and ὠφελ- led, as usual, to the omission of the one. When ὠφελῶν alone was read, the line was easily seen to be metrically defective, so some copyist who thought more of sound than sense contrived to get good metre by the easy expedient of lengthening ὠφελῶν to ὠφελούμενος. Such a process of change is easy to parallel (*e.g.* the similar but still more intricate one traced by Prof. Jebb in *Soph. O. T.* 1099—1100). The ὁ φίλ' is specially appropriate, for Neoptolemus has been coaxing Philoktetes to come to Troy along with him, his proved friend, φίλου μετ' ἀνδρός, as he says a few lines above. And in his next words he assures Philoktetes that he is his friend (οἶ που φίλος γ' ὢν), and further on addresses him as δὲ τάν.

N. MACNICOL.

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PLATO, *Rep.* VI. 488c, ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει κ.τ.λ.—The sense is, that the sailors (οἰόμενοι, as in the MSS., may be ungrammatical but all the same natural) do not think that their star-gazing pilot will have either the knowledge or experience how to steer the ship (μήτε τέχνην μήτε μελέτην τούτου, ὅπως κυβερνήσει) without regard to their wishes. Stallbaum thinks we have here implied the modern contrast between scientific knowledge and practical skill; but this is entirely irrelevant and un-Platonic. It is not less un-Platonic, though far more plausible, to suppose that Plato asserts, in opposition to the disobedient sailors, the fitness of the scientific pilot to join in the scramble for power and to emerge from it victorious; and the same criticism must be applied to the substantially identical view of Grote and Mr. Sidgwick, though

they suppose that not the sailors, but the pilot holds that his knowledge in no way fits him to overcome the mutinous tendencies of the crew. The fact is that the philosopher has left the region of common sense altogether and is enforcing his paradox that Power is Knowledge, and Knowledge is Power—power even over the wills of our fellow-men; he is insisting that the mutinous sailors are wrong in supposing the observer of the stars to be a mere dreamer unable to handle the ships despite their opposition. The 1st book of the *Republic* has shown us how Plato regards the man of knowledge as a ruler (ιατρός = σωμάτων ἄρχων, κυβερνήτης = ναυτῶν ἄρχων), and a so-called ruler as no ruler at all unless he be a man of knowledge, since otherwise he defeats his own ends. The *Politicus* (to which Stallbaum refers but of which he makes insufficient use) shows the same thing in the abstract, viz: that Plato regards government as a part of science, γνωστική not πρακτική. Why he did so is not hard to understand, though at first sight the Aristotelian τὸ τέλος οὐ γνώσις ἀλλὰ πράξις seems no such recondite a truth. Perfect government, Plato saw, like perfect living, manifestly depends on knowledge; in fact it was the special function of Socrates and Plato to bring out this dependence. Again—as the *Politicus* shows—Plato's analysis of life, less complete than Aristotle's, made only two divisions of it, the Cognitive and the Productive which brings into existence σώματα πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα, 258e. Lastly ideal government and perfect knowledge tended to become identified in Plato's mind as the highest things he knew and worthy of equal reverence; he could not, like Aristotle, have calmly put πολιτική below θεωρία, though allowing of course the greater attractiveness of the latter. The thought that government was really the result of competing forces, of opposing wills, was abhorrent to him. Here he was less really wise than the disobedient sailors in his parable, who thought there was but one way to become master of a ship, namely to beg or intrigue for it, and felt sure that the scientific pilot had not learnt by τέχνη or μελέτη how to do that; and we agree with them, seeing that, thanks to Aristotle, we understand life better than Plato did and see that knowledge is the least part of ruling, the essential element being to make others obey you. When Plato attempts to force experience to corroborate his doctrine he has but poor success. For he can say but this—that, assuming government to include the suppression of opposing wills, the scientific pilot (it is to be noticed he is not called 'scientific' but ἀρχικός) or the scientific doctor still truly governs, for *in case of need* (εάν τις κἀμνη, 489b.) the law of nature and necessity (ἔχει φύσιν—ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, *ib.*) forces us to come to him and obey him whether we like or not. But some men have died rather than call in a doctor; ships have foundered because the crews would not accept the direction of the one competent man among them; and (to come to the sphere of government proper) the Ionians failed in their revolt and lost their independence because they would not be the obedient subjects of Dionysius of Phocaea. The man of skill and knowledge must thrust himself to the front, and it is well for the world that he sometimes does; though often elbowed out by noisy incompetence, it is happily not true that a man with the stuff for command in him (οὐ ἂν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τι ὕφελος ᾗ) never solicits power (489c; cf. 347a).

J. SOLOMON.

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HERODOTUS II. 22.

κῶς ἂν δῆτα ρέοι ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμωτάτων [τόπων] ῥέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα; τῶν τὰ πολλὰ ἐστι

ἀνδρὶ γε λογιζέσθαι τοιούτων περὶ οὐφ τε ἐόντι, ὥς οὐδὲ εἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μὲν βέειν· πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον, κ.τ.λ.

I have never seen and cannot devise any satisfactory method of construing the second clause of this sentence. As it stands, τῶν τὰ πολλὰ must refer back to what precedes, but it is evident from the beginning of the next sentence that some preparation for it is wanted in this. I believe that τεκμήρια lies concealed in τὰ and that τῶν therefore was not in the original, as it is not in all MSS.; a blot or gap in the MS. might easily cause the corruption. But exactly how the words between ψυχρότερα and πολλὰ ἐστὶ stood it seems now impossible to say. Stein's reading is still more incomprehensible to me than the vulgate.

A. PLATT.

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TRACES OF VERSE IN PROSE WRITERS. — Xen. *Cyropædia* iv. 6 § 5.—καὶ γὰρ μὲν ὁ τάλας νεκρὸν ἀντὶ νυμφίου ἐκομισάμεν καὶ ἔθαψα τηλικούτους ὧν ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα τὸν ἄριστον παῖδα τὸν ἀγαπητόν· ὁ δὲ κατακάνων ὥσπερ ἔχθρὸν ἀπολέσας οὔτε μεταμελόμενος πόποτε φανερὸς ἐγένετο οὔτε ἀντὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ἔργου τιμῆς τινοῦ ἠξίωσε τὸν κατὰ γῆς. The whole passage from which the words are taken has a strongly pathetic and half-poetic ring (compare πολλὰ γοωμένη in § 9), and the last few lines are quite in the style of the sepulchral common-place. Ἄρτι γενειάσκων was a stock opening for an epitaph on a young man; see Kaibel, *Epigrammata Græca* 345: ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα κ.τ.λ. where he writes 'Exodium carminis haud rarum Theocriteum est xi. 9 ἄρτι γενειάσαν' (ubi vide Meineke); compare also Kaibel 100: ἄρτι γενειάσκων κ.τ.λ.; *ibid.* 552a: [ἄρτι] γενειήσαντι κ.τ.λ. also *Anthol.* (Jacobs) ii. 262: Ἄρτι γενειάων ὁ καλὸς καὶ στερρὸς ἐρασταῖς | παῖδς ἐρᾷ Λάδων. σύντομος ἡ Νέμεσις. In fact Xenophon's sentence might be turned into elegiac verse, almost without alteration as follows:

Ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα γέρον τὸν ἄριστον ἔθαψα
παῖδα κομισσάμενος νυμφίου ἀντὶ νεκρὸν·
ὥς ἔχθρὸν δ' ὁ κανὼν ἀπολέσας οὐκ ἄλεξιζει,
τιμῆς τὸν κατὰ γῆς οὐτινος αἰδῶν.

But I have not the least belief that Xenophon had any one particular epithet in his mind; his diction in this passage is merely coloured by the reminiscence of many a phrase belonging to the vocabulary of mourning and of condolence. A similar account must I think, be given of the subjoined passage also.

Plutarch ii. 463 A: διδὲ τῶν μὲν ἀσώτων ταῖς οἰκίαις προσιόντες, ἀλλητριδὸς ἀκούομεν ἑωθινῆς, καὶ πηλόν, ὥς τις εἶπεν, οἶνον, καὶ σπαράγματα στεφάνων, καὶ κραυπαλῶντας ὁρῶμεν ἐπὶ θύραις ἀκολουθόντων. It would be obvious to suspect this passage to be a paraphrase of Comic fragment, if the words ὥς τις εἶπεν inserted to explain πηλόν οἶνον did not prove it to proceed from the author himself. But evidently his mind is full of the vocabulary and phrases which are expressive of revelry, and it would be very easy to write the sentence in verse as follows:

Ἀλλητριδὸς θ' ἑωθινῆς ἀκούομεν,
καὶ πηλόν οἶνον καὶ στεφάνων σπαράγματα
καὶ κραυπαλῶντας ἐπὶ θύραις ὑπηρέτας
ὁρῶμεν.

But the attempt is, I believe, simply misleading.

2 Peter, ii. 22, suggested to the late Bishop Wordsworth's mind the remains of an Iambic couplet:

εἰς ἴδιον ἐξέραμ' ἐπιστρέψας κύων,
λελουμένη θ' ὥς εἰς κύλισμα βορβόρον.

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I do not know whether his conjecture is rendered more probable, or less so, from a circumstance which I think I have observed in this Epistle, viz. that the writer's style and manner of diction seem coloured by a reminiscence of the manner and rhythm of tragic iambic verse. Without difficulty one Sunday afternoon, with very little transposition of words, I contrived to write a good many verses of 2 Peter in clumsy iambic trimeters. Take these lines from i. 19 foll.:

Ἐχομεν βεβαιότερον δὲ τὸν προφητικὸν
λόγον, ᾧ καλῶς ποιεῖτε προσέχοντες νόον
φαίνοντι, λύχνος ὧς, ἐν αὐχμηρῷ τύπῳ,
ἕως ἂν ὑμῖν ἡμέρα διαυγάσῃ
ἐν καρδίᾳσι κἀνατείλῃ φωσφόρος.

Or these from ii. 1 foll.:

Λαβ' δ' ἐγένοντο ψευδοπροφῆται τῷ πάλῳ,
ὕμιν δ' ἔσονται ψευδοδιδασκαλοὶ ποτε
οἳ καὶ παρεισάξουσιν αἰρέσεις κακὰς
τὸν ἀγοράσαντα δεσπότην ἀρνούμενοι,
ἐπάγοντες αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀπωλείαν ταχύ.
πολλοὶ δ' ἀκολουθήσουσι τῶνδ' ἁσυχίᾳ,
δόξας τ' ἀληθείας βεβλασφημήσεται.
πλαστοῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐμπορεύονται λόγοις,
πλεονεξία σπεύδοντες, οἷς οὐκ ἔκταται
ἀργεὶ τὸ κρίμα γ' οὔτε νυστάζει μόρος.

Or again these from i. 9:

ὦ μὴ πάρεστι ταῦτα, κείνός ἐστι δὴ
τυφλὸς μυωπάζων τε καὶ λήθην λαβὼν
ἥδη καθαρμοῦ τῶν προτέρων ἁμαρτιῶν.

So many strange things have been said about the style of 2 Peter, that I am not afraid of my suggestion being thought too extravagant to be mentioned.

E. L. HICKS.

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CICERO, *pro Sestio*, 126.

'Non modo gladiatores, sed ipsi equi gladiatorum repentinis sibilis extimescebant.' Surely the orator must have written: 'non modo equi gladiatorum, sed ipsi gladiatores repentinis sibilis extimescebant.' Under the circumstances mentioned the horses, not their stolid riders, would have been the first to take alarm. They must have been well-bred horses, and it is perfectly certain that the well-bred horse of ancient times was fully as flighty as the well-bred horse of our own.

JOHN BAXTER.

Mendham, New Jersey.

[But a circus-horse has pretty well got over his 'flightiness,' and would be slower than his rider to understand the significance of a *sibilatio*.]

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VIRGIL, *Georg.* iv. 511 foll. In a paper read to the Oxford Philological Society on the Birds of Virgil, afterwards amplified into a chapter in *A Year with the Birds*, I commented on these beautiful lines, but without doing full justice to Virgil's truthfulness. Comparing the passage with Homer, *Od.* xix. 518 foll. (where, in spite of the puzzling epithet χλωρῆς, the bird can hardly be other than the nightingale), I pointed out that Homer has two touches which are true to the life—viz. the variety of the nightingale's song, and its habit of singing in the recesses of thick cover; while Virgil has neither of these. I refrained from suggesting, as I might have done, that in making

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the bird lament the loss of its young *populca sub umbra*, Virgil has apparently chosen the most thinly-leaved of all trees, and the one which would afford least cover and least shade, and thus seem least of all to suit the well-known habits of the bird.

Since then I have learnt that the poet was after all perfectly true to nature. While listening to a nightingale some time ago close to Godstow Bridge, near Oxford, it suddenly dawned on me that this bird was actually singing *populca sub umbra*. The tall Lombardy poplars, on a lower branch of one of which it was perched, were growing out of a thick undergrowth of willow and alder and other scrub in which beyond doubt the nest was placed. What Virgil was thinking of must have been surely a scene of the same kind—thick scrub along the banks of the streams or ditches of reedy Mantua, with poplars growing out of the undergrowth; the ploughman had discovered the nest in the scrub, and the bird had retired to a poplar branch to give voice to its grief, or possibly to cheer its mate to fresh exertions. This passage, then, which was perhaps the only one I found to suggest the smallest suspicion that Virgil could write of birds conventionally rather than truly, is in all probability a reminiscence of some actual experience of the poet's boyhood.

As I have mentioned the Homeric passage, I wish to add that the word *χλωρῆς*, as applied to the nightingale, is after all not so puzzling as it might seem. It is true that the bird's colouring is neither olive-green nor *pale*; the brown is of a reddish tint, and in the tail during flight the red is obvious. But when it is seen *δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκνοῖσιν*, i.e. with the shadows of thick foliage falling on it, the appropriateness of the epithet becomes probable and even certain. I have constantly had occasion to notice the difference between the appearance of a bird 'in the bush' and of the same bird 'in the hand'; and it is necessary to remember (apart from the vagueness of Greek words for colour) that the Greek poets, and even Aristotle himself for the most part, described birds as they knew them in their own haunts, and not as specimens in a museum.

Whether this interpretation was exactly what was meant by the scholiasts when they explained the word by 'ἐν χλωροῖς φανομένη,' and 'ἐν χλωροῖς διατρίβουσα,' I will not undertake to say. Their explanation is rejected by Buchholz (Hom. *Real.* i. 2, 123), on the ground that it does not suit with the distinctness of Homeric epithets; and he prefers to seek (without much success) for another species whose colouring would better suit the natural meaning of the word. The last writer on the animals of classical antiquity (O. Keller, *Thiere des klassischen Alterthums*, p. 467) suggests the serin finch, a near relation of the canary. No ornithologist, I think, would admit the appropriateness of Homer's lines to any finch: and I prefer to think that the poet was thinking of the true nightingale, and that the scholiasts were not far wrong.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

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HORACE.—*Ars Poetica*, 349.

Nam neque chorda sonum reddit quem vult manus et mens,

Poscentique gravem persacpe remittit acutum;
Nec semper feriet quodcumque minabitur arcus.

There are three objections to the middle line of these three:

(a) Horace is speaking of *small* faults, 'quibus ignovisse velimus.' But this line describes a very serious one and is therefore inappropriate.

(β) If this line be kept, either Horace was egregiously ignorant of the musical art or his contemporaries were enormous bunglers at it. What should we think of a poet nowadays who should assert that a violinist (*any* violinist) *often* played by mistake on the G string for the A? Yet this is just about the same thing.

(γ) The omission of *semper* in the first line is quite intolerable if we have to wait for another whole line before it comes *ὅψε κακῶς* in the last. But if the middle line is omitted, the *semper* easily goes with both *reddit* and *feriet*.

There are strong reasons then for regarding line 349 as an interpolation inserted to explain the tolerably perspicuous line which precedes.

A. PLATT.

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PROPERTIUS II. xxxiv. Lines 30, 34, 40, contain a strange repetition which gives evidences either of corruption, or of the unfinished and unsettled state of the poem.

30 has magno — amore.

34 has magno — amore in exactly the same position in the pentameter.

40 has magno also in same place in the line.

43. includere. P's *componere* evidently comes from line 41, to which the scribe's eye was attracted by the similarity of the endings *thurno* and *torno*.

70. Paley's note is: *impressis* = non *pressis*, *νημέλκτοις*. Can this be correct? Surely *impressis* = simply *pressed*.

91. Lycoride — vulnera is what Postgate calls a sub-construction bracketed off from the rest of the sentence, = vulnera a Lycoride data. The participle is omitted as in II. xxxii. 23, rumor ad aures (adlatus).

S. E. WINBOLT.

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'TRISTIA.'—Mr. Owen in his recent edition has suggested that 'tristia' is a translation of *μέλεια* and that *μέλεια* should be read for *μέλη* in the list of Callimachus' works given by Suidas. There are at least three objections to this view:—

(a) *μέλεια* is a poetical word and the titles of books among the Greeks were rarely, if ever, fanciful or sensational. *ἀπολοφυρμοί* or the like is what one would expect.

(b) *μέλεια* would be ambiguous and a poet who chose it for a title would invite his enemies to say that his poems were *κάρτ' ἐπώνυμα*—miserable, infelicitous productions.

(c) There is no great difficulty in explaining *Μέλη* in Suidas. See Schneider, *Callimachea*, II. p. 18.

But though Callimachus never wrote a poem called 'μέλεια,' it is still possible that Ovid was translating *μέλεια*. There seems to have been a belief, in Lesbos if not elsewhere, that *μέλη* was to be derived from *μέλεια*. The authority for this is a Lesbian mythographer Myrsilos, in Cramer's *Anecd.* Oxon. I. p. 285: *Μυρσίλος δὲ τὰς ἐν Λέσβῳ γενομένας παρθένους Μούσας ἐπὶ τὰ πένθη φοιτᾶν καὶ θρηνεῖν· ὅθεν ἐπεκράτησε τὸ τὰ δδόμενα μέλεια κληθῆναι*. If Ovid knew this story, it may have suggested to him his title 'tristia,' or he may have known the etymology and not the story; for if he had known the latter, he would almost certainly have alluded to it (the Muses were trained by Megaclo to appease by their singing the wrath of her father Macar: see last number of the *Philologus* where the Lesbian story of the Muses is discussed at length and from which I take the reference for Myrsilos). But all this is baseless conjecture.

W. R. HARDIE.

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LIDDELL AND SCOTT'S GREEK LEXICON: *Corrigenda* II.

ἀγκύλη. 2.—Under this heading we find the phrase ἀγκυλόγλωσσον πάθος, explained as 'a similar disease of the tongue': but ἀγκυλόγλωσσος deserves a separate place, such as it has in the Dictionaries of Hedericus, Alexandre, &c. In Hed. we find ἀγκυλόγλωσσον, ου, τὸ, *linguae impedimentum*: ἀγκυλόγλωσσος, ου, ὁ καὶ ἡ, *praepeditam habens linguam*. Alex. gives first the adj., which he explains 'afligé d'une ankyloglosse'; ii. subst. ankyloglosse, vice de la langue gée par le filet.'

ἀκρήδης II.—II. 21, 123 is cited thus—σῶμ' ἀπολιχμύσσονται: it should be αἰμ' ἀπολ.

ἀλίσκομαι 2.—In quotation from Xen. *Hell.* 1, 1, 23 the order of the words is inaccurate: it should be γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας.

ἀμέργω.—In the quotation from Theocr. 26, 3 read ἀμερξάμεναι, instead of masculine form.

ἀμύθεν.—The words cited from *Od.* 1, 10 are thus rendered—'of which from what source soever...tell us also.' It should rather be ('starting') from some part (or 'point') in these events' &c. It was thus that the Sch. understood it—ἀπό τίνος μέρους ἀρξάμενη.

ἀπόζω.—For the construction of this verb with the gen. reference should have been made to Luc. *Dial.* M. 1, 5.

ἀρτεμής.—In the quotation from *Od.* 13, 43 the order of words is incorrect; read σὺν ἀρτεμέεσσι φίλοισιν.

βασανίζω II. 3.—The metaphorical meaning of the verb is confined in L. and S. to the perf. pass. part.; but reference should be given to Longinus *de Subl.* 10 *sub fin.* τὸ ἐπος ὁμοίως ἐβασάνισεν.

βίβημι.—The form βίβαντι is represented as 3 plur. on authority of Epigr. Lacon. in Ahrens; but Ahr. 11, 312 describes it as '*tertia singularis*,' which is evident from the epigram (see Pollux 4, 102)—χίλι' ἄδε ποκά βίβαντι, πλείστα δὲ τῶν πήποκα. The same error is committed by Veitch, Greek Verbs, p. 116, though probably one was copied from the other.

Γαίησι.—In quotation from *Od.* 7, 324 we find Γαῆζιον ἰόνον (where the diæresis is marked, though not at beginning); read Γαῆζιον.

δάμνημι.—II. 14, 199 is misquoted in the word ἀθανάτως: it should be ἀθανάτους.

δαμός.—The authority quoted is 'Epilyc. *Kor.* 2'; but the title of Epilycus's play was Κωραλίσκος: the abbreviation therefore should be Κωρ. It will be found correctly given s.v. βάραξ.

ἐνίημι II. intr.—After the citation from Xen. *Cyr.* add ib. *Hell.* 2, 4, 32.

ἐρρω II. 3.—In the quotation from Xen. *Hell.* 1, 1, 23 'Mindarus' is credited with the famous laconic despatch which announces his own death. For 'Mindarus' read 'Hippocrates.'

ἐτερόγλωσσος.—In the quotation from 1 Ep. Cor. xiv. 21 we read ἐτεργλῶσσοις: it should be ἐτερογλώσσοις.

κῆρ.—For the phrase περὶ κῆρι φιλεῖν, II. 4, 46 is referred to; but Hom. there has περὶ κῆρι τίεσκειτο. Here also L. and S. make περί parox., whereas under περί E they give the same phrase with oxytone. Uniformity at least should be observed in the accentuation. In II. 13, 430 περὶ κῆρι φίλησε is found.

κιρκλῆς II.—For sense = δρύφακτοι we are referred to 'Id. *Caes.* 68'; but the last reference was *C.I.* 481. Read Plut. *Caes.* 68.

νεοχμῶ.—In quotation from Thuc. 1, 12 we read νεόχμωσε, the augment being omitted; it should be ἐνεόχμωσε.

οἰκείος B.—οἰκείως συνείναι is given as the equivalent for Lat. *familiariter uti*: but a closer reference is Xen. *Hell.* 2, 3, 16 οἰκείως ἐχρήτο τῷ Θηραμένει.

παντελής III.—For παντελῶς with adjs. we are only referred to fragments of comic poets; but cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2, 4, 34 π. βαθείαν.

περί E.—περὶ κῆρι φιλεῖν is supported by II. 13, 119; but there Hom. writes νεμίσσῶμαι περὶ κῆρι: the reference should be II. 13, 430.

σιρός.—Reference should be given to N. T. 2 Pet. 2, 4, where the best MSS. read σειροῖς i.e. 'dens,' instead of Vulg. σειραῖς. So Alford and Tregelles, while Lachmann and Tischendorf read σιροῖς. Reference should also be made to Dem. 135, 5 and for the form σειρός (a v.l. in Dem.) Pollux 9, 49; Phot. 504, 23; Varro *R. R.* 1, 57 and 63.

ῥω 2.—So the Greeks used ρέφει: read νίφει. φιλέω.—*Od.* 14, 146 is cited thus ὃν περὶ κηρί φ. Ζεὺς: but Hom. there has περί γάρ μ' ἐφίλει. Moreover the accent is incorrect: it should be κῆρι.

LAUNCELOT D. DOWDALL.

CLASSICAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

III.

IN my two former letters (pp. 77-80, 223-225) a description was attempted of the general conditions under which classical studies are pursued among us and of the work and aims of our representative schools. It now remains for me to speak in this, the final letter of the series, of classical studies as pursued at college and university, i.e. of the general training in these subjects received by candidates for the B.A. degree, and of the special training received by candidates for the higher or professional degree of Ph. D. This account will be followed by a few remarks on the characteristics of our classical scholarship and on our leading philological associations and publications.

The American youth who comes up to college to receive a classical training has seldom carried his work at school in Greek and Latin beyond the mere requisitions for admission to college: he knows something of Greek and Latin grammar; he will have

read a few books of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, two or three of Homer's *Iliad*, and perhaps a little Herodotus; two or three books of Caesar, several orations of Cicero, five or six books of Virgil. If he comes from our better schools he will have written a little English into Greek and English into Latin—continuous narrative in preference to disjointed sentences—enough to show that he has a practical familiarity with forms and the leading rules of syntax. He will also know something about Greek and Roman history. At a few of the better colleges he will be required to show his ability to translate 'at sight,' without the help of grammar or dictionary, passages of average difficulty from Attic prose (usually taken from Xenophon), and from Homer, and also from Latin prose (Caesar) and from Virgil: in these cases the quantitative requisition of books is usually waived, ability to read independently being alone insisted upon. At the leading colleges (Harvard, Yale, etc.), a strict examination on these subjects is prescribed

for candidates ; many of the minor institutions, however, as was pointed out in my first letter, admit students without examination to the Freshman class, on the certificate of their teachers at school that they are qualified to enter college. That the quality of the preparation for college, as also of the work done at the college, differs very widely in different parts of the country goes without saying : in the absence of common supervision each school and each college is a law unto itself. The attainments in classical scholarship of graduates of equal ability and industry from different colleges differ vastly, and this difference makes the problem of university or 'graduate' instruction a difficult one. It not unfrequently happens that the graduates of one college are found hardly more than ready to begin the classical studies in other colleges. This unevenness of classical work throughout the country is a feature to be deplored ; there are, however, encouraging indications of improvement on all sides, which lead friends of classical scholarship to believe that our standards of education are improved and are everywhere continuing to improve. The most casual comparison of the curriculum in classical studies of our colleges thirty or forty years ago with that of to-day will convince one of this fact. It will be impossible in this letter to take note of these differences ; we must confine our remarks to a description of the work and aims of the better colleges.

In our colleges (see p. 78) the course of study for the B.A. degree extends through four years, the first two years (Freshman and Sophomore) being mainly given—where there is a fixed curriculum of studies—to the classics, mathematics, and modern languages, and the last two years (Junior and Senior) to the study of certain of the physical and natural sciences, to philosophy, literature, history (political and literary), political economy, etc. This programme is greatly modified in colleges where freedom in choice of studies either entire or with limitations is granted the students. Except with students who wish to make something of a speciality of the classics, Greek and Latin are not carried beyond the close of Sophomore. In fact this period marks off a distinct stage in college life : in institutions which are able to provide a sufficient number of special courses, it is recognized as the point at which a student may with profit begin to specialize in his work—earlier specialization, at least in the majority of cases, being regarded as premature. The average student's attainments at the end of his Sophomore year bear some resemblance to those of a German youth at the close of his course at the *Gymnasium*.

In the Freshman year school-methods of instruction prevail. Freshman classes are divided into small sections (of not more than 25 or 35) which receive from three to four hours of weekly instruction in Greek and Latin ; the same amount of time is also given to these subjects in the Sophomore year. Lessons are regularly assigned and 'recited,' *i.e.* there is a daily oral examination on the work set for the day, with *vivâ voce* translation. The instruction given by the teacher is usually in the form of running comment upon the passage read, with an occasional more formal lecture. The same methods prevail to a certain extent in Sophomore year, though here the range of instruction widens : the work of the school and of the Freshman year having developed in the student a command of the language, new points of view, now made attainable, are taken ; the individual form or style of the authors read, their subject-matter, and vistas of ancient life and thought thereby opened up, are made fruitful and stimulating subjects of instruction.

In the Freshman year, which is not wholly unlike Ober-Secunda or Unter-Prima in Germany—except that our Freshman will average 19½ years of age—the usual plan is to divide the line somewhat as follows :—in Greek between Homer and Attic prose (history or oratory), and in Latin between Livy, Cicero and Horace's *Odes*. In the Sophomore year two or three Greek dramas are read, and certain speeches : in Latin, Horace's *Satires* and *Epistles*, two or three plays of Plautus or Terence and something from Tacitus or Pliny. The programme is greatly varied in actual practice.¹

Besides the reading of the prescribed books, and gaining a general knowledge of the topics suggested by the reading, the average classical student by the end of his Sophomore year has done but little. In the composition of Greek and Latin prose he has advanced only slightly beyond the school stage. At colleges where Honours in Classics are arranged for, and in the examinations of which there are papers in Greek and Latin composition, he will have done more : here he will be able to put historical English prose into passable Greek or Latin, with no very glaring faults of style. At no college—and of course not at school—will he have learned verse composition : in fact Greek and Latin composition has never formed any essential part in our programme of classical studies, though here and there venturesome teachers have offered instruction in it. Whether our classical scholarship has gained or lost by this omission cannot here be argued ; that, however, from its failure adequately to develop facility in prose composition, it has lost alike in accuracy and depth, no one can dispute.

As was remarked above, with the close of the second of their four years in college the majority of American students of the present generation have done with their classics. Those only continue (in such colleges as provide for advanced work) in whom a love for the subject has been awakened ; many of these intend to become classical teachers. This change in the number and character of students radically affects—or should affect—the method of instruction. Progress is made on the lines struck out in the Sophomore year toward a more complete independence in the student's activity : the student's attitude towards his books and his teacher gradually changes from that of a school-boy learning lessons under a master to that of an independent worker engaged in a common enterprise with an older, more experienced friend and guide. The books and subjects with which classical students occupy themselves during these last two years in college vary greatly, as also the method and aims of classical teachers. In that large number of colleges where the provision for advanced classical

¹ At Yale College in 1888-89 the programme for Greek and Latin for the Freshman and Sophomore class was as follows :—

FRESHMAN YEAR. *Greek*.—Homer's *Iliad* (two books) ; Homer's *Odyssey* (four books) ; Xenophon's *Hellenica* (50 pp.) ; Herodotus (50 pp.) ; Lysias (80 pp.) ; Prose Composition. *Latin*.—Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (book i) and Selected Letters ; Livy (books xxi, xxii) ; *Satires* of Horace : Prose Composition ; History of the Roman Republic.

SOPHOMORE YEAR. *Greek*.—The *Antigone* of Sophocles ; the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus ; the *Medea* of Euripides ; the *Panegyric* of Isocrates ; Thucydides (45 pp.) ; Plato's *Apology* and *Crito* (the *Frogs* of Aristophanes with a special section) ; *Latin*.—*Agricola* of Tacitus ; Selections from Pliny's *Letters* ; *Odes* and *Epodes* of Horace ; *Trinummus* and *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus ; sight reading from Cicero and Sallust.

instruction is necessarily limited and where only a few courses are offered, these courses will be confined to the leading authors and subjects. In Greek the serious study of Demosthenes and of Attic oratory, of Plato and the history of Greek Philosophy—Aristotle is almost never read in American colleges—and of a number of the more difficult Greek dramas will be undertaken. In Latin the historians, Juvenal, the philosophical works of Cicero, the more difficult comedies of Plautus and Terence, together with literary history, form the principal subjects.

In the larger colleges where a considerable number of elective courses in classics are offered, the variety in subjects is much greater, as also the degree to which specialization is carried. To the books and subjects named above will be added critical work in various other branches of classical literature and philology, as well as in comparative philology in its relations to Greek and Latin. The more enterprising of our classical teachers, many of whom are scholars who in their professional training either in Germany or in this country have become interested in some author or subject, frequently take occasion to carry on original work in their specialities by offering courses in them in which they are aided in their researches by their better pupils.¹

The attainments of the students who have continued their classical studies up to the time of taking their first degree in arts will necessarily vary greatly in the different colleges and in the same college. In the better institutions such a student will have had the opportunity not only of reading widely and under good guidance, but also of becoming something of a specialist in a particular field of classical studies. If we may continue the comparison made above, the best of our men, at graduation from college, on an average stand on a level with the young classical philologist in the German university a year or two before he takes his doctor's degree; our B.A.'s frequently earn this degree upon the close of two or three years of advanced study in Germany. If the American student pursues his studies at a college where Honours in Classics are provided for, or where scholarships, fellowships, or other prizes are open to properly qualified candidates, and has duly received those several recognitions, his work and his attainments can be more definitely described. Only a few of the leading colleges encourage classical studies by provisions of this sort.²

¹ As a rule American college teachers have no large amount of leisure for private work. From twelve to fifteen hours a week are spent on the average in the lecture or 'recitation' room: in some colleges twenty hours of class-room work in the week is not regarded as excessive.

The number of classical teachers in the different colleges varies with the number of students: in the smaller colleges two 'professors' will give all the instruction in Greek and Latin; ordinarily, however, there are at least two instructors, a professor and a tutor, for each of these departments, and in the larger colleges the classical staff will be made up of as many as ten or a dozen officers. It is not usual for an instructor to teach both Greek and Latin.

² At Harvard there are two grades of Honours in Classics, second-year Honours and final Honours. The former are open to candidates not earlier than at the close of their Sophomore year, and are awarded on two conditions. The first condition is distinguished excellence in classical studies amounting to four courses; the second condition consists in passing with distinction a special examination directed to testing (a) the candidate's ability to translate

The proportion of students reading for these Honours to the whole number of candidates for the B.A. degree is extremely small. At Harvard, for example, out of a Sophomore class of 251 only 14 obtained second-year Honours; and of a graduating class of 237 only 4 obtained final Honours. Scholarships and fellowships are awarded on very different conditions in the several colleges: the former carry with them a smaller stipend (from \$50-\$350 annually), and are given to undergraduates on evidence of merit shown either at the regular examinations in the stipulated departments or at special examinations. Fellowships bring a larger stipend, ranging from \$400 to \$1,000 per annum, and are commonly awarded for not more than one year (renewable once or twice) to very recent graduates of marked attainments or promise, and frequently without special formal examinations. The Fellows are expected to pursue the studies of their department either in residence at their college or at some European university. From approved Fellows the colleges usually recruit their staff of instructors. It is perhaps needless to add that these 'Fellows' stand in a relation to the corporate or governing body of their college which is wholly different from that of the Fellows of an English college to their *Alma Mater*.

Having taken note of the characteristic features of classical education at our colleges, it now remains to add a few remarks on the provisions made in the United States for the advanced instruction of college graduates, an instruction that might be termed professional, inasmuch as it is given mainly to those who have in view the profession of teaching.

The body of teachers in our colleges and secondary schools is recruited in a variety of ways. The secondary schools are commonly satisfied if they obtain as classical instructors promising college graduates, who may have received no training beyond that received by Bachelors of Arts. The colleges also, until within a recent period, have asked for nothing more; at the present time, however, among candidates for positions in the more reputable colleges, one who has received a special training, such as a Doctor of Philosophy, has, other things being equal, a distinct advantage.³

The 'graduate,' (sometimes even called 'post-graduate') work of our candidates for the Ph. D. degree is carried on either in Europe or in the United States. The number of our graduates who continue their studies in German universities is very large, a number sufficient in any one year to fill a university of very respectable size. The life, with its studies and training, of the American student of classical philology in Germany does not differ in any respect

Greek and Latin at sight (passages taken only from the leading classical authors): (b) his ability to write Greek and Latin prose: (c) his knowledge of Greek and Latin Grammar. Final Honours in Classics awarded at graduation are given for great proficiency in Greek and Latin; the range of reading is extended and a much more particular acquaintance with all the related topics is expected: a Latin thesis, giving evidence of original research, is also required.

³ As a rule the M.A. in the United States means little except that its holder has at some time received a B.A. degree. At the better colleges the candidate is required to show that he has paid some attention to liberal studies for a year or two after receiving his B.A. degree. At the university of Virginia, however, this degree has a singularly honourable position; the conditions on which it is bestowed are severe, and it stands for distinct and high attainments in scholarship.

from that of his German associates, which has been well described by Professor Ziegler in the last volume of this *Review*. While undoubtedly a certain amount of indulgence is granted by university authorities to all foreign students, it is still true that at the best institutions the standards are not lowered for their benefit. The fact that a large proportion of our foremost classical scholars have received much, if not the whole, of their university (*i.e.* post B.A.) training in Germany has its distinct influence on the character of our higher scholarship. The methods of more elementary instruction at school and college are perhaps not affected. But in the higher lines, in the work of the university lecturer, in the favourite subjects treated, and in the methods of treatment, the influence of German university traditions is most striking. The American has more or less of originality, but as a rule our advanced work in classical philology is after all the German system adapted to American conditions.

Provision for 'graduate' work in classical philology is made by several of our colleges and universities, both by setting apart a number of advanced and technical courses, open only to approved B.A.'s, mainly candidates for the higher degree, and by the appointment of professors whose sole duty it shall be to give graduate instruction. The universities where provision of this sort has been made with greater amplitude than elsewhere are Harvard, Yale, and Johns Hopkins, to name them in the order of their age. The graduate department in each of the two former universities is the recent outgrowth of the undergraduate department or college proper, while that of the Johns Hopkins University is in the original foundation. At Harvard and Yale the lines of separation between the higher undergraduate and the graduate courses are not sharply drawn. In the number of graduate courses offered and of officers giving them, Harvard at the present time is somewhat in advance; but in point of numbers of students pursuing graduate courses in classical philology, the Johns Hopkins University has the advantage over all other American institutions.

An outline of the work done at the latter university, condensed from the official statements, with supplementary remarks on graduate instruction elsewhere will sufficiently bring out the main features of our best professional training in classical philology.

The instruction in Greek at the Johns Hopkins University is directed by Professor Gildersleeve. His own courses are given in a seminary which consists of the director, fellows and such advanced students as shall satisfy the director of their fitness for an active participation in the work by an essay, a critical exercise, or some similar test of attainments and capacity. All graduate students however, have the privilege of attending the course. Each regular member is required to take his turn as interpreter, critic, analyst; and special fields of research are assigned according to progress and bent. The student's private reading is so directed that in the usual period of preparation for the higher degree a comprehensive knowledge of Greek literature and Greek life may be gained. By these arrangements the students are brought into closer relations with the professor and encouraged to perform more independent work and engage in more extended experiments than would be possible on a system of mere recitation or the simple hearing of lectures. Each year some author, or a group of closely connected authors, is made the centre of work: thus in 1878-79 Lucian; in 1884-85 the Attic Orators; in 1885-86 Plato and the literary form of Greek philosophy; in 1886-87 Aristophanes; in 1887-88 the Greek Historians, etc. In addition to the work of the seminary, courses of lectures are

given by the director and by other qualified persons on a variety of topics. In Latin instruction is given on a plan similar to that followed in the Greek courses, the director of the seminary being Dr Minton Warren.

In all this advanced work the importance of the two aspects of classical studies, the scientific and the literary, are kept constantly in view. 'Without scientific study the cultivation of the literary sense is apt to degenerate into finical aestheticism: kept apart from the large and liberal appreciation of antique life in all its aspects, the scientific study of the classic languages divorces itself from sympathy with tradition and relinquishes its surest hold on the world of culture, on which the structure of the university must rest. . . . The principle of scientific specialization, not only for the mastery of methods but for the joy and profit of individual achievement, and the other principle of wide and free vision must abide.'

The Seminary, or *Seminarium*, patterned after the best German models, notably that of Friedrich Ritschl, is a distinctive feature of the graduate instruction at our best universities, and the methods of seminary instruction are adopted even in the later stages of the undergraduate course. At Harvard the Greek and Latin seminary is at present conducted by Professors F. D. Allen and G. M. Lane. Besides the exercises of the seminary proper which in 1888-9 were given to the text-criticism and interpretation of the *Alcestis* of Euripides, and of Persius, graduate students within their term of residence receive instruction from these gentlemen, from Professor Goodwin, and from other members of the classical staff in a number of courses, among which may be named courses on Aristophanes and Greek Private Life, Aristotle's *Politics*; Aristotle's *Poetics*, Pindar, Aeschylus; Thucydides' *Speeches*; Critical Study of Homer's *Iliad*; Study in Greek History, from the Sources; Greek Epigraphy; History of Greek Literature; Legal and Political Antiquities of Greece; Quintilian, Gellius, Latin Inscriptions; Private Life of the Romans; Roman Religion and Worship; Philosophy among the Romans (Cicero and Lucretius); History of Latin Literature; Latin Grammar; Greek and Latin Prose Composition; Comparative Philology as applied to Greek and Latin; the Elements of Sanskrit, etc.

The degree of Ph.D. in course is the token of the successful completion of an approved course of graduate study. The conditions on which it is bestowed in the United States are not uniform. In general two or more years of graduate study are prescribed, one of which at least must be spent in residence. The plan of proposed studies must previously have received the sanction of the proper authorities, and in most instances must provide for three large, and not necessarily closely related subjects; one of these is the candidate's chief subject, in which he must show satisfactory evidence before receiving his degree that he has carried on original research, the results of which are presented in a thesis or dissertation, written either in Latin, as at Harvard, or in English. Written and oral examinations cover the entire programme of work.

There is no uniform usage as to printing of doctor-dissertations: a few of the more meritorious, not only of the Johns Hopkins University but also of other institutions, have received the hospitality of the *American Journal of Philology*. Several universities have lately undertaken the collective publication of such contributions to classical philology as might be made by their officers and students; these *University Studies*—as at Harvard, Cornell, and elsewhere—will doubtless contain many doctors' dissertations.

It is of course upon the instruction imparted at university, college, and school, that our classical scholarship is based, and it is mainly in intimate connexion with these institutions that our classical scholars live and work. There are, however, other agencies that promote philological activity among us, such as the associations maintained by our scholars and the philological publications issued by these associations or as private ventures, which we should not leave without mention in this survey.

The American Philological Association is a society founded 'for the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge,' and of the three hundred and fifty members the majority are classical teachers. It was established in 1869 and holds an annual meeting, at a different place each year—usually at a college town: a goodly number of papers are presented at each session, on a great variety of subjects relating not alone to classical philology in the broadest sense of this term but also to comparative philology, to linguistics and to the modern languages. Many of the more important of these papers are printed in full in the annual *Transactions*, and abstracts of all the papers appear in the *Proceedings*. Nearly all the foremost classical scholars in the United States, with a number from Canada, are members of the Association and have contributed to its publications. A large number of our younger men have made their *début* at the meetings of the Association in original contributions to classical philology. The value of this society in encouraging and recognizing independent activity, and in bringing into personal acquaintance very many persons interested in classical education and in classical research cannot be overestimated.

The schoolmasters and other teachers in various parts of our country are organized into State and into National Teachers' Associations. At the meetings of these bodies, note is taken of many classical matters, but usually this is done from the point of view of pedagogy. Among the most useful and influential of these organizations should be named the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools in New England, at the semi-annual meeting of which the improvement of our classical education is a favourite theme.

The union of our leading colleges in support of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens—which was founded in 1882, and has been since maintained by the annual subscriptions of a dozen or more colleges—is not without its distinct influence in promoting among us the spirit of co-operation and common interest. It is perhaps too early to speak of the influence that the school itself has exerted upon American scholarship: it is certain, however, that the growing interest in classical archaeology at many of our colleges is due to the school. The project of founding at Rome an institute of classical studies for students of Roman history and archaeology has not yet been put into execution, though it has been seriously entertained. The work of the Archaeological Institute of America (founded in 1879), in promoting research in classic lands, deserves mention (at Assos, Southern Italy, etc.); much of the most important part of the work done under the auspices of the Institute yet awaits publication. The *American Journal of Archaeology* (founded in 1885, and edited by Professor A. L. Frothingham of Princeton College) is the official organ of the Institute, as well as of the Athens School: this quarterly, in addition to printing many of the more valuable papers of the Institute and of the School in advance of their appearance in the *Papers*, publishes a large number of original contributions to archaeology, classical and Christian, by writers both at home and abroad.

Of philological journals in the United States the number is very small. The educational journals and the literary and theological reviews in which classical subjects receive occasional notice are too numerous to be mentioned here. Until about ten years ago the periodical in which classical matters received the fullest and most scholarly treatment was the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (founded in 1844). In 1880 Professor Gildersleeve founded the *American Journal of Philology*, and has remained its editor ever since; in the ten volumes of this periodical—with the twenty volumes of the *Transactions* of the American Philological Association—it is safe to say that we have the completest record of the movements and tendencies of our classical scholarship at the present time, as well as an earnest of future progress and achievement.

To characterize American classical scholarship in a sentence or two is a more difficult task than to describe the main features of American classical education in numbers of pages. Until the second half, or rather until the last quarter, of the present century our scholarship can hardly be said to have had any distinctive features. Before this time there were eminent scholars who left their impress on teachers and taught: men like Anthon, whose large but ill-digested learning emptied itself into a vast number of annotated editions of the classics, which in the day of narrow reading and meagre libraries were not without their use; like Woolsey, who left the path of brilliant promise as a Greek professor for that of yet greater eminence as college president and as publicist; like Edward Robinson, who revolutionized, if not created, the Science of Biblical Archaeology. But these were sporadic cases, without their influence on the general movements of thought. Within the last twenty years, however, several distinct tendencies have shown themselves in our scholarship, due in large part to the personal influence of two or three of our leading scholars as well as to the spirit of the times. The most striking of these tendencies is the bent for linguistic science, and for the treatment of classical subjects from the point of view of comparative grammar: it is without doubt due, at least initially, to the influence of Professor Whitney, who not only in his writings but as professor in Yale College has impressed himself upon a large number of our most thoughtful young men. This tendency was reinforced by the personality of Georg Curtius, whose lectures were largely attended by American philological students in Germany.

A second feature, not wholly to be separated from the one last named, is the fondness of our scholars for all matters connected with the form of the Greek and Latin languages, in other words with questions of syntax. It is undoubtedly true that Professor Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses* (first edition, 1860), an extremely popular book among our teachers, and Professor Gildersleeve's numerous articles (*Transactions of the American Philological Association*, and the *American Journal of Philology*) on Greek syntax, as well as his activity as director of the Greek seminary at Baltimore, have in great measure given rise and direction to that general interest in these subjects which entitles us to speak of it as a feature of our scholarship. It is perhaps needless to add that the influence of these scholars is by no means confined to the field here mentioned; to them and to others who cannot here be named is greatly due the impulse to a larger and more catholic conception of classical philology of which we find many clear evidences at every hand.

Classical scholarship with us hardly exists except in connexion with education. The pursuit of it, as an independent field of activity, with a view to

making distinct and positive contributions to science, is as yet in its earliest stages. Hence the literature of classical philology in the United States is mainly that of college and school text-books (dictionaries, grammars, annotated texts). Of these the number and variety is great. There is a certain directness and practical good sense in the American mind which have hitherto shown themselves to best advantage in the making of books—and alas! in the working up of other men's books—for use in school and college. The defects of undue deference to authority—with its attendant willingness to take nearly everything at second hand and its disinclination to undertake independent investigations and thus to gain independent views—is unfortunately too often a characteristic of our work. But there are signs of a better day. Our ideals of classical education are being raised and, what is of equal if not of greater importance, our view of the meaning and scope of classical philology is becoming enlarged. We recognize the limitations necessarily imposed by our remoteness from European libraries and other collections—but classical scholarship is more than palaeography and epigraphy. The important books, like the ancient texts and their ancient commentators, and the monumental modern works in which the great masters of

classical philology have illumined dark stretches of ancient thought and activity, and disclosed unsuspected and most significant relations; the leading periodical publications, in which one may follow modern scholarship in its swift advance and ever broadening conquests—are all within reach of the American philologist. If to the acute observation, in their historical and formal aspects, of the phenomena of language, and especially of grammar—that *θρηγκὸς μαθημάτων*, as Boeckh, quoted by Professor Gildersleeve, has called it—which has given a deserved preeminence to two or three of our scholars, we add a broad, sympathetic and practical treatment of the subject-matter of the ancient books, in its infinite variety and range, in its relation to literature, literary history, political history, art, philosophy and all the other manifold manifestations of ancient thought and action, there is no reason why American scholars should not have an important part in the enlargement of the world's common knowledge of antiquity, and in making this knowledge efficient in enlarging beautifying and rendering yet more significant this our modern life and thought.

J. H. WRIGHT.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
November 21st, 1889.

C. G. COBET.

The following is the reply sent by the University of Leyden to the Cambridge letter of condolence on the death of Cobet, printed in our last number.

*Academiae Cantabrigiensis
Procancelario, Praepositis, Professoribus, Doctoribus
S.P.D.
Curatores, Rector et Senatus Academiae
Lugduno-Batarcae.*

Litterae ad nos missae, quibus dolorem declaravistis, quo COBETI Vos affecit obitus, haud leviter nos commoverunt. Si quid est, quod animos nostros afflicto erigere valeat, verba sunt ista humanitatis ac benevolentiae plena, quibus maestitiam nostram ad Vos quoque pertinere professi estis. Quod summi Viri memoria, quem haec Academia amissum plorat, in alma apud Vos Musarum sede pio gratoque animo colitur, documento nobis est immortalia eius de litteris antiquis merita toto pectore sentire Vos et agnoscere.

Profecto luget COBETI e vita excessum quisquis mortalium artes et litteras amat atque humanitatis studia celebrat. Summa veneratione nomen eius memorant omnes, qui recordantur quam multa studia illa ingenio eius et industriae accepta referant.

Inter insignes laudes autem, quae ubicunque terrarum singularis Viri memoriae tribuuntur, vix ullae magis honorificae putandae sunt, quam quibus Vos illam prosequi estis. Cum enim litterarum antiquarum amore Britannii inter Europae populos

emineant, tum nobilissimam Vestram Academiam praecipuis sedibus adnumerandam esse constat, ubi earum studia alantur ac foveantur a Viris egregiis, ingenii et doctrinae gloria praestantibus.

Britannos COBETUS noster per totam vitam eximie dilexit et admiratus est. Permulta eis se debere agnovit. Bentleium, Porsonium, Dawesium magistros suos appellare solebat. Nemo erat inter aequales, cui tam studiorum communitate, quam amicitiae necessitudine magis se coniunctum sentiret, quam Carolo Badham.

Admirationi autem ac reverentiae, quibus Vestram nationem COBETUS coluit. Vos, Viri Clarissimi, verbis Vestris amorem et pietatem spirantibus dignas vires rependistis.

Haec fidem nobis faciunt, summum Virum, cuius gratissimam memoriam nos semper retenturi simus, apud Vos quoque perpetuis posterorum laudibus celebratum iri.

Cum autem sincere Vobis gratias agamus quod nostrum dolorem a Vobis haud alienum duxistis, simul omnia laeta Vobis optamus et prospera.

Utinam per longam saeculorum seriem vetustam suam gloriam tueatur illustrissima Academia Cantabrigiensis!

L. A. J. W. SLOET, *Curatorum Praeses.*
A. P. N. FRANCHIMONT, *Academiae Rector.*
C. K. HOFFMANN, *Senatus ab actis.*

*Datum Lugduni Batarorum
 pridie Nonas Decembris
 A. S. MDCCCLXXXIX.*

OBITUARY.

DR. POTTS.

By the death of Dr. Potts on the 15th of November last, Fettes College has lost something more than its first Headmaster. The man who successfully undertakes the supreme care of any new school will always have some of the honour which belongs to a founder; and Dr. Potts had the distinction of being entrusted with the working out of what was, in Scotland, a novel and, at first, a not very popular idea.

Dr. Potts was born in 1834 and was educated at Shrewsbury under Dr. Kennedy and at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1858 he graduated a senior optime and second classic, winning also the junior Chancellor's medal and becoming a Fellow of St. John's. After taking his degree he became a master first at Charterhouse and then at Rugby. From Rugby he came in 1870 to Fettes College.

Although the school was the first Public School of the English type in Scotland, it can hardly be said that there was any active demand for it. True it was that many Scotch parents desired an English Public School education for their sons. But this desire was in most cases coupled with a certain dread of provincialism which led them still to prefer a southern school, especially as to ordinary boys Fettes College offered no advantages in the way of economy. It was Dr. Potts' principal task to win for the new school a position distinct from that of an English Public School inconveniently situated. He wished to acclimatize it as a Scotch institution to flourish side by side with the native public schools. In the most jealous community to be found in the British Isles this was an object which could not be realized at once, and Dr. Potts never claimed to have thoroughly realized it. But he made great and striking progress towards that end, and had the satisfaction long before his death of witnessing the University successes of many Scotch pupils who, had it not been for Fettes College, would probably have followed other paths.

Dr. Potts is perhaps best known to the world as author of *Hints towards Latin Prose Composition*, a book which was the first to place the results attained by German erudition in this field of research, by Nägelsbach and others, within the reach of English students; and these results it presented in a fresh and incisive form, re-casting them in the mould which the fine literary instinct of English

scholarship can alone supply. Other books on Latin prose style have since appeared, each with merits of its own; but the *Hints* may claim to have marked an epoch in the teaching of Latin Prose such as no other book has made. To those who had been reared on the old 'Latin Arnold' it came as a revelation. No one can read it without gaining a clearer insight into Roman character and its reflection in the language of Rome.

In his own Sixth Form teaching, however, Dr. Potts paid more attention to the cultivation of Latin and Greek verse; with what success the achievements in this line of his old pupils at Cambridge will have shown. In this no doubt he was true to Shrewsbury traditions. But besides that, the natural bent of his mind led him to set more store by that literary sympathy with classical feeling and that versatility of expression which verse-composition especially brings into play, than by flawless and terse diction. As an educator he was brilliant rather than methodical; he taught as he talked; there was an exuberant flow of fancy, wit, and anecdote; his mind was of that order which is more quick to note resemblances than differences; he had a poet's imagination and an artist's eye for beauty. Those who heard him in school translate and almost declaim his Demosthenes, translate and almost act his Plautus and Aristophanes, could not fail to catch some of his enthusiasm.

He was essentially conservative in his methods and ideal of education. He taught the classics as literature—always with a view to knowledge of men and life. Not that he ever condoned inaccuracy or was satisfied with the 'general sense' in translation; but he never forgot that a poem or speech is a work of art which must be appreciated as a whole, and not merely considered in its details. Etymology was interesting to him in so far as it illustrated the meaning and history of a word, but he took no real interest in the shifting phases of the science of Comparative Philology, and refused to treat the classical languages as a herbarium in which dried specimens are kept in cases and labelled for comparison with Erse or Old Zend. Even in matters of grammar and syntax he trusted more to his own fine instinct for style than to methodical research and tabulation of instances. Nor did he pay, at any time of his life, any special attention to the study of textual criticism. Some of

this may possibly be explained by want of leisure. Fine scholar as he was, he was a schoolmaster before everything else: he threw himself heart and soul into the life of the school, and this, as he conceived and made it, was many-sided enough to engross his energies.

He did not read a large number of books with his Sixth Form, but what he did, he read with minute care. He never ceased to insist upon the necessity of private reading, and frequently quoted in that behalf the precepts and example of his own Headmaster. The Sixth Form of Dr. Kennedy at Shrewsbury was his ideal of what, for scholarly feeling, a Sixth Form should be. He never wearied of impressing upon his own pupils the industry which had been required of himself while a Sixth Form boy. For this purpose he would recall, often with a very happy representation of his voice and manner, how after finishing a book of Thucydides Dr. Kennedy would quietly say, 'You can read the other seven books in your studies.'

Apart from his power of teaching Dr. Potts had great gifts as a Headmaster. He was a man whose commendation could not but be prized, and whose censure no one could affect to receive without concern. No man knew better than he what to pass over and what to notice. Always open and trustful, he was, even when finding fault, courteous, considerate and moderate. Hence his great and lasting power. There was no reaction from his influence. His pupils

never outgrew his teaching. And he commanded respect by showing it.

No account of Dr. Potts, however brief, would be complete without some reference to his character as a preacher. The religious situation of Fettes College rendered the superintendence of the chapel service a matter of the greatest delicacy. It was a lay service designed to disarm the jealousy of rival denominations. Nothing could have been happier than the way in which the exigences of the case were met both in the pulpit and in the reading-desk. Dr. Potts was a preacher of great power and occasionally of true eloquence, and a reader of more than usual dignity and impressiveness. The chapel at Fettes College became popular with parents, and it is perhaps not too much to say that it was there that much of the prejudice which the school had to fight against was removed.

To conclude this notice of a really gifted teacher it only remains to say that his interests and sympathies were universal. As he was broad and general in his teaching, so he was widely appreciative of merit. He took pride in the success of his pupils in whatever career it was attained. Good work was to him good work on whatever expended. He would mention the name of a pupil who in a house of business had gained the confidence and esteem of his employers as proudly as that of a University prizeman. And he was held in honour as much by the one character as by the other.

BROWNING AS A CLASSICAL SCHOLAR.

No great poet has ever made himself interesting to so many kinds of students, on their purely technical and professional ground, as Mr. Browning. Philosophers, painters, musicians, Italian historians, German historians, ecclesiastical historians, Hebraists, all have a large part in him, and certainly not the smallest share in the inheritance belongs to the student of Greek (scarcely perhaps of Latin) antiquity. In general, it may be observed, as an interesting comment on the supposed 'decline of Greek,' that the half-dozen great indisputable poets of our time, all till yesterday writing together, have been passionate Hellenists, and not least popular when they were most Hellenic. In this respect, if in no other, Mr. Browning stood in a line with the authors of *Tithonus* and *Jason*, *Atalanta in Calydon* and the *Strayed Reveller*.

In his writings there are two separate strata of classical learning, sharply separated from each other—the original store of memories that he retained from his early reading, and the special studies of the period that began with *Balaustion's Adventure* (1871) and ended with the translation of the *Agamemnon* (1877); but the after-effects of this second period re-appeared at intervals for the rest of his life. In both these strata antiquity is treated in a way peculiar to Mr. Browning. No great poet ever absorbed so much with so little effect on himself. His classical learning, whether of his youth or of his declining manhood, had no more power than the Italian learning of his prime or the Rabbinical learning of his old age to make the least change in the ideals of his imagination or in his way of looking at life, nay, not even in his literary form, whether of

composition or of style. Such as he came forth full-grown in *Paracelsus*, such he remained in *Asolando*, progressing royally through innumerable worlds of imagination, but in all of them not a colonist but a conqueror, taking no impress from any, but bending them all to the purposes of his imperial will. In other words, we must go to him, not to know what antiquity was like, but what kind of thoughts it inspired in him.

Of course the same thing is true of all great imaginative artists; their imaginative re-constructions of the past are not to be read as works of instruction for the sake of information about the past. But Mr. Browning seemed to be bent on throwing away the poet's privilege, and presenting his research to be judged on its own prosaic and scientific merits. And so we are continually distracted. The poet who stands the most remote from the Greeks in his essential character gives us the most of the Greeks in outward detail. Any mind less comprehensive than his own must be content with realizing alternately what he realized all at once, on the one side the 'then' and 'there' of Athenian civilization, drawn out into its transitory and trivial particulars, on the other side the essential spiritual issues, which to us are not truly spiritual or essential until they are made freely and frankly modern.

In the first period (*i.e.* before 1871) it is easy to search out all his ancient references, for they are all definitely recognizable. He adds a proper name or a description of an incident; it is the very rarest thing with him to absorb an ancient phrase into the current of his language without giving notice of it, in the manner of Milton and Tennyson. Attentive reading may discover other instances; the only one that I have observed in this period is in *Paracelsus* (p. 83. ed. 1872), 'Save a thin corpse at pleasure of the wind,' which I imagine to be a reminiscence of *ventis ludibrium datur* and *αἰθέριον κίνεγμα*. And the list of his references is certainly equivalent to a statement of the things which interested him in the classics. Throughout his life, everything is explicit with him; he talks about everything that he cares for. If we listened to his earliest declaration in *Pauline*, we should think that he loved all the Greek poets alike; there we have the 'high-crested chief, Sailing with troops of friends to Tenedos,' and 'the king, Treading the purple calmly to his death,' and 'how she, The fair pale sister, went to her chill grave, With power

to love and to be loved and live,' and the hero even professes to have 'lived with Plato' and to 'have the key to life.' But in all the subsequent works, up to 1871, the one ancient whom Mr. Browning really loves is Aeschylus; 'the thunder-phrase of the Athenian, grown Up out of memories of Marathon,' 'You, who, Plataea and Salamis being scant, Put up with Aetna for a stimulant,' 'the halt and maimed Iketides,' 'who made his Titan's arch-device The giving men blind hopes to spice The meal of life with,' even St. John in the *Death in the Desert* must refer to 'that fable of Prometheus and his theft,' and yet further to 'those satyrs of his play, Who touched it in gay wonder at the thing.' There is nothing like the same wealth of reference to any other author. Homer is mentioned a few times with great but rather conventional reverence (one quotation in *Pippa Passes*); the future destiny of Euripides is scarcely foreshadowed in *Artemis Prologizes* (1842), and in the lovely passage in *Waring* (1842) which summarizes the history of Iphigeneia. Sophocles, as we have seen, had his place in *Pauline*, but he never appears again in all this period. Plato, with whom Pauline's lover had 'lived,' only appears once: 'I would fain...in all God's acts (as Plato cries He doth) He should geometrize' (*Christmas Eve and Easter-Day*).

Besides direct reference to authors, there are references to historical and mythical story, but these generally look as if they came from common knowledge rather than from actual classical reading. One group of such references is specially important, those which rest not on literature at all but on works of art. Even in *Pauline* the long description of Andromeda, and the adjective in the 'naked Swift-footed,' already show that to the poet's mind the ancient world is embodied in statues not less than in poems. After *Pauline*, his long years in Italy deepened and deepened his pre-occupation with art; all his conception of some important Greek figures, Apollo, Herakles, Niobe, seems to be derived from art, not from literature at all.

It may be noticed also that not only antiquity itself but the modern re-discovery of antiquity had at one time a strong fascination for him. We cannot now recover the amount of study which he had given to the more northern and mediæval side of the Renaissance, because it was very soon absorbed by the overmastering attraction of the same movement in Italy; but it is embodied beyond all possibility of under-estimate in *Paracelsus* and the *Grammarian's Funeral*.

Paracelsus could only despise 'the meanest plodder Trithemius quotes a marvel,' but that was not the judgment of Paracelsus's creator. Perhaps the philologist who magnifies his vocation the most can scarcely take to himself the lines that tell of one who 'knew the signal, and stepped on with pride Over men's pity,' who 'throws himself on God, and unperplexed Seeking shall find Him,' whose place was 'where meteors shoot, clouds form, Lightnings are loosened, Stars come and go.' But there the lines remain, a trumpet-call to the greatest of us and a consolation to the meanest, the everlasting charter of the scholar.

As we have seen, a new period begins in 1871, the period of minute study of Euripides and Aristophanes. It might be suggested that he had studied them before, but I must repeat the remark that he would have mentioned them if he had. We must take his new departure in writing as a new departure in reading. It can be no secret how *Balaustion's Adventure* came to be written. After Mrs. Browning's death he never shrinks from acknowledging her inspiring presence in all his work, and in this case he takes pains to make the connexion clear by the prefixed motto. But in truth the motto was not wanted. In the epilogue, where Balaustion lets her fancy play round the story of Alcestris, the poet is revealing the story of his own life. Alcestris must be sent back to the earth because when she left Admetus the powers of her soul were added to his, and he became strong beyond human due. 'Two souls in one were formidable odds. Admetos must not be himself and thou.' Under that figure he has shown us his own soul, passing through those twenty-eight lonely years strengthened with the strength of the Alcestris who did not return.

Coming to the study of Euripides in this way, as a sacred legacy from Mrs. Browning, he could not fail to see in him higher things than the mass of critics have seen. Where Euripides gave a comic turn to the traditional mythology, it was to bring the underlying solemnity into sharper prominence; where he marshalled the opposing arguments with wire-drawn volubility, it was to follow up the self-deceiving soul into its remotest hiding-place. Let us not say that this was wrong. A poet who is also a philosopher and a prophet has a right to see philosophy and religion that we cannot see in the works of another poet. In Mr. Browning's case the vision was helped by a theory which he seems to have held with ever-strengthening

conviction, that a poet who could move him to admiration must be fundamentally the same kind of poet as himself. However this may have been, he was inevitably led from Euripides to his contemporary critic; and so he gave two or three years to that exhaustive reading of Greek comedy, with all its scholia, fragments, and commentaries, which is turned out pell-mell in the pages of *Aristophanes's Apology*. Within its own field, the poem is the most astounding monument of erudition. Who was Saperdion? Where in Greek literature does *νεβλαρέται* occur as an exclamation? (Mr. Browning once answered this question by referring a correspondent to a fragment of Alexis, before the word had made its way into Liddell and Scott.) The erudition is astounding, certainly. But is the main contention tenable? Can we imagine Aristophanes defending his artistic method as he does here? Nay, can we imagine him defending it at all? Mr. Browning errs in good company, with Heine and Mr. Symonds and Mr. Swinburne, but the truth is that the *Weltvernichtungs-idee* is a mare's nest. All these learned and ingenious critics have gone astray because they could not bring themselves to realize that the 'secret of Aristophanes' is a secret of pure and simple frivolity. To go back to a former remark, Mr. Browning has drawn out the spiritual issues which were involved in the contest between comedy and philosophic tragedy; but as to understanding the personality of Aristophanes, that would be better done by Mr. Burnand.

It is right also, and surely not irreverent even at this moment, to point out that Mr. Browning's Greek learning is as narrow as it is wonderful. We might have thought that Aristophanes and Euripides would have led to some of their great contemporaries. But no. Aeschylus Mr. Browning knew already. Sophocles of course has to be brought in, but only with the indispensable minimum of reference; Plato is mentioned half-a-dozen times (always as 'Aristullos') but only in connexions which suggest books on Aristophanes rather than his own writings; where Socrates is mentioned, no saying recorded by Plato or Xenophon is ever quoted; the one mention of Thucydides ('Thoukudides invent his epitaph') is obscurely worded, but I cannot help suspecting that Mr. Browning had forgotten his exile.

In short, Mr. Browning's knowledge of Greek literature was narrow. But that was his way with his knowledge of everything. Most of us know first the highways, and

then a few of the by-ways. Mr. Browning used to know every inch of one highway with all its associated by-ways, and never set his foot on any other highway in the same region. If he had been a zoologist, he would have known all about lions and nothing about tigers. Of course, this is no disparagement to his greatness. His true field was not learning but life. Only, why could he not have read some Plato? Our wistful fancy cannot help framing some shadow of the transformed *Republic* and interpreted *Phaedrus*, for which we could have spared, perhaps, the refutation of Bubb Dodington and the divagations of the Famille Miranda.

Besides interpreting Greek tragedy, he translated it. The translations of the *Alcestis* (in *Balaustion*) and the *Hercules Furens* (in *Aristophanes's Apology*) and the *Agamemnon* are interesting, because they show us what works he loved and what his theory of translation was. It is doubtful whether it would have been a safe theory for any translator; certainly it was not a safe theory for Mr. Browning. To translate word for word and yet into beautiful verse, a translator must have an ear filled and a mind preoccupied with minute effects and delicate experiments in language; in short, he must be something that Mr. Browning never was. Moreover, he cared for the main matter too much to satisfy this fastidious generation in respect of 'settling *hoti's* business' and 'properly basing *oun*.' In short, these translations represent his play, not his work.

After the *Agamemnon* (1877) he did not write on the Greek drama again. But the impulse of his great Greek period remained. His later volumes are full of both Greek subjects and Greek references. One thing that he has learned, from his own interpreting of Euripides, is a new interest in mythology. ('A myth may teach. Only, who better would expound it thus Must be Euripides, not Aeschylus.' *Parleyings, Mandeville*.) Besides smaller references, there are the prologue to the *Parleyings*, with its rehand-

ling of Admetus's story, and *Ixion* (*Jocoseria*), with its conversion of the transgressor into a newer and more human Prometheus. But also there is a word in *Gerard de Loirese* (*Parleyings*) for those who might think that we must go back to myths for all our poetry. Outlying stories that he found in his great researches are worked up in *Echetlos* and *Pheidippides*. He is still constant to the Aeschylus of his youth, and especially to the *Prometheus*, and to these he adds Pindar and Homer, quoting all three in Roman letters in the midst of his verse. From Homer he is led to consider the 'Homeric question,' and uses it characteristically to show forth in allegory the religious education of mankind (*Asolando, Developments*). In this period, for the first time in his life, he begins to add Latin to Greek. He expands three playful lines of Virgil into the weird and pathetic mystery of *Pan and Luna* (*Dramatic Idylls*, II.). He refers three times to Juvenal (once in *Pacchiorotto*, twice in *Pietro of Abano*), (if I am right in so interpreting 'Sylla cuts a figure, leaving off dictating,' and 'while the half-mooned boot we boast'). But his pre-eminent Latin poet is Horace. Time after time he quotes him, and incorporates his Latin into the verse ('You've wine, manhood's master! Well, *rectius si quid Novistis impertite!*' Wait the event,' where I cannot free my mind from a gruesome suspicion of *impertite*). The final fruit of his Latin reading is *Imperante Augusto* (*Asolando*), of which nothing less can be said than that it might stand in *Men and Women*. Whether the subject-citizens of Augustus spoke exactly like this is as indifferent as the question whether Cardinal Wiseman defended himself like Bishop Blougram, or Andrea del Sarto felt himself dragged back from immortality by his wife. We may not have the situation as the Romans conceived it, but we have it as they would have conceived it, if they had had a poet great enough to show them how.

T. C. SNOW.

To the EDITOR of the CLASSICAL REVIEW.

DEAR SIR,

The enclosed lines, addressed to Mr. Robert Browning, and accompanying a little volume of Greek verse, were very graciously received by him last summer, and may on that account have some interest for your readers at the present time.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

ὦ μακάρι', ὅστις παντὸς ἀνθρώπου μαθὼν
ψυχὴν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην, λόγοις
ἐν ποικίλοις τε καὶ καλοῖς ἐφήμισω,
ὅσαις θ' ὁ χρηστὸς φροντίσιν μάτην πονεῖ,
ὅ τ' αὖ πανούργος ἀθλίως θυμοφθορεῖ,

χὼ μικτὸς ἀμφοῖν οἶον ἐξαντλεῖ βίον
γραφαῖς ἀριστ' ἔδωκας ἐξηκασμένον,
—ἀρ' ἂν δέχοιο καινὰ δὴ μὴμήματα
ἔργων παλαιῶν γνωρίμων τέ σοι ταδε,
μνημεῖ' ἔμοιγε φιλάτης ὁμίλιας;

BISHOP LIGHTFOOT'S LITERARY WORK AT DURHAM.

Not many generations have passed since a Bishopric was regarded as the natural goal of a scholar's life, in which, with much leisure and a few occasional routine duties, he might devote himself almost exclusively to his studies. But those days have happily passed away, and the present danger is rather that in the demand for practical men of business capacity the claims of scholarship to be duly represented in the highest posts of the Church should be passed over. The calls upon a Bishop's time and energies are simply endless: the enormous growth of population during the past twenty or thirty years in most of the English dioceses has by no means been met by a few tardy subdivisions; and the administrator of a large diocese has his hands so full, that it seems an impossibility for him to save any time for literary work. Every parish demands individual attention, and looks for at least occasional personal visits; Confirmations must be multiplied until they are held annually within reach of every parish; there is not a Church Society but looks to the Bishop to champion its cause in various centres; Conferences, Committees, Organizations, Gatherings of special bodies, etc. tend to increase on every side; while the daily post alone brings in enough work to employ the time of one man. In such a life as this, how is it possible for a Bishop, however gifted, to secure any leisure for literary work?

It was such considerations as these that aroused a serious anxiety in every quarter, when the announcement appeared in the newspapers on January 28, 1879 that Professor Lightfoot had accepted the see of Durham in succession to Dr. Baring. With regard to the episcopal appointment, as such, the news was greeted with universal satisfaction; but it was felt that the price would be altogether too great to pay for a powerful administrator in the Church if Dr. Lightfoot's new responsibilities should prevent him from giving to the world any more of the eagerly expected results of his life-work on the writers of the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers. A scholar of less note, it was urged, might well be found to organize and guide even such a great and difficult diocese as that of Durham; but no one could fill Dr. Lightfoot's place as a teacher and an expositor.

In the three months which intervened between his appointment and his consecration,

while he was still at Cambridge, letters kept continually pouring in upon the Bishop-elect from all manner of correspondents, imploring him to find time in some way or another to continue his literary labours; and Dr. Westcott's sermon at the consecration of his friend in Westminster Abbey, in which he sketched the ideal of a Bishop's work, contained an earnest plea for patient thought and study and wise counsel on deeper subjects than mere diocesan detail or development. To one and all of these appeals the Bishop himself returned one steadfast answer; 'he had not accepted the oversight of the diocese to neglect its duties. Experience would show, but he would not venture to predict, whether any time would be left him to continue his literary work.'

Accordingly from his first entering on his new sphere he devoted himself unflinchingly to the administration of his diocese; and frequently for weeks or even months at a time he found it impossible in the pressure of other work to secure any leisure for literary production. While however throughout his episcopate his diocese held the first and paramount position in Bishop Lightfoot's thought and energy, he consistently kept before him as only a secondary responsibility the urgent claim which rested upon him as a scholar and a theologian to strive earnestly to finish the work which he had undertaken before he became a Bishop. It was this constant sense of a great duty incumbent upon him that led him to devote every leisure hour that could be spared from diocesan work to the prosecution of his literary labours.

It is not an easy matter to point to any definite time or occasion which the Bishop was able regularly to secure for his books in the midst of his busy life at Auckland Castle. In the earlier years of his life there his habit was to rise very early in the morning, and lighting his own fire (which had been laid ready for him over-night) to make sure of two or three hours' quiet work in his bedroom before breakfast. But after a few years when the terrible strain that pressed upon him began to tell upon his health, he reluctantly abandoned this plan as anything like a general rule.

When his constant engagements took him from home, he would sacrifice any personal convenience to return before night, or at least very early the following morning, in

order to save as much time as possible. But even so the days at Auckland were seriously broken into. After breakfast he went through his letters with his chaplains, reserving a certain number to answer with his own hand, amongst which were the numerous communications he constantly received from scholars in all parts of Europe. The preparation of sermons, speeches, charges, etc., necessarily occupied a great deal of attention. And though the position of Bishop Auckland saved him from a large number of the inconsiderate callers who, had he lived at Durham, would have occupied his time about matters that could have been dealt with as well by post, still there were not a few to whom an interview was really important, and who accordingly found their way to Auckland Castle. But with all these interruptions the last hour or two of the morning not unfrequently found the Bishop engaged with his literary work, and he was often able to keep the greater part of the evening for it. Unfortunately too he would day after day restrict his exercise to a short stroll in his park, and then return to his work for the rest of the afternoon. For a man who had been used to a considerable amount of walking, this loss of fresh air and exercise was a serious strain upon his health.

The habit which the Bishop had formed of turning to his books at every available opportunity, however short, was exemplified even in the smallest details. Thus on his constant railway journeys, or in his long drives to the outlying villages of his diocese, he always had with him as his constant companion 'a bag (familiarily known as 'the Pandect'), in which were ready to his hand books, literary periodicals, proof-sheets, etc., for reference at any spare moment.

There was however one great opportunity for uninterrupted work open to the Bishop, which he was not slow to seize. When August came round, and he was able to get away for a summer holiday, he would carry off his books to some retired spot—generally in Scotland, and by preference to Braemar, where the bracing air and the quiet enabled him to work freely—and there he would abandon himself once more to a student's life. His diocesan correspondence followed him even there, but it did not reach him until mid-day, and the mornings and most of the evenings were kept sacred for literary work. It was during these holidays that a great part of his introduction to the Ignatian Epistles was written.

In the great bulk of his literary work Bishop Lightfoot depended entirely on his own labours. He never employed an amanuensis; he rarely allowed any one else even to verify his references. The only relief which he would accept was the almost mechanical correction of the proof-sheets of the new editions, as they were called for, of his 'Epistles of S. Paul.' But latterly he entrusted more and more of his editing work to his chaplain, the Rev. J. R. Harmer, who had prepared the indices for the edition of S. Ignatius. In passing the sheets of his books through the press the Bishop spared no pains to ensure completeness in every detail; thus, for instance, one sheet of Ignatius was kept back for months to enable him to add if possible an English rendering which would preserve the play upon words in *κακοδαίμων* in the Antiochene Acts of Martyrdom of S. Ignatius (§ II).

One great secret of the Bishop's being able to produce such a monument of learning and research as his Ignatius in the midst of an exceptionally active episcopate was the unique store of knowledge which he brought with him from Cambridge, and the remarkable accuracy of memory which enabled him to apply it readily. Page after page was written *currente calamo* with few or no books of reference at hand, and with only a 'ver.' here and there in the margin where future verification was required. He also had in a marked degree the power of again taking up the thread of his work after an interruption without a moment's hesitation. The thought of his complete and minute command of the whole range of the first three centuries excites a keen regret that the pressure of other business in the first instance, and afterwards the state of his health, should have prevented him from carrying out his original project, of writing a full historical introduction to his articles on 'Supernatural Religion' before re-issuing them in book form.

It would however be an inaccuracy to imply that all the Bishop's interest and researches were confined solely to the period of the Early Fathers. Apart from the various topics of general and current interest which engaged his attention, he was a thorough enthusiast and expert on the subject of English Church history and antiquities, especially with regard to the unique heritage of his own diocese. He was among the first to claim for the Northumbrian mission of the seventh century its true position in the evangelization of England; and he was

familiar with every detail of the ecclesiastical antiquities of Durham and Northumberland.

Auckland Castle came into his hands with few or no relics of the see: he left it a monument of the history of all his great predecessors from the days of Aidan himself. Stained glass windows, shields, episcopal seals, portraits, books, personal relics—such as the one faulty inscription of Butler, or the desk of Cosin—all tell the story of the past. In the summer of 1886 he began to prepare a monograph on the history of Auckland Castle, at which he continued to work to the end as occasion offered. His sermons on the north country saints, preached at various churches dedicated in their names, will form a series which in point of Early English Church history will carry far more than a merely temporary or local interest. The Bishop himself intended to publish these in a collected form when he had completed the whole cycle, according to the plan he had laid down for himself.

When Dr. Lightfoot was appointed to Durham in 1879 there was some hope that he might be able to continue at intervals to give at the northern University some of the lectures on the Greek Testament which had made him so famous as a teacher at Cambridge. His official position as Visitor of the University and Patron of the Canonries, with which two of its Professorships are endowed, seemed to give a certain ground for asking this of him. On more than one occasion during the first two years of his residence in the north he was urged to undertake such a course of lectures. But nothing would induce him to accede to this request. He felt that his hands were more than full of work in other directions, while the teaching staff of the University was amply sufficient for its needs. His interest however in the University never flagged, and it found a practical expression in the foundation by him in 1882 of the De Bury Scholarship for students who intend to take Holy Orders in the diocese of Durham.

In his own home at Auckland Castle he gathered round him a band of graduates of the older Universities, who were reading with a view to taking Holy Orders in his diocese. The teaching of these students was entrusted chiefly to the resident chaplains, of whom there were always two on account of this special work. The Bishop himself occasionally gave them a course of Greek Testament lectures, and the general direction of their studies rested with him: but more than this he was unable to do. Altogether,

in the ten years eighty of these students have been trained at Auckland.

The one impression left upon the minds of all who knew Bishop Lightfoot, on a review of his ten years' episcopate, must always be that of a Father of the Church, who set himself to rule over his diocese with conspicuous devotion, judgment, and ability; whose power of work seemed to be without limit, whose liberality was without stint; the motto of whose life was to spend and be spent for those to whom, as he himself expressed it on the day of his enthronement at Durham, he had given himself wholly for better or worse. And when to all his other labours was added the strain of the Lambeth Conference of 1888, in which he bore no small part, it was the last burden which hopelessly broke down his already overtaxed strength. In the midst of a life of such ceaseless and varied activity, it was only by the stern exercise of his inflexible will, and a steadfast and self-denying earnestness of purpose, that he was able in any degree to continue his literary labours.

H. E. SAVAGE.

‘He was strong by that sobriety of judgment which commands the old, and that fire of enthusiasm which wins the young. His interest centred in the fulness of human life. Speculation had comparatively little attraction for him. Even this limitation of his intellectual character increased his influence and effectiveness in dealing with concrete facts. He shrank from indistinctness and indecision. Nothing visionary, nothing that men call mystical, marred the effect of his masculine reasoning . . . In argument and in exposition he preserved a true sense of proportion. His learning was always an instrument and not an end. No investigation of detail ever diverted his attention from the main issue. He mastered two outlying languages, Armenian and Coptic, in order to deal more surely with the secondary materials of the Ignatian controversy, but no ordinary reader would know the fact. For him the interpretation of ancient texts was a study in life. He held books to be a witness of something far greater, through which alone they could be understood. A Greek play or a fragmentary inscription, or a letter of Basil or a homily of Chrysostom, was to him a revelation of men stirred by like passions with ourselves, intelligible only

through a vital apprehension of the circumstances under which they were written. He was a born historian. "How I long," he said to me more than once, "to write a history of the fourth century." If he has not written it, he has shown how it must be written.'

[*Sermon preached at Westminster Abbey by Canon Westcott on the Sunday following the Bishop's death.*]

The interesting words just quoted will only deepen the feeling of regret with which, if we are not mistaken, scholars in general regarded the self-sacrificing obedience of Prof. Lightfoot to the call which removed him from a centre of thought and learning to the distractions of a busy and populous diocese. Granted that his influence as Bishop was of the highest value to the Church at large and to his own diocese in particu-

lar, we have to set against this the heavy loss to Cambridge, which under the fostering care of himself and his brother professors had become perhaps the most important seed-plot of the Church in England; and, besides this, there is the thought of the added years of fruitful literary work which might have been hoped for if he had continued to reside in his University. Was it really necessary that our Bede should be forced to take up the work of a Ceadda as well? However the past cannot be undone. It is some consolation that, as we are told, there is a prospect of a rich aftermath, including a much-enlarged edition of Clement, several volumes of sermons and addresses, an unfinished volume on the Northumbrian Saints, notes on the remaining Epistles of St. Paul, and possibly some notes on Aeschylus.—Ed.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM SARDINIA.—II.

SIGNOR TAMPONI, the energetic Sardinian archaeologist who recently communicated to the *Classical Review* (iii. 228-233) an important find of milestones, has conferred a fresh favour by sending the inscriptions printed below, all of which, as I understand, are unpublished. At the editor's request I have added, as before, a few notes.

F. HAVERFIELD.

III.—MILESTONES.

The following belong to the same series as those published in the *Notizie* (1888 p. 535) and in this *Review* (p. 228), being found near Olbia (*Terranova*), nos. 1-4 at Sbrangatu, no. 5 at Telti, on the Roman road to Carales (*Cagliari*). All are fragmentary, and are interesting mainly as being unpublished. The supplements in italics are inserted (conjecturally) for the reader's convenience only. The details given in italics are quoted from Sig. Tamponi.

1. Height 32 in., circumference 42 in.

M P CLX. II

MIVS

PIVS * FELIX Aug

PONT * MAXIMVS

NO. XXX. VOL. IV.

5

TRIB * POTESTATE

viam quae DVCET A KARAL * OLBIE

VETVSTATE CORRVP TAM

restituit CVRANTE M * PI

VS

10

V *

The emperor's name, if the text be right, must be Septimius (Severus or Geta). The procurator's name cannot be restored: no known governor's name begins *M. Pi.*., nor, indeed, are *nomina* beginning in *Pi* at all common.

2. Height 37 in., width 15 in., thickness 8 in.

M P CLXVIII

DN IMP CAES

FLABIO

CAES

FEL * INVICTO

//////////

viam QVE DVCIT A KARALIBVS

OLBIAE * BETVSTATE corruptam

RESTITVIT

Obviously one of the Constantines.

3. Height 52 in., width 16 in., thickness 12 in.

F

/ / / / / / / /
 QVAE DVCIT
 KARALIBVS * OLB
 BETVSTATE * COR
 REST
 / / / / / / / /

4. Height 44 in., circumference 16 in.

M * P * CLXX
 I P CAES
 / / / / / / / /
 / / / / / / / /
 / / / / / / / /

2. I[M]P.

5. Height 78 in., circumference 56 in.

M P CLXV
 DN IMP CAES DOM
 ANVS
 / / / / / / / / / /
 KARALIB * OLBI
 CORRVPТА restituit
 PRÆTIVS VP
 PRESES Provinciae
 SARDINIE

7. V(ir) P(erfectissimus)

In line 2 the supplement *Dom[iti]anus* is impossible, because (1) the title *d(ominus)* *n(oster)* appears first in 194 A.D. (2) *Imp. Caesar* is unusual till 100 A.D. (3) *vir perfectissimus* is unknown till 200 A.D. (Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsgesch.* 274 n. 1). (4) Under Domitian Sardinia was governed by a senatorial magistrate. No doubt *L]Dom[iti]us Aureli]anus* is meant. The procurator of Sardinia was sometimes called *praeses* even before Diocletian.

IV.—INSTRUMENTVM DOMESTICVM.

Since the editors of the *Corpus* led the way, archaeologists have begun to pay great attention to the smaller inscribed objects, such as bricks, lamps, pottery, which earlier scholars except perhaps in England had grievously neglected. There is, indeed, a good deal to be learnt from these *minutiae*. We do not usually think of the emperors as wholesale manufacturers. But the Julio-Claudian family owned in the *officina Pansiana* a brick and earthenware factory which supplied all Italy and even Dalmatia, while Marcus Aurelius and his mother Lucilla before him derived a princely revenue from their brick-yards. We do not, again, usually imagine

that means of transport were sufficiently advanced in the first two centuries A.D. to enable capitalists to supply distant regions. But the lamps of almost the whole empire were probably made in Italy, while the red 'Samian' ware which was universally used, e.g. in Roman Britain, was all but entirely imported from certain potteries in France.

A. Flat tiles.

1. Circular stamp 3 in. in diameter, with a figure of Victory to l. Beneath in a semicircle. STATI . M . LVCIFERI

Compare in, *C.I.L.* vol. 5,

8048³⁸ *Statius Marcius Lucifer fec(it)*
³⁹ *M. Stati Luciferi*

On mortaria (*pelves*) from Pompeii and Herculaneum. The same factory no doubt made all the rougher kinds of 'baked earth' ware (*opus doliare*).

Compare also, in *C.I.L.* 5,

8048^{34 35} *St. M. Celer* (mortaria, Pompeii, etc.)

8048⁶⁷ *Stat. Marcius, Demetrius fec.* (tiles, Antium, Velitrae)

8056²⁰⁴ *Stat. Ma. . . ., Demetr. . . .* (pottery, Puteoli)

8048⁴⁰ *Statius Marcius, Primigen[i]us fec.* (mortarium, Stabiae)

ib.⁴¹ (so n.⁴²) *Stat. Marcius Secun[dus] fec. in figlin[is]* (mortaria, Pompeii)

8042⁷¹ (so 8043⁶⁸) *St. Marc, Stator f* (tiles, Antium &c.)

8048⁴³ *St. Marcius, Tognaeu[s] f* (mortaria, Pompeii)

More might be quoted, but these are enough to show that we have a firm using two *nomina*, Statius and Marcius, and a varying cognomen. Descemet (*Inscriptions Doliaries* n. 223-5) includes the work of some Statii Marci among the products of the 'Domitia Lucilla' works (*circ.* 123 A.D.), but only because the formula *Valeat qui fecit* appears on both sets of stamps.

2. M * LOLLI
 TIRACAES

This seems to complete *C.I.L.* 5, 8046²⁰ and ⁴⁰.

3. ZIMPONI

Probably imperfect.

4. HEREN

Tiles with this name are not uncommon.

5. HC * HC * III *

6. ANSI *C.I.L.* 5, 8042¹⁰.

7. SILV * CIS

8. Round a semicircle.

C * LICINI DONA. . . .

B. *Lamps, with reliefs representing flowers.*

9. BIC AGAT

C.I.L. 8053⁴⁶. (*Cagliari*).

10. L' CAESSAE

Read CAE[σ].

11. AVFIFRON

Both these are common lamps (Wilmanns 2832), and have been found even in Britain where inscribed lamps are relatively uncommon: the Guildhall museum contains an unpublished ex. of each (of the latter the variety AVFFRON), and Mr. Clayton has one of the latter at Chesters.

C. *Glass.*

12. *On the bottom of a glass vase, with a female figure.*

RIMON

Probably incomplete. Cp. C.I.L. 12 5696,¹⁹ *Patrimonium* and *Patrimni* (sic), and a fragment found and preserved at York (museum catal. p. 90) PATRIM. . . (wrongly read and published by Mr. Th. Watkin.)

D. 13 *A gold ring with a precious stone, showing the seal:—*

PV

VT' FE

PV are the initials of donor or recipient. VT. FE = *utere felix*, as common a formula as the Christian *vivas in deo*.

E. *Pottery* (smaller):—

14. RASINISPIS

C.I.L. 5. 8056^{300 to 303}, *Rasini Pisani* (potter's name).

15. . . LIS 16. . . ANVS

17 Among the ornament apparently outside

?Va (LERIO)

17—22 *cylindrical vases decorated with flowers: on the foot:—*

17. M' F 18. S' EX' M' P

19. M' P 20. S' C

21. M' E 22. ACVIVS

24. On the handle of a vase:—

OPID

Sig. Tamponi sent drawings of Nos. 1, 8, 17, which I have tried to represent by description.

F. HAVERFIELD.

Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Alterthums. By F. IMHOOF-BLUMER and OTTO KELLER. Leipzig, 1889. 4to. 24 Mk.

THIS most useful and long-needed work consists of twenty-six large photographic plates of coins and gems representing animals and plants, and of 161 pages of descriptive text, with full indexes.

The value of numismatic and glyptic illustrations of the natural history of the ancients is well-known, but hitherto the inquirer has had to select his coins and gems from miscellaneous works and periodicals. The numismatic portion of the present book has been prepared by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer with his usual sound judgment and wide knowledge. The coins selected are principally Greek of the autonomous period. The text gives a full description of every coin illustrated, with a mention of the cabinet where the specimen exists. It is perhaps a little to be regretted that the approximate date of the coins is not stated, especially for the benefit of those who are not numismatists. A reference to Mr. Head's *Historia Numorum* will, however, in most cases enable the student to gather this information for himself. Dr. Otto Keller (the author of the *Tiere des Klassischen Alterthums*) has most carefully brought together a very large selection of ancient gems engraved with subjects from natural history, and has written the accompanying text. With regard to the general arrangement, the coins and gems form separate sections, and in each an alphabetical order of subjects is adopted. The mammalia stand first, and then follow the birds, reptiles, fish, insects, plants, &c., nor are even the 'Fabelhafte Tiere' and 'Mischwesen' forgotten.

WARWICK WROTH.

Manual of Ancient Sculpture. By PIERRE PARIS. Edited and augmented by JANE E. HARRISON. London, H. Grevel and Co., 1890. 8vo. pp. xvi., 369; 187 illustrations. 10s. 6d.

This is a volume of the 'Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-arts,' and in the English version it belongs to the 'Student's Fine Art Library.' The aim of the book is to supply not a history of sculpture, but a running commentary on the artistic and aesthetic qualities of selected specimens. Exception may well be taken to the whole scheme of the book. Facts and dates are for the most part shadowy, but the student is given an elaborate series of aesthetic principles. It seems a more profitable plan, to supply the framework of fact, and to suggest the principles involved in the tersest language possible, leaving the reader to develop the details, as far as his powers will allow.

If however the author's point of view is accepted, the work is fairly well performed. The commentary is as readable as can be expected; it adopts, as a rule, the accepted, not to say the conventional views; and there is an abundance of illustrations.

The hand of the English editor is visible throughout the Greek and Roman sections. Short bibliographies (which would be better, if they were more accurately printed) are prefixed to each section; distinct errors have in several places been corrected; more specimens have been quoted. Allusions have been introduced to recently propounded theories, about which M. Paris is silent, either by design, or because he has not followed the latest archaeological literature. More than once, also, there are hints that the editor has a more personal knowledge of Greece than the author. It should be added that in some instances the artistic judgments have been almost re-written, although the editor's preface suggests a contrary impression. Compare the criticisms of the Caryatids of the Erechtheion (p. 235) and of the sculptured drum from Ephesus (p. 267). The illustrations have been increased in number, and occasionally improved in quality.

It is to be regretted that the translation, which is in many ways an improvement on the original,

is disfigured with a great number of misprints. Some are obvious, and others are more obscure as *Caovoclas* for *Cavvadias* on p. xvi. I conjecture that 'chit' on p. 159 should be 'club'; that on p. 184 'Berlin Museum' should be 'British Museum'; that on p. 261 the 'Doryphoros in the British Museum' should be the 'Diadumenos of Mr. Blacker.' On p. 358 *Kanachos* should be read for *Kalamis*. *Pasiteles* appears on p. 184 as *Praxiteles*, and on page 366 as *Pastiles*. On p. 317 the English version assigns to Lessing a theory that Titus was the sculptor of the *Laocoon*, which, as is justly observed, 'is of course impossible.'

A. H. SMITH.

The Horsemen of Tarentum. By ARTHUR J. EVANS, M.A., F.S.A. London, (Quaritch), 1889, 8vo. 12s. 6d.

This most able and thorough monograph on the coins of Tarentum with the horsemen types was originally printed by Mr. Evans in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and is now, with the addition of indices and a table of contents, very welcome in the more accessible form of a separate publication. It is very fully illustrated by eleven autotype plates and by some woodcuts. The coins are distributed into ten periods (B.C. 450–209), the description of the money of each period being preceded by an introduction. A general introduction occupies pages 1–29. The chronology of the different issues is worked out with minute care, and the arrangement proposed certainly seems convincing. Some important evidence is derived from various hoards of Tarentine coins examined by Mr. Evans himself. In several of the varieties of the horsemen and *Taras* types, Mr. Evans ingeniously finds allusions to the actual history of Tarentum, and it can hardly be doubted that such allusions exist. There is an excellent section on engravers' names. Mr. Evans points out that the Tarentine engravers, some of whom certainly worked for other cities of *Magna Graecia*, signed the coins not only in their artistic capacity but as officials responsible for the weight and metals. The monograph is one which all numismatists will study with the greatest interest, and it will well repay the attention of classical archaeologists, in spite of the minute treatment necessarily entailed by so complex a series of coins. Mr. Evans should not fail to give us similar essays on the coinages of other cities of *Magna Graecia*.

WARWICK WROTH.

A Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients (B.C. 700–A.D. 1). By BARCLAY V. HEAD, D.C.L., Ph.D. London, 1889, 8vo., with 7 plates. Third edition. 2s. 6d.

This is a new edition of the admirable guide written by Mr. Head to accompany the large series of electrotypes of Greek and Roman coins selected by him for exhibition in the British Museum and other public institutions. The work is now so well known that it will be enough to call attention to the fact that the author has in the present edition (the third) made many material improvements in accordance with his *Historia Numorum* and other numismatic publications that have appeared since 1881, the date of the second edition of the *Guide*. The grouping of the coins in periods remains, however, almost unaltered and the arrangement of the plates has, very wisely, not been disturbed. The half-crown edition now before us is accompanied by seven autotype plates giving a selection of some of the most interesting coins of each period. The edition of the *Guide* costing twenty-five shillings

and illustrated by seventy plates is not yet out of print, but will, when re-issued, be accompanied by the same revised text as the new half-crown edition.

W. W.

ATHENAIOS, xi. 49.—In describing the type of drinking-cup termed *καρχήσιον*, Athenaios quotes the following description of it from Callixenos of Rhodes: *ποτήριόν ἐστιν ἐπίμηκες, συνηγμένον εἰς μέσον ἐπικεικῶς, ὧτα ἔχον μέχρι τοῦ πυθμένος καθήκοντα*. He then observes that the mast-head of a ship was also termed *καρχήσιον*, and that Asclepiades of Myrleia said that the drinking-cup was copied from the mast-head. Accordingly he quotes from Asclepiades a description of a mast containing the following description of the mast-head: *ἔχει δὲ τοῦτο κεραίαι ἄνω συννεούσας ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τὰ μέρη, καὶ ἐπικείται τὸ λεγόμενον αὐτῷ θωράκιον, τετράγωνον πάντῃ πλὴν τῆς βάσεως καὶ τῆς κορυφῆς· αὐταὶ δὲ προὔχουσι μικρὸν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐξωτέρω*. This is repeated by Eustathios, p. 1423, but more briefly: *καρχήσιον, ᾧ ἐπικείται τὸ λεγόμενον θωράκιον*. The whole passage is translated by Macrobios, *Saturnalia*, v. 21, 5: but his translation is useless; for he has mistaken *ἰστοῦ* for *ἰστίου*, and thus gone hopelessly astray.

The top and bottom of the *θωράκιον*, which were not *τετράγωνος*, bulged slightly outward; therefore the intervening portion, which was *τετράγωνος*, did not bulge; in other words, it had straight sides. This seems to be the whole meaning of *τετράγωνος* in the curious phrase *κύλινδρος τετράγωνος πανταχῇ*, in *Corp. Inscr. Attic.* vol. ii. no. 835, l. 70: for the object would hardly be termed *κύλινδρος* if its transverse section were square. As the *θωράκιον* was the crow's-nest, the transverse section would more probably be round than square. Now the *καρχήσιον* (the drinking-cup) is described as elongated and contracting gently in the middle: and the transverse section of every drinking-cup was necessarily round. Thus the body of the *καρχήσιον* (the drinking-cup) so far corresponds in shape to the *θωράκιον*, that I would venture to read *ἔγκειται* for *ἐπικείται*, so as to make the *θωράκιον* the central portion of the *καρχήσιον* (the mast-head): the horns curving up on each side of this (*κεραίαι ἄνω συννεούσας ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τὰ μέρη*), consequently corresponding to the handles reaching down to the bottom (*ὧτα μέχρι τοῦ πυθμένος καθήκοντα*) of the drinking-cup. As these *κεραίαι* are described as *συννεούσας*, they clearly cannot be *κεραίαι* in the usual nautical sense; for then they would be straight. A pair of rings for the halliards is sometimes plainly represented at the mast-head, as in the Corinthian painting in *Antike Denkmäler*, vol. i. pl. 8, fig. 3; and these resemble the handles of a drinking-cup. But such rings would not necessarily be perfect; for the lower part would alone suffice to hold the halliards, so that the upper part might remain open: and then they would resemble a pair of horns. The corruption of *ἔγκειται* into *ἐπικείται* is highly probable: for Asclepiades describes the mast from the bottom upwards to the top; so that a copyist might easily conclude that, as the *θωράκιον* is mentioned after the *καρχήσιον*, the one was really above the other.

CECIL TORR.

PAUSANIAS v. 11, 1.—Pausanias in his description of the Zeus Olympios of Pheidias (v. 11, 1) says that his himation was adorned with various animal forms and lilies: and in v. 22 he describes a statue of Zeus, probably of the pre-Pheidian period, by the Aeginetan Aristonoos, on the head of which was a crown of lilies. Whether lilies appear elsewhere as an attribute or symbol in the representations of Zeus I do not know. It is usual to say that Pheidias only

used them as symbols of beauty in general. But a passage in Athenaeus (15, p. 684 D) suggests a more specially appropriate interpretation: 'Νικανδρός φησιν ἐξ ἀνδριάντος τῆς κεφαλῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν καλουμένην ἀμβροσίαν φύεσθαι ἐν Κῷ.'...τὸ κρίνον οὕτω λέγουσι. It may be that the legend arose from the record of a crown of lilies carved on the head of Alexander's statue: in any case it is clear that the meaning of the passage turns on the word ἀμβροσία, and the idea is that the lily expressed the immortality or apotheosis of Alexander. It may well then have the same meaning on the himation of the Olympian Zeus, and on the head of the Aeginetan work they may be an allusion to the ἀμβροσίαι χαῖται.

L. R. FARNELL.

PINDAR, PYTH. xii. 16, εὐπάραος κράτα σὺλᾶσαις Μεδούσας. εὐπάραος has been generally regarded as a literary epithet, quite against the method of Pindar. Is it not rather that the poet idealizes a process which he saw going on around him in art? The type of Medusa on the coins of Coroneia was gradually refined, and as early as 450 B.C. presents a face which, but for the conventional lolling tongue, has nothing of the goblin left [v. Brit. Mus. *Cat. Gr. C. Centr. Gr.* pl. vii. 6 and note the continuance of the refinement in pl. vii. 8, 385 B.C. and vii. 9, 335 B.C.]. The twelfth Pythian was written for Midas of Agrigentum, and in Sicily also a milder type of Medusa's mask was known [as at Kamarina, Syracuse, Motye, Egesta: v. B. M. *Cat. Sicily*, pp. 39-40: 244-5: and Torremuzza *Sic. Vet. Num.* tab. 68, 19 and 20: though some of these coins are 1vth century]. On the other hand when Pindar, as in the xth Pythian, writes for a Spartan audience, Medusa is still encircled with a 'horror of serpents.' The epithet εὐπάραος taken literally represents the one title to beauty which the Medusa might be held to possess: the full cheek, when once, as in the Coroneian coins, the rictus of the monster disappears, is in truth 'comely.' Pindar, with the privilege of a Greek poet, creates mythology by indicating the possibilities inherent in the spirit of a contemporary art, which again was indebted for its technical tradition to an old-time half-identification of Medusa with Hathor.

WOOD BEAMS IN STONE ARCHITECTURE.—In the last number of the *Philologisches Wochenblatt* (2nd Nov.) Dörpfeld notes in reference to M. Tsountas' latest report on Mycenae that the walls there mentioned are constructed with a balk of timber in between the courses of squared stone. Naturally Dörpfeld recalls Solomon's buildings [1 Kings vii. 2]. To this reference however I would add Pliny, *N.H.* xvi. 79, who states that the cedar-beams in the walls of the Apollo temple at Utica had lasted down to his own time. Similarly the Lycian architecture shows unmistakable traces of having formerly employed beams of wood, where afterwards marble was used: but in Lycia the case is somewhat different, as building in stone seems to have been copied *en bloc* from building in wood. In Africa and Palestine the use of wood beams in alternation with stone is an introduction of the Phoenicians: in Greece and Lycia there may possibly be the influence of the same master-builders. Phoenicia was a great building nation, and its houses were famous [Jos. *B.J.* II. 18-9: Ezek. xxvi. 12, where the construction with stone and timber alternating seems to be directly noticed: 1 K. vi. 36: Ez. xxvii. 3]. Certain passages in the Talmud also allude to a distinctive Phoenician style of architecture, and there again the element of difference may be the employment of cedar-beams [Mishna Maaserath III. 5, an 'Atrium

Tyrium': Baba Bathra III. 6, a 'scala Tyria,' and 'fenestra Tyria'].
H. ARNOLD TUBBS.

WAS THE PATERA USED IN SACRIFICES BY THE ROMAN RITE?—Baumeister in his *Denkmäler* (fig. 1304) gives without demur—perhaps he is right—the figure of a priest with veiled head (and therefore sacrificing *ritu Romano*), who holds a patera in his right hand; and indeed familiar passages in Horace and elsewhere naturally dispose us to associate the patera with libations at Rome of any kind; with this too Marquardt seems to agree on page 654 of his *Privatleben*. But for all that, questions suggest themselves—what parts did the simpulum (or simpivium) play, of which Festus says 'quo vinum in sacrificiis libatur'? And still more, how can we account for the fact that, whereas the patera was unquestionably often made of silver, there is no mention of it in Liv. xxvi. 36, along with the salinum and patella among the silver articles retained for religious services in the year 210 B.C.? The easiest answer, if it could be made good, would be that the patera, as a Roman equivalent for φιάλη, came in later from the Greek cities of Italy, and with the Græcicus ritus. It is true that the Etruscans had a vessel like a φιάλη with a handle, which we usually call a patera, but that differed from the ordinary patera (which was precisely like the φιάλη), and we have no evidence of its use at Rome. If we set down the patera as of comparatively late introduction, perhaps not before the latter part of the 3rd century B.C., we may suppose the old Roman vessels for libation to have been the simpulum alone or the simpulum combined with the capis; and these, with the conservatism of religion, would be retained whenever the ritus Romanus was used.

We can thus understand why in the relief on the Arcus Argentarius, for instance, among the sacrificial implements the simpulum and capis appear, but no patera (if we suppose it to be a representation of implements for the Roman rite): and why again the simpulum is the badge of the old Roman order of Augurs, while the patera marks the Epulones who date only from B.C. 196. That the simpulum was one of the primitive sacred vessels is clear from Varro's statement (*L.L.* v. 124) that it had in old times been used at the dinner table, but, being superseded there by the Greek cyathus, was retained for sacrifices, and from the passage in Juvenal (vi. 343), where it is coupled with the 'niger catus' (?=præfericulum), which was probably for public sacrifices what the smaller patella was for domestic. The term *simpultrices* applied to women would hence naturally convey the imputation, if it is to be so regarded, of old-fashioned piety. The omission of the simpulum from the list of silver plate in Liv. xxvi. 36 is explained by Pliny's remark (*H.N.* xxxv. § 158) that the primitive earthenware for the simpulum was retained, from a conservative sentiment, even in his time. The words of Festus and Pliny seem (though not beyond a doubt) to assert that the wine taken from the larger vessel or crater was poured directly from the simpulum, but in some cases the simpulum must have been used to fill the capis, from which the libation was then poured (cf. Liv. x. 7). The view that the patera did not belong to the Roman rite may be at any moment (and perhaps has been) overthrown by monumental evidence. The figure from the Vatican, alluded to above, as shown in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, would overthrow it, if the patera in the right hand of the veiled priest were authentic; but, as both hands are admitted to be restorations, it is impossible in this instance to say what the sculptor meant them to hold.
G. E. MARINDIN.

MARBLE CALATHOS-STELE FROM POLI.—One interesting product of this year's excavations at Poli was the worked stone found in grave K 29. There can be no doubt that it is a calathos, and, so far as I know, such a sepulchral monument is unique. The stone was apparently set up on a stele of some sort, for on its under side is a fusing-hole:—from tomb K 2 came the counterpart, an octagonal stele with a similar hole above. A reproduction of such a tombstone may be seen for example on a Campanian vase in the Berlin collection [No. 3317]¹; and the practice of making a calathos the actual grave-monument is the natural outcome of the custom of which Vitruvius speaks in the well-known story about the origin of the Corinthian—or calathos—capital in Greek architecture.² In itself the calathos as a basket is simply a useful piece of household furniture, but its connection with funeral rites lends it a certain specific character as the appropriate vehicle of offerings to the dead. In this sense it is frequently placed, by S. Italian vase-painters, inside the aedicula itself.³ The border-line between this use of the calathos and that in which it is merely an article of furniture is not very clearly marked, so that one hesitates to assign a symbolic meaning to its presence on *e.g.* the Albani relief, or a r. f. hydria in Berlin, where the scene is sepulchral.⁴ It is just possible that in the light of the stone found at Poli, and of vases like those in Tischbein (iv. 47 and v. 7), we should recognize a 'sacrifice at the grave' in a series of scenes where a calathos occupies the centre, as though it had been an altar, to which libations and other offerings seem to be made: this series is mainly confined to the small Athenian r. f. lekythoi of humble workmanship which date from the fourth century. It seems at least probable that the scenes on these vases were intended to have a funeral significance; and where they are taken by themselves little more than genre, there is still a suggested connection between the life here and that beyond the grave.

The contents of tomb K 29 at Poli cannot be dated with entire certainty. For the most part they belong to the middle of the fourth century; but it is not precisely determinable whether the tomb has not been used twice, at which indeed the find-spot of the calathos rather hints. The stone was lying in the

very middle of the floor, and the pedestal to which it had been attached had disappeared. It is however evident from the discovery that at the latest in the fourth century B.C. there existed in Cyprus a very simple form of calathos-capital, scarcely to be derived from the Corinthian, but belonging rather to an older architectural system. There are indeed species of Cypriote capitals which have, on very slender grounds, been claimed as 'prototypes' of the Corinthian⁵; but to speak of a 'prototype' in this connection is somewhat meaningless unless the word is used in a new sense. That however the Corinthian order had predecessors, and predecessors in a nearer degree than the Ionic—to say nothing of the Egyptian campaniform—is inevitable: though the gain of truth in Vitruvius' story may be of the minutest. Simpler or variant forms of the calathos-capital were known in Greek architecture,⁶ and such a one is this from Cyprus. But the Poli stone is something more than a variant: it is, in despite of chronology, a predecessor, a suggestion of the form invented by Callimachus; and as such deserves some attention. The purpose it served still dominates it, the upper and lower horizontal bands confining the fronds which threaten otherwise to dissolve the basket-shape: so that what is in effect a free and graceful architectural member is lowered to the level of superstition and utility. Take away the fetter of religious custom, let the fronds of the calathos shake themselves free from the band which still keeps up the likeness to a basket, and the new theory of the capital stands complete. The superstructure is no longer supported on the column as on a prop, but it grows from it as the head of a date-palm grows from its stem.

H. ARNOLD TUBBS.

CHERSONESOS CNIDIA.—With reference to my article (*C.R.* 1889, p. 422), I have further noticed in the *Ἀρχαῖα. Δελτίον* of June 1888, p. 112, a new fragment of a quota list, which shows that the Cnidian Chersonesoi there are a *συντέλεια*. There were however *more than three cities*, for the tribute of the three contained in the fragment cannot jointly amount to as much as a talent, whereas the tribute of the *Χερρόνησοι* is three talents.

W. R. PATON.

¹ Cf. No. 3024 *ibid.*

² Vitr. *De Arch.* IV. i. 9. *sgg.*

³ *e.g.* Berlin No. 3171, or Millin II. 29.

⁴ Antiq. No. 2379. Furtwängler gives a strange explanation as though the scene had some connection with the Paris story. The *κάλαθος* here indicates the *γυναικωνίτις*, whither Hermes has come as *ψυχοπόμπος* to carry off the wife and mother to the shades. That this is the meaning, the gestures of the *dramatis personae* plainly show. The mistress is interrupted, like the maid, in the midst of her household duties; and with something of terror, and something of remonstrance she listens to the bidding of Hermes, whose downward-pointed staff marks the character of his message, as the opened argumentative left hand indicates the delivery of it. [For the gestures of both Hermes and the woman cf. those of the same characters on a polychrome lekythos in *Stackelb. Gräber*. pl. xlvii.] The Hermes may be compared with the figure of the same god on a mirror (Etruscan) also in Berlin, where he is superintending the removal of a dead warrior, aided curiously enough by a youthful satyr.

An interesting feature in the Berlin vase, a fifth century piece of work, is the evident intention to express emotion in the face of the unfortunate lady.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part III. 1889.

Warwick Wroth. 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1888' (with one autotype plate). Describes in detail 52 of the most noteworthy of the 455 Greek coins acquired by the Museum. Among the specimens, which include several coins not described in the European portion of the British Museum *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, are a bronze coin of Mopsium in Thessaly with a reverse-type (Mopsus and a Centaur) resembling a Parthenon metope (No. III.) in the British Museum; an unpublished Lamp-sacene stater, of fine style, with obverse, head of Zeus; a silver coin of Cannus, already described by Mr. T. Bent in *Journal Hell. Stud.* 1889, p. 85; a bronze coin, with a Greek inscription, of Parlais in Lycaonia, a town of which only Roman Colonial coins had previously been known; well-preserved silver coins of Mallus in Cilicia; Jewish half-shekels of years 3 and 4.—Sir A. Cunningham. 'Coins of the Tochari,

⁵ As those in C. Ceccaldi *Mons Ante du Chypre* pp. 43 and 44.

⁶ As in later work, like the Caryatid columns by Kriton and Nikolaos, or the Herodian pillar of the mosque El Aksa at Jerusalem (the latter is figured in Renan, *Mission*, pl. xli.).

Kushâns, or Yue-ti.' Deals chiefly with the history and coinage of the Scythian conquerors of Bactriana.

W. W.

ACQUISITIONS OF BRITISH MUSEUM.

1. The Trustees of the Museum have arranged for the purchase of the magnificent silver treasure of Chaource, which was offered for sale in Paris in June 1888 and is fully described and illustrated in the sale catalogue issued on that occasion; these descriptions are partly based on a study by the Abbé Thédénat and M. Héron de Villefosse in the *Gazette Archéologique* of 1885, pp. 111, 256 and 317.

The treasure was discovered in 1883 by some peasants working in a field near Montcornet (Aisne): the first piece was turned up by the plough, and this led to the finding of the remainder, the entire set having been originally wrapped in a piece of cloth which had almost wholly perished. Six Roman bronze coins were afterwards found on the spot, dating from the reigns of Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus and Postumus: from this and other internal evidence it is clear that the objects date from the second century A.D.

They consist of thirty vases of silver, and six of bronze plated with silver, comprising an almost complete table service, *ministerium*: there is also a silver statuette of Fortuna (*Trésor*, pl. II. No. 31), with a base which may have belonged to it, a statuette of a squatting Arab slave (*Trésor*, pl. II. No. 32) whose hair is pierced with six holes,—possibly a pepper pot, *piperatorium* (?), and the fragments of a flute (?). One of the silver plates is decorated on the interior with a medallion on which, in relief, is Hermes between a cock and a ram (*Trésor*, pl. IX. No. 29). Perhaps the most attractive piece is a large silver situla with movable handle (*Trésor*, pl. X. No. 30), which has a broad frieze of floral orna-

ment in relief around the mouth. The reliefs in both these pieces are parcel gilt.

The workmanship, which is of great beauty, is probably of Roman origin, as is shown by the occurrence of such names as Genialis, Aurelianus, Kavarianus, incised on some of the objects.

2. A sard scaraboid mounted on a silver hoop and engraved with the figure of Athene holding out the *akrostolion* of a ship, found in Cyprus. Mr. Murray, who has kindly promised to write a description of this gem for the next number of the *Review*, thinks that it may have been intended to commemorate a naval victory in which Athene had assisted the Cypriotes as she frequently did in the early part of the fourth century B.C.: and he compares the Cypriote silver coin (Kekulé, *Balustrade d. Ath. Nike*, vignette. Six in *Num. Chron.* 1883 p. 334, no. 42) on which Athene is seen seated on the prow of a ship and holding out an *akrostolion*.

3. a. Bronze relief which has decorated the lower part of the handle of a large hydria, together with portions of the hydria to which it has belonged. The vase when complete must have been very similar to one which is now in the British Museum, and which was obtained from the island of Chalkè near Rhodes; the reliefs in both cases represent Dionysos and Ariadne, but the one now acquired is immeasurably the finer of the two; it is probably one of the finest specimens of this class of vase decoration that has come down to us, and may be assigned to a date towards the middle of the third century B.C.

b. A small silver cup, found with the bronze vase.

4. A series of objects from Cyprus, viz.

a. A steatite gem in the form of a negro's head engraved on the base with the figure of an eagle: mounted in gold.

b. A steatite scarab: on the base is engraved a Cretan goat.

c. An ivory tessera for the theatre, inscribed XIII.

IF.

Cecil Smith.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

The Athenaeum, 1889.

Oct. 26. Review of Leaf's *Iliad*, Vol. II.; Notices of Monro's *Iliad*, Vol. II.; and of *An Intermediate Greek Lexicon*.—Nov. 2. Obituary of Cobet.—Nov. 9. Letter from J. P. Mahaffy on Cobet.—Dec. 28. Obituary of Bishop Lightfoot.

The Academy, 1889.

Oct. 29. Notices of Marchant's *Andocides*, Zimmermann's *De Tacito Senecae Phil. Imitatore*, and of Reitzenstein's *Prochus' Commentary on Plat. Rep.*; Review by A. H. Sayce of Brugmann's *Comparative Grammar*, II. 1.—Nov. 2 Review by H. Richards of Haigh's *Attic Theatre*.—Nov. 9. Notices of Postgate's *Sermo Latinus*, C. H. Russell's *Hecuba*, Dimsdale's *Liv.* 22, Flagg's *Iphigenia in T.*, Hogue's *Irregular Greek Verbs*.—Nov. 16. Obituary by J. S. Cotton of Dr. Hatch.—Nov. 23. Review by H. Bradley of Sonnenschein's *Parallel Grammar Series*.—Nov. 30. Letter from E. A. Sonnenschein on above review.—Dec. 7. Review by F. Haverfield of Nettle's *Contributions to Latin Lexicography*; letter by H. Bradley on above.—Dec. 28. Notice of Schrader's *Sprachvergleichung*.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie u. Pädagogik. Ed. Fleckeisen u. Masius. (Leipzig, 1889.)

Hefte 2 and 3 contain: (1) A. Reichardt *De Q. Enni Annalibus*, the first part of a paper dealing with the language of Ennius under the headings (A) words not used in later Latin, (B) words used by Ennius in a peculiar sense, (C) peculiarities of grammatical form. (2) E. Bussler *Timotheos von Gaza u. Oppianos Kynegitikos*, showing that the former writer did not, as Haupt supposed, borrow from Oppian. (3) A. Ludwig *Zu den Iliasscholien*, notes of some MSS. in Spain collated in 1877 by A. Torstrik. (4) Th. Büttner-Wobst *Polybius ed. F. Hultsch*, a notice of the second edition of Vol. I. with especial reference to Hultsch's later views on the origin of the MSS. The effect of it is as follows. To the phalangite at all times and to the legionary, when not in action, 3 ft. of space was allowed, of which the man himself occupied 1½ ft. But the legion, as it went into action, 'extended' and allowed each man another 1½ ft., so that he had 3 ft. clear for his sword-arm. The *quincunx* formation was not maintained in action, for

the 'extension' of the maniples filled up the intervals, which were left open, in the first instance, for the retirement of the light troops. The intervals were thus half as long as the front of the unextended maniple. Polybius, *loc. cit.*, is right in saying that the intervals between Roman soldiers were twice as great as between phalangites, but is pardonably wrong in saying (or implying) that in battle one Roman legionary would face two phalangites. There were really two Romans to every three phalangites. (6) H. Kothe *Zu Thuk.* VII. 75, 4, proposing *λιγέων ἐπιθειασμῶν* for *ἀλγίων ἐπ.* (7) A. E. Schöne *Zu Caesar B. C. I.* 3, 3, proposing *turbulentius comitum* for *urbs et ius com.* (8) A. E. Anspach, J. Lange and E. Redslob *Zu Plautus*, several notes mostly on *Rudens* and *Mercator*. (9) C. Angermann on *Grasberger's Griech. Ortsnamen*, an unfavourable review. (10) J. Lange *Zu Caesar B. G. V.* 8—19 (the second campaign in Britain), proposing that the chapters should be placed in the order 8, 12, 13, 14, 9, 10, 11, 18, 15, 16, 17, 19. (11) A. Deuerling *Zu Cic. Pompeiana* 18, proposing (partly after Hammer) *posse publicanos amissa uict. nostra uict. rec.* (12) Th. Breiter *Zu Mamilius*, emendations. (13) K. Koch *Zu Cic. pro Arch.*, proposing in 5 *absens nobis* for *absentibus*, and in 10 *gregatim ciu.* for *grauat in ciu.* (14) L. Triemel *Cn. Flavius u. sein Concordiatempel*, to the effect that the temple was dedicated A.U.C. 431. (15) K. Schrader *Der Pannonische Triumph des Tiberius*, fixing the date of this triumph at Jan. 16th A.D. 12. (16) K. Schliack *Zu Cic. Off.* III. 1, striking out *interdum* before *colloquio*.

Heft 4 contains: (1) K. Brandt *Zur Gesch. etc. der Ilias VII.*, a paper on the armour of Achilles in the old *μῦθος* epic. (2) F. Walter *Zu Tacitus*, proposing in *hist.* IV. 23 *testudinem scutorum* for *test. suorum*, in *ann.* XI. 35 *Romani: ea cupido* etc. and in *ann.* XV. 58 *late actum* for *latatum*, taking *late* in the sense 'ausführlich.' (3) C. Rothe *Zur Homerischen Frage*, an answer to some observations of K. Brandt in *N.J.* 1888 p. 513. (4) A. Ludwich *Oileus u. Ileus*, a collection of passages showing chiefly that Aristarchus maintained the form *Oileus*. (5) F. Weck *In Soph. Elektra*, exegetical notes. (6) F. Blass *Das Neue Wiener Fragment des Epicharmos*, a restoration of the 10 lines and criticism of Gomperz. (7) H. v. Kleist *Zu Thukydides*, a few notes. (8) R. Menge *Das reciproke Verhältniss bei Caesar*, i.e. the relation expressed by *inter se* and similar phrases, enumerating the various cases of such relation and Latin modes of expressing it. (9) Th. Matthias *Zu Ciceros Reden*, emendations chiefly to *De domo*. (10) W. Friedrich *Zu Ciceros Topica*, a long criticism of the published texts founded on MSS. of the xth and xith centuries not before collated.

Revue de Philologie. Jan.—March, 1889.

A. Hauvette, *La Géographie d'Hérodote*. Are we to call Herodotus, with H. Berger, no geographer, or with Bergk and Forbiger, the father of geography? The fact is that he broke with the theories of his predecessors, the 'logographi,' such as Anaximander and Hecataeus. Almost all that we know of them comes from Herodotus. His difference from them consists mainly in his rejection of general hypotheses not based on certain experience. The apparent facts of astronomy, the rising and setting of the sun, &c., are to his naive belief real. North winds blow the sun farther south and so cause winter, and so on. Still in astronomy he is not widely removed from Anaximander and Anaxagoras. But in geography he differs from Hecataeus in rejecting what was based on theoretical system as distinct

from direct evidence. Berger holds that his criticisms only spring from a vague and unintelligent acquaintance with Pythagoras' doctrine of the spherical shape of the earth and Parmenides' of the five zones. But Berger's quotations from Aristophanes and Plato do not prove that these theories were widely spread in Greece at that time. Hdt.'s view that the north is uninhabitable, and that Phoenician circumnavigators of Libya could not have seen the sun to their north, rest not on the doctrine of the five zones but on real or supposed experience. There is no ground for thinking that Hdt. misunderstood the Ionian theory of a circumambient ocean. He rightly denied that the earth was circular with an ocean round it; he rightly held that the Caspian was a closed sea, not a gulf of the Ocean or the east; he knew nothing, it is true, of the sea on the north of Europe, but the accounts of it which he rejected were fabulous. He doubted (not denied) the existence of a western ocean and river Eridanus; but the Eridanus was the centre of a mass of fable, and knowledge of the west had receded with the Persian conquest of Ionia and destruction of its commerce. Hdt. may well be right in accepting the story of the circumnavigation of Libya. His view that Libya is, in relation to Asia, a peninsula like Asia Minor though greater, is wrong but preferable to the artificial division of the two continents by the Nile. He rejects the triple division, Europe, Asia, Libya; that into Europe and Asia he sometimes follows; but his fundamental doctrine is 'the earth is one.' This is an advance. Hecataeus made the Phasis and the Nile flow from the external Ocean. Berger denies this, but Hdt.'s words are clear. Popular notions pictured the north of Europe as occupied by the Rhipaean mountains, source of the north wind and of the rivers of Scythia (the Ister included), with the happy Hyperboreans to the north. The Ionians followed these in the main. But Hdt. denies the Hyperboreans, ignores the Rhipaean mountains, makes the Scythian rivers rise in marshes and the Ister in the west. In this last point Hecataeus perhaps preceded him. The Rhipaean Mountains were not identified with the Alps or the Hyperboreans with the Celts until much later dates. Hdt. does not say that the Ister rises in the Pyrenees, but among the Celts near a town Pyrene. The Celts probably did not then occupy the Pyrenees, but did live round the sources of the Danube, according to Müllenhoff. The name Pyrene may simply be due to confusion, or may have been applied to a place near the source of the Danube and transferred to the Pyrenees. The false idea that Eastern Asia Minor was a sort of isthmus came from the Ionians. As to the course of the Nile and the Persian gulf, Hdt. is wrong but not more so than the Ionians. His estimates of site and distance are only approximate and no doubt often textually corrupt; but they are often correct. He rejects the traditional view that Delphi is the centre of the earth. His views of natural phenomena, though often mistaken, show a scientific spirit. He represents a reaction from the Ionian theories based on an appeal to experience, which cleared the ground for truer views.—L. Havet in *Plautus Poen.* 1415 reads *ei minores* for *cimiores*.—M. Bonnet on *Seneca De Remediis Fortuitarum* (fragments) agrees that the Salmasianus is the sole authority and discusses the text of several passages.—O. Riemann in *Tac. Ann.* iv. 40 reads *te invito ad te* for *te invite*.—J. B. Mispoulet, *Le Turbot* (Juv. Sat. iv.). The assembly described by Juvenal is the Imperial Council, not the Senate. The 10 members named can all be identified, certainly or probably, with known personages, eight of them consulars, most of considerable standing, two equites. These two, Fuscus certainly and

Crispinus probably, were *praefecti praetorio*. The story of the turbot is possibly true, but more likely invented. The procedure &c. is no doubt true to life. It is the only existing description of proceedings of the Imperial Council before Hadrian reorganised it.—H. Weil, *Σύμπλεκτοι ἀνάπαιστοι*. The verses so called by Pherecrates are not, with Spiro, to be scanned as Ionics a minori, but are a form of dimeter ana-

paestic (thus—*ἀνδρες πρόσχρετ' τον νοῦν*) to which the name 'folded' is very appropriate. These lines are thus quite different in metrical analysis from the catalectic glyconics which the metrical writers wrongly identified with them and called Pherecratic.—E. Thomas, *The Causes of Ovid's Exile*. Boissier is right in his account of the growing irritation of Augustus at the tone of Ovid's poetry. He and Munro hold that the immediate occasion of Ovid's exile was his presence at some scandalous scene between the younger Julia and Silanus. But if this were so, he could not have used the phrase *neptesque pias*, Pont. 2, 75. A less public scandal was quite enough to lead to the exile, e.g. a connection with the freaks or vices of one of the young princes of the Imperial House.—R. Cagnat shows by an examination of a large number of inscriptions that the Roman masons must have possessed manuals with various formulae for use on sepulchral and other memorials; he thereby explains many blunders in inscriptions and quotes verses that recur with variations in many parts of the Empire.—L. Havet emends *Plautus Persa* 181 and *Afranius* fr. 26.—P. Tannery discusses several chronological, astronomical and mathematical texts with great acuteness.—C. Thiaucourt on *Tacitus, Agricola*, 45. Tac. does not mean that he personally had anything to do with the condemnation and execution of Helvidius, &c. He probably was governing a province at the time. Gantrelle is wrong in thinking *legimus*, in *Agr.* 2, corrupt. Tacitus' self-accusation by implying that the whole world is guilty is directed against the party who cried out with excessive violence against the late régime and its adherents.—T. Reinach on *Verg. Aen.* vi. 601 sqq. adopts in the main L. Havet's theory of a transposition but thinks *saxum ingens voluit alii* descriptive of the punishment of Pirithous, not Sisyphus. Virgil may have broken with tradition in this case as well as in that of Phlegyas. If so, Sisyphus is not present at all and there is no need to suppose a painted or sculptured original. Ixion alone keeps his traditional punishment, because in *Georg.* iii. 38., iv. 484 Virgil has pledged himself to it. There is no inconsistency, as Havet thinks, about Theseus. He returned from the underworld in his life but was punished there after death.—J. Baillet, *The Paean of Menekleto* to Apollo and Aesculapius, discusses the metre, and points out analogies in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* ad fin. and in the paean of the Asclepieion at Athens.—O. Riemann points out that, in Cicero's speeches, *tantus tamque praeclarus*, *tam insignis tamque atrox*, are the forms of speech used, an order of words like *tantus tam praeclarusque*, *tam insignis tam atroxque* not being found. *Tot tam gravesque* occurs once.—O. Riemann and E. Bouteux discuss Cicero's argument, in *De Fin.* I. 19—21 and *De Fato*, 46 against the Epicurean doctrine of the 'smallest possible' deviation of the atoms.

Rivista di Filologia e d'Instruzione Classica. Edd. Comparetti, Müller and Flechia. Torino. 1889.

Fasc. 10—12 contain (1) S. Mariotti, *Platinum*, a theory that the character of an ἄλαζόν, or *Miles Gloriosus*, was suggested by a σκόλιον of Hybias

Cretensis, Bergk pp. 1024, 1025. (2) C. Pascal, *Nte Tibulliane*, three in number, the first suggesting t. t. Tibullus wrote poems—perhaps the lost third book—to Glycera (*Hor. Carm.* I. 33), and that the poem IV. 13 was addressed to her; the second collecting from grammarians a few citations from lost poems; the third proposing in III. 5, 47 an emendation, *rutilis incendia classis*, *rutilis* being gen. sing. fem. (3) A. Pasdera, *Le Origine dei Canti Popolari Latini Cristiani*, a discussion of the influence of Sibylline and Jewish psalmody on early Christian hymns. (4) G. Suster, *Nuovi Emendamenti al Panegirico di Plinio*, 26 pages of emendations. (5) C. Christofolini, *Schedulae Criticae*, suggesting in *Soph. Phil.* 661 εἰ δὲ μὴ πάρεσσι and in *Antig.* 4 ἀνίκουσι for ἄτης ἄτερ. (6) F. Zambaldi, *Un Vocabolario geografico di P. Bembo*, an account of some MS. geographical notes by Bembo, in the Orsini collection, Codd. Gr. Vat. 1347.

Fasc. 1—3 (July-Sept. 1889) contains (1) F. Caccialanza, *Cecilio di Calatta e l'Ellenismo a Roma*, temp. Aug., an exhaustive collection of all the evidence relating to the life and works of Caecilius Calactinus. (2) G. Suster, *De Plinio Ciceronis imitatore*, a comparison of the *Panegyrics* with the *Pro Marcello*; (3) G. Fraccaroli, *Di alcuni luoghi controversi di Pindaro*, translations of various passages with discussion; (4) C. Giambelli, *Sugli Studi Aristotelici di Cicerone*, some observations suggesting places where Cic. might have been indebted to the *περί φιλοσοφίας*.

Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1889, Jan.—Aug.

IV.—Address of Prof. Th. Mommsen on the celebration by the Academy of the Emperor's birthday,—a stately and spirited exegesis of *Hor. Carm.* 3, 1—6 as the initial notes of a new reign.—Reports on the progress of the great literary undertakings of the Academy.

XI.—XIII. Prof. Wattenbach on the MS. of the gospels in gold letters upon purple parchment, formerly in the collection of the Dukes of Hamilton (now in the hands of Mr. Quaritch). A further defence of his earlier conjecture that the MS. was a gift to Henry VIII. not from Leo X. but perhaps from Wolsey, into whose possession it came from the library at Ripon Abbey, having been made under direction of Archbishop Wilfrid. The main theme is prefaced by some valuable remarks on the character and age of writing in majuscules.

XIV.—XV. Professor Köhler gives the text (with comments) of a fragmentary inscription found in Athens, being an account of the moneys expended by the municipal commission of a certain year in the purchase of gold and ivory to be used in the construction of the statue of Athena Parthenos.

XX.—XXI. By Dr. Puchstein, the conclusion of a study of the arrangement of the figures of the gods on the frieze of the great altar at Pergamon. The first article was published in the *Berichte* for 1888 (pp. 1231 ff.). Poseidon was placed on the N. side of the altar close to the N.W. corner. Oceanus stood next to Doris at the end of the array of the gods at the left side of the staircase. The place of the Gorgons and Erinyes, and probably of the Graeae, was on the N. side between Poseidon and Nyx. The Moerae with Demeter found their position on the E. side immediately S. of Hera and N. of Apollo. Hermes fought at the W. end of the S. side of the staircase. The account of Apollodorus is of great significance in the determination of these positions. The four as yet undetermined figures on the S. side are Theia, Hemera, Aether, and Uranus (*not* Boreas). The identification of certain of the giants follows.

XXIII.—XXIV. By Dr. Cichorius. Five Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd A.D., with comments.

XXXIV. Address of Prof. Curtius in commemoration of Leibniz, touching the spirit of the investigation of Greek history.

Litterarisches Centralblatt, 1889.

No. 1. Ritter, *Untersuchungen über Plato. Die Echtheit u. Chronologie der Plat. Schriften*. 'Criterion : language and style.' Forty phrases are traced through the body of Plato's writings without decisive results.—W. L. Newman, *The Politics of Aristotle*. The text is based more on the second than on the first MSS. family. Introduction and notes show a sound judgment.—Treuber, *Geschichte der Lykier*. Valuable result of twenty years' study.—Veckenstedt, *Geschichte der griech. Farbenlehre*, &c. 'The doctrine of the development of the sense of colour cannot be supported by philological facts.'—Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum*. Collection of documents, inscriptions, coins.—Herzog, *Geschichte der röm. Staatsverfassung*, Vol. II. Die Kaiserzeit . . . bis zum Regierungsantritt Diocletians. Deserves high praise.

No. 2. Arnim, *Quellenstudien zu Philo v. Alexandria*. 1. The pseudo-Philonian *περὶ ἀσφαλείας κόσμου*. 2. Philo and Aenesidemus. 'de ebrietate' 383-88 refer to Ae. 3. The stoic *ζήτημα, εἰ μεθυσθήσεται ὁ σοφός*.—Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius v. Hal. bis auf den zweiten Philostratos*, Vol. I. Analyzes the style of Plemo, Dio Chrysostom., Herod. Att., Lucian.

No. 3. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Gramm.*, Vol. II. 1. The task of selecting from a vast mass of material and of grouping with clearness beautifully solved.—Krebs, *Zur Rektion der Kasus in der späteren hist. Gräcität*, II. 'Accusat. replaces genet. after ἀπογινώσκειν, ἀπελπίζειν, &c. in Polybius, Diodorus, Josephus.—Grünwald, *Der freie formelhafte Infinitiv der Limitation im Griechischen*. 'Phrases like *ἐκὼν εἶναι* have their origin in negative clauses="as to the being willing"=accus. limitationis.'—Birklein, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des substantivierten Infinitivs*. Covers the time from Homer to Xenophon. Claims a gradual increase (Homer 1 : Thucyd. 298 : Plato 1680).—Baumgarten, *Ein Rundgang durch die Ruinen Athens* (10 Abb.). For Gymnasia. Due attention is everywhere paid to the results of recent investigations.

No. 4. Boltz, *Hellenisch, die allgemeine Gelehrten-sprache der Zukunft*. 'Modern Greek destined to be the international language.' The book contains many happy translations from and into modern Greek.—M. Meyer, *Die Giganten u. Titanen in der antiken Kunst und Sage*. 'Giants are mythical autochthons' (cf. Welcker I. 787). Titans are traced back to old divinities.

No. 5. Ch. Ploix, *La Nature des Dieux*. 'Zeus est le grand jour, Poseidon est le jour couvert, tous les autre personnifient le crépuscule' (!)—*Wiener Vorlegeblätter für archäolog. Übungen*, hrs. v. Benndorf. Contains among other things a reconstruction of Polygnot's Ilupersip by Benndorf and Michalek.

No. 6. Deecke, *Die Falisker*. Deserves commendation as an introduction to old-italic philology.—Brandt, *Corpusculum poesis graec. Iudibundae*, fasc. I. paradox. epic. graec. et Archastrati rel. It is to be wished that B. would undertake in the same excellent way a collection of iambic and lyric parodies.

No. 7. Fabricius, *Theophrastus v. Mytilene und Quintus Dellius als Quellen der Geographie des Strabon*. A good contribution to the question of Strabo's sources.—*Οἰκονομίδης, οἱ Δημοσθένους φιλιππικοί*.

Of no scientific value.—Lander, *Carminis salutaris reliquiae*. Shows great learning and sound judgment.—Hermann's *Lehrbuch der griech. Antiquitäten*, I. Staatsaltertimer 1. bes. von Thumser. The book ought to have been entirely rewritten.

No. 9. Bartholomae, *Beiträge zur Flexionslehre der indo-germ. Sprachen*. The fourth essay is a discussion of the nasal in the declension of adjectives and participles in -nt which B. claims is not original.—Tümpel, *Die Aithiopienländer des Andromedamythos*. The author's view that Rhodes is the seat of the Perseus myth is hardly to be doubted.

No. 10. Roemer, *Studien zu der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung des Aeschylus*. The Homeric ionic element in Aeschylus is much greater than in Sophocles or Euripides. Many repetitions are due to his *ναῖσκέ*.—*Dinarchi orationes. Adj. Demadis q. f. fregg. ὑπὲρ τ. δαδεκαετίας* it. ed. Blass. Follows chiefly cod. Oxon. Hiatus is avoided. Many new conjectures are offered.

No. 11. Pichler, *Virunum* (Graz) m. Atlas. Description of the excavations near Klagenfurt during the years 1881-83. History of Virunum. Catalogue of all the discovered antiquities.

No. 12. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*. II. Th. 1 Abth. 'Greatly enlarged edition.'—Sterrett, *An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor* (Papers of Am. School at Athens). Situation of Tavium ascertained through a mile-stone (time of Nerva) ; corrected edition of the oracle published in *Bull. de corresp. hell.* 1884, p. 469. The three riddles copied by Dr. Diamantides are found—No. 243 in *Anth. Pal.* xiv. 58 and 35, No. 245, *ibid.* 5.—Georges, *Lexicon der latein. Wortformen*. Supplement to G.'s larger dictionary. The inscriptions are somewhat neglected.—Schröder, *Griech. Götter u. Heroen*, I. Aphrodite, Eros, Hephaestus. S. compares Aphrodite and her nymphs with the Sanscrit Apsaras. Less probable is his view that Hephaestus corresponds to a Sanscrit Gandharva.

No. 14. Helbig, *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*, 2 ed. Shows an increase of 100 pp. and 43 illustrations. Studniczka's 'Beiträge zur altgriech. Tracht' have caused great changes in the chapters dealing with dress.—Gruppe, *Die griechischen Culte und Mythen in ihren Beziehungen zu den orientalischen Religionen*, Vol. I. Einleitung. G. calls his theory 'pure adaptionism.' 'Religion is a social instinct. This instinct is passive ; there exists only a certain susceptibility for religious ideas, which are created by one founder for his own interest and diffused by missions.' The material in proof of this theory will follow in Vol. II.

No. 15. Q. Horatius Flaccus. Briefe. erkl. v. Kiessling. Of the highest importance for the exegesis of Horace.

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lations of a Turin MS., which unfortunately has been spoiled by Peyron's chemicals.

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No. 24. *L. Annaei Senecae oratorum et rhetorum sententiae divisiones colores*, ed. H. Müller. Besides cod. Antwerp. and Bruxell. (A, B), a Vaticanus (V) discovered by Studemund and a second cod. Bruxell. (D) going back to another Vaticanus (v.) have been used for construction of archetypes. Something will be gained by further thorough investigation into the peculiarities of Seneca's style, made possible by M.'s excellent edition.—Wendorf, *Erklärung aller Mythologie aus der Annahme der Erringung des Sprachvermögens*. Worthless.

No. 25. *Hygini Gromatici lib. de munitionibus castrorum*. Hrsg. u. erkl. v. Domaszewsky (3 tab.). Cod. Arcerianus again collated and a few points of Gemoll's variae lectiones corrected. Some very happy conjectures.—Bilfinger, *Der bürgerliche Tag*. Untersuchungen über den Beginn des Kalendartages im class. Alterthume, &c. Contrary to the common view and the testimonies of the ancients, that the Greek day began at sun-set and the Roman day at midnight, B. tries to prove that in both cases the day began with sunrise. A detailed refutation will soon appear in the 'Philologus.'

No. 26. Thumb, *Untersuchungen über den Spiritus asper im Griechischen*. 'About the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century every initial vowel was pronounced with the smooth breathing, which, as being necessary for pronunciation of the vowel is

left unmarked in most languages. There is from the beginning a tendency to restrict the use of the spiritus asper.'—Menge u. Preuss, *Lexicon Caesarianum*. Fasc. IV. Just as satisfactory as the preceding fasciculi.

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No. 30. Hesselbarth, *Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen zur dritten Dekade des Livius*. Although in general there ought to be more exactness and clearness, the book contains not a few valuable suggestions.—*Ciceronis pro M. Caecilio oratio*, ad opt. codd. denuo coll. recogn. Vollgraf, accedit apparat. critic. (Leyden), Cod. Parisinus and Salisburgensis collated. Text shows few improvements. As pupil of Cobet, V. is apt to undervalue the MSS. authority.

No. 31. Rossbach, *De Senecae philos. libb. recensione et emendatione*. Insunt Senecae frgg. palatina ed. a G. Studemund. Continuation of R.'s 'De Senecae filii scriptis' and 'De Senecae dialogis.' 'For the text of the dialogues a cod. Par. saec. xiii. should not be neglected; for the consolatio ad Polybium, a group to which a Vatic., Paris saec. xiv., and Urb. saec. xv. belong; for de clementia, besides cod. Naz., two Paris. saec. xiii. going back to a widely differing archetype; for the epistol. especially a Florent.' Then follow a classification of younger MSS., an enumeration of about 20 Vatic. and Paris. codd. saec. xii.-xiii. not yet collated, orthographica, emendations, Appendix on Florus' Epitoma de T. Livio, which is thought to be an epitome of the histories of Seneca rhet.

No. 32. Immerwahr, *Die Lakonika des Pausanias*. The main sources of the 3rd book of Pausanias are *ῥήνων ἀναγραφὴ* (especially used for ch. 1-10, 5) and *περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι θυσιῶν* (for ch. 10, 6-21, 3), written by Sosibios of Lacedaemon. Besides these, for the histor. introduction Herodotus, Ephorus, Theopompus, Phylarchus are used; for the periegesis of Amyclae, Polemon. The source of 21, 4-26, 11 seems to be a geographical manual of the first century after Christ.—Th. Klette, *Leonardi Arctini ad Petrum Paulum Astrum dialogus*. Zum ersten Male. . . . hrsg.

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phoros's Chronicle.—Danielsson, *Grammatische und etymologische Studien*, I. *κῆρα, κέρας* and its family.—Rönisch, *Semasiologische Beiträge zum lat. Wörterbuche* II. Adject. u. Pronom., Adverb u. Adverbialia. Collection of rare words and words with uncommon meanings, mostly gathered from the works of ecclesiastical authors.—Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique* (1842-1844). . . . publ. et comment. par S. Reinach. While the inscriptions of the original work have been left aside entirely, the Itinéraire, Monuments figurés, and Architecture are given in full, and the number of tables is considerably increased. The text is rewritten for the most part by Reinach.

No. 34. *Noni Marcelli compend. doct. em. adn.* Luc. Mueller, I. Shows all the peculiarities of its author: it has brilliant conjectures, but little attention is paid to minute questions. The most important MSS. have been compared (not always satisfactorily, as M. himself admits).—Jorgensen, *Kvindfiguren i den archaiske graeiske kunst*. (med 20 Afb.) adject. est argum. latine conscript. A catalogue of the archaic statues of women found lately on the Akropolis of Athens and similar statues of Eleusis, Delos and Boeotia. The second part deals with the difference between Dorian and Ionian costume.

No. 36. *Tatiani oratio ad Graecos* rec. Schwartz. Cod. Paris. 451 collated; many new conjectures; excellent indices. Type and paper poor.—*Αἰσχύλου Προμηθεὺς δεσμώτης ἔμμετρος παράφρασις μετ' εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ σημειώσεων ὑπὸ Ξανθοπούλου*. Introduction contains nothing new. Text based on Wecklein's ed. The paraphrase does not give an idea of the grandeur of the original.—*Aristotelis quae feruntur de plantis, de mirab. auscult., mechanica, de lin. insect., ventorum sit. et nom.*, de Melisso Xenophane Georgia ed. Apelt. The text of 'de lin. insect.' and 'de Melisso' is renovated and greatly improved. The first is based on Vatic. 258 without neglecting Laurent. 87. 21. The MSS. of the second are divided into two classes: I. class represented by cod. Lipsiensis, on which the text is based; II. class represented by Vatic. 1302, all going back to a sometimes illegible archetype. The text of the other writings shows little improvement.

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No. 39. Hiller, *Beiträge zur Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker*.—An excellent investigation. It is the first attempt—after Ahrens in Philol. xxx.—to classify the MSS., and is at the same time a critical edition of 10 poems, with apparatus and prolegomena. An invaluable basis for a future critical edition of the Bucolic poets, especially Theocritus.—Josephi opera omnia post .Bekkerum rec. Naber I.—Based on Niese's ('fortasse non semper accuratissimi') collations, but independent in textual matters, often

deviating from Niese's extremely conservative edition.—Lacher, *Die Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien*.—'The scholia go back to an archetype saec. x., of which abstracts and copies were made. In the xii. century Tzetzes and the author of the Byzantine commentary in M, in the xiii. and xiv among others Triclinius wrote new commentaries. It will be the task of a future editor to construe the original archetype of the scholia.'—Bilfinger, *Die antiken Stundenangaben*.—Claims that almost without exception hora sexta means 'at 12 o'clock,' not 'the time from 11-12.'

No. 40. Duruy, *Geschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs*...übers. v. Herzberg. vol. IV and V. As satisfactory as the preceding volumes.—Jamblich *Protrepticus ad fid. cod. florentini ed. Pistelli*.—An excellent edition of the Protrepticus, which in some parts has the value of a MS. for Platonic writings. Vitelli has contributed a number of conjectures. A good index nominum and index verborum are added.

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The Classical Review

MARCH 1890.

A FUTURE LIFE AS REPRESENTED BY THE GREEK TRAGEDIANS.

PERHAPS there is no portion of a nation's religious belief that contains so much history as that which relates to the destiny of man after death. The degree of civilization attained, current ethics, national idiosyncrasies of moral or physical constitution, political status, national pursuits—are all directly or indirectly reflected in a people's views as to what is to succeed this present life of ours; so that from the peculiar eschatology of a nation at a given period it would be possible to reconstruct not a little of the political, social and moral conditions of the epoch. It is indeed with the nation as with the individual in this respect as in many others. If we could know of a man just his thoughts about the dim hereafter, his hopes and fears, their influence upon his life and conduct, or perhaps the absence of influence, and nothing else—there would be little more that we should need to know to appraise his religion, his philosophy, his moral character, the man himself. 'Qualis artifex pereo,' said the dying Nero. 'Deus fio, ut puto,' sighed another Roman emperor, in grim satire of the weary helplessness of his last illness—such a god! The words are eloquent with half the story of two lives.

So with the nation: its religion pieces out its history, its history pieces out its religion. Now the Greek of the age of Pericles has left us in his history, his philosophy, his literature, his art, ample means of forming some conception of his remarkable personality. We know how he looked, what were his salient characteristics, what were his pursuits and, to a large extent, what were his thoughts. What then was the attitude which his eager,

healthful, individualized nature maintained towards the inevitable hour when he must leave this world of whose good things he enjoyed so large a portion, and go out into the darkness?

Greek literature presents us with two very diverse but equally striking pictures of the after-world. The Homeric poems, and in particular the eleventh *Odyssey*, contain the earlier, the Platonic dialogues, and in particular the tenth book of the *Republic*, a later one. But though no other Greek writer, except perhaps Pindar, deals with the question in so direct and interesting a manner, we should be wrong in taking either of these views as representing at all nearly that of the average Athenian of the best age. Both are probably contributory of a portion, but of a portion only of the truth; for although the thought, even of the average Athenian of that time, had taken a philosophic cast that differentiated it considerably from that of the Homeric Greek, yet we know that the full Platonic conception was in definiteness and coherence far in advance of any that had been previously entertained, and that even with Socrates himself a far simpler though not less earnest und spiritual view was less a matter of belief than of conjecture. Somewhere therefore between the two extremes of primitive superstition on the one hand and the bold speculation of the philosopher on the other, should be sought an approximation to current religious belief. And to this intent surely one could not do better than investigate the utterances in which the spirit of that age most truly found voice—its drama. Socrates and Plato spoke to the philosophic few, but Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides

pides to the intelligent many, which in that great age meant the masses of their countrymen. The soldier of Marathon and Salamis, the colleague of Pericles in Samos, the pupil of Anaxagoras, must have been typical products of their time; and distinct as is the impress of a vivid personality upon the works of each of these three great men, and with all allowance on the other hand for traditional sentiment and the stereotyped allusions of poetical phraseology, we can hardly doubt that, when they spoke of the great problems of life and destiny and conduct, it was as the majority of their contemporaries thought; that when they were silent they emphasized a doubt or an indifference that their audiences would share. They were teachers, but Athens was *παιδευοῖς Ἑλλάδος*, and they had learnt their lesson at her knees. What then have they to tell us of Hellenic anticipations of a future life? The immortality of influence belongs to the Greeks as it has belonged to no other nation. What were their personal hopes and fears in death and its sequel? what was to become of that individuality they so highly prized and revered, that youthful intensity of being, which is spoken of in the *Timæus* as their dominant characteristic?

I have said that by the fifth century B.C. the Homeric conception must have ceased to be largely representative, but there is little reason for doubting that the later belief was essentially the same as the earlier, only in a different stage of evolution. If therefore we would know what survived of it in later conceptions, we must understand a little of its general outlines.

At the first glance it is evident that the early Greek like the early Hebrew had but the vaguest notions as to a possible future after death; indeed on the whole the Homeric Greek had the more definite conception, such as it was, of the two. It is not difficult to make a guess at the reason of this in the case of the Jew, and in that of the Greek a sufficient general explanation may be found in his active physical and moral organization, his buoyant youthfulness of spirit, his delight in the mere animal joy of existing in strength and beauty upon the earth. How could such a creature help living in the present? For if even the more immediate future contained the menace of old age and failing strength, the loss of all that made life to him worth living, how much more must he have shrunk with fear and loathing from the thought of the consummation of that decay in death. There is a child in all of us, says Plato

(*Phædo*, 77 E), whose hobgoblin terrors of the dark must be charmed away: and in the earlier Greek the child was uppermost and none knew the potent charms of divine philosophy to sing it quietly to sleep. So he projected into the world he dimly imaged as the abode of the dead the gloom, the uncertainty, the floating mists, the joylessness of his own state of mind concerning it. Being half in doubt whether the dead exist at all, he imagined a state of half-existence; a sort of shadow-play where the shadow-man sustains feebly the part of the old joyous self, whose hunting and wrestling, feasting and fighting are mocked for ever by the dreary semblance of life and action, that flits grey and shifting over his fields of asphodel.

The shade preserves to a certain extent its personal identity, that is, it retains the outward form and features of the living man, his tasks and pursuits, with memory enough to know what it has lost, emotion enough to envy the living. But for the rest, its thought and feeling are as thin and ineffectual as its bodily constitution. Even such a mother as Anticlea, who had died heart-broken with longing for her lost Ulysses, does not recognize him in Hades, till he has suffered her to drink the warm life-blood of the beasts of sacrifice, which sends flooding back for a brief moment the tide of memory and affection into the cold and passionless ghost.

This dubiousness as to the actual physical condition of the departed further affects the moral side of the question, by the same 'confusion of doubt with the object of doubt.' Our Greek did not know, he could not be sure, that the deeds done in the flesh influenced for good or ill the lot of the dead. On the earth, as often as not, the criminal got off scot-free, and the righteous suffered as the victims of successful wickedness, or as the blind puppets of fate. He himself did not much care to think about dying, but on the whole he did not see much reason for supposing that, if he were worse off in other respects, he would be better off in this. So in the Homeric Hades there is no distinction between the lot of the virtuous and the guilty. A few exceptional criminals indeed, like Sisyphus and Tantalus, suffer directly, at the hands of the Zeus their *ἔβρις* has outraged, Tartarean horrors of punishment; and a few favoured mortals like Menelaus and Neoptolemus enjoy the eternal bliss of the Fortunate Islands—though as a privilege, not as a reward. Minos and Rhadamanthus are judges

among the dead, but only because they, like others, continue a semblance of their former occupations. But their sentence is meaningless and ineffectual, and does not at all determine the condition of the shade. Good and bad alike, are only not annihilated: their common doom is worse—they know themselves nonentities, *νεκῶν ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα*.

How great is the contrast to all this presented by the story of Er the son of Armenius, by the attitude of Socrates before his judges, by the whole tone of the *Crito* and *Phaedo*, it is unnecessary to illustrate in detail. We may allow that the optimistic temper of Socrates and the peculiar circumstances of his death naturally of themselves evolved a hope out of the thought of death; that Platonic Ontology and Teleology, requiring the eternal existence of all that is at all, and denying existence to all but mind, required as their logical deduction the immortality of soul as soul:—still, granting all this, it is certain that current theology in the age of Pericles bore its own traces, even if scattered and obscure, of a changing attitude towards the thought of death and the hereafter, just as that there had come upon the spirit of the age a change in tone and feeling, which led the way inevitably to bolder speculation, and was indeed itself the necessary result of the nation's growth from the childhood of the Homeric to the enquiring and fearless adolescence of the Periclean age.

I.

AESCHYLUS.

¹⁷ It is often said that the religion of Aeschylus is a religion of Destiny, a system where, above and behind even the mightiest of the Olympian hierarchy, Fate, *μοῖρα*, compels the universe to submission, and makes men the plaything of wanton omnipotence. And this is true, but with reservations. Destiny does indeed control man's actions, but as the embodiment not of lawlessness but of law; man is indeed powerless to contend with her, but her operations do not involve the negation of free-will. If blind infatuation hurries man to destruction, it is because he failed in that humility and moderation which he was at first free to exercise, and because the divine will makes man the instrument of his own fall by permitting the surrender of all self-control, the accomplishment of all dark and impious designs. And if the incidence of the curse

is sometimes apparently on the innocent head, that is because the solidarity of the family—in which Aeschylus believed as firmly as any modern student of Heredity—means the inheritance of responsibility; the fathers cannot eat sour grapes but the children's teeth are set on edge. *δράσαντι παθεῖν*. We may not lay on Destiny the blame of our crimes.

ἡ μοῖρα τούτων, ὦ τέκνον, παραιτία,

says Clytemnestra in her last hour, fain to excuse her wickedness. Be it so, replies the avenging Orestes, but that same Destiny has wrought thy doom as well.

καὶ τόνδε τοῖνυν μοῖρ' ἐπόρσυνεν μόρον.

Eternal Justice might indeed have used the adulterous wife as the minister of divine vengeance on the haughty son of Atreus, foredoomed by that Thyestean banquet; yet not arbitrarily, but through the working of another law—that one sin leads on to another, blunting conscience, destroying the moral sense. Clytemnestra of her own free will chose the path which led from unfaithfulness to murder, so providing a willing instrument in the hand of the same inexorable Fate that in turn demanded her own destruction. So with Orestes. Obligations both human and divine urge him to take vengeance for his father. So far his deed is righteous. Yet inasmuch as he is the son of Clytemnestra as well as of Agamemnon, it is sinful, and he must suffer for the matricide, that the severe integrity of the moral code may not be impaired, even in working out its own decrees.

But although Orestes suffers in accordance with the same stern law, '*δράσαντι παθεῖν*,' that bade him slay his mother, his punishment in view of that moral obligation is made instrumental of divine mercy. '*Παθήματα μαθήματα*,' is the second great article of the Aeschylean faith, and like the rebellious Titan, Orestes emerges from his sufferings strengthened and purified: the Erinyes making inquisition for blood are become the Eumenides, the kindly influences of a later life that has seen severity justified by love.

It has been necessary to touch upon the religious scheme of Aeschylus—which is indeed both obscure and complicated in its details, though hinging on one strong and central conviction—because a writer's views as to the destiny of the soul and a system of rewards and punishments after death are not independent of his general belief regard-

ing the relation between God and man. After all, what is most of interest is not the details of allusions to the other world, in which so much allowance must be made for poetical imagery, but such questions as: What is the connexion between this life and the next? How far do our actions now affect our condition hereafter? Does the doer still suffer beyond the grave? Is he still permitted by suffering to learn? In order to answer these questions it will perhaps be advisable to group the passages for examination under definite headings, according as they afford typical though not exhaustive illustration of different important points of eschatological belief, viz. as relating to: (a) retribution and compensation in the future life, with their influence on conduct; (b) the maintenance of human relationships; (c) intercourse between the dead and the living; (d) the general condition of the departed.

I have placed the questions of rewards and punishments first, because with Aeschylus, as I have already pointed out, the idea of divine justice and divine wisdom is of pre-eminent importance. Upon it hangs his whole theology, a theology in which, as M. Courdavaux points out in an interesting study of the poet, the two opposing currents of contemporary Greek thought met—one carrying the mind towards higher and purer ideas of divinity, and the other sweeping mercilessly back upon the terrors of the past.

(a) *Rewards and Punishments*.—Believing as Aeschylus did that the two great doctrines I have quoted, with that of the solidarity of the family, sufficiently justify God's dealings on earth with men, he does not look forward to the future life as affording readjustment of the inequalities, reconciliation of the contradictions, satisfaction of the frustrated efforts of the present. This is a modern tendency often enough carried to an extreme. He believed that life itself, if we knew how to read it, contains the solution of its own problems. A firm trust in divine justice and wisdom does not under these circumstances require that the second life should essentially differ from the present, except inasmuch as it is conditioned by a great physical change.

Aeschylus therefore would not look forward with any sense of hope or comfort to a new order; but inheriting the strong Greek 'sub-consciousness of immortality' he applies it to the further widening of the field for the exercise of relentless justice, the most tangible form in which Omnipotence

('call him Zeus or by whatsoever title it please him to accept') reveals himself to mortals. There is for instance a passage in the *Eumenides* (322) which, after describing the relentless inquisition for blood of the Erinnyes, adds, to correct the possible impression that in death at least their victim might escape,

θανὼν δ' οὐκ ἄγαν ἐλεύθερος.

So a few lines above Night is said to have borne them

. . . ἀλαοῖσι καὶ δεδορκόσιν
ποιῶν (312).

And again in lines 910–12:—

μέγα γὰρ δύναται
πότνι' Ἐρινὺς παρὰ τ' ἀθανάτοισ
τοῖς θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν.

Similarly in the *Supplices*, 224–227:—

. οὐδὲ μὴ ν' Ἄιδον θανὼν
φύγῃ μάταιος αἰτίαν, πράξας τάδε.
κάκει δικάζει τὰμπλακήμαθ', ὡς λόγος,
Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν ἱστάτας δίκας.

And among the fragments is one which speaks of a man as inevitably finding at last the requital of his sins, whether towards god or fellow-man:—

μέγας γὰρ Ἄιδης ἐστὶν εὖθυνος βροτῶν
ἐνερθε χθονὸς
δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπᾶ φρενί.

Instances might yet be further multiplied to prove that the distinct advance on the Homeric doctrine, of a clear idea of retribution in the other world, had been arrived at. But for traces of the correlative belief in the reward of virtue, which is as necessary as the punishment of sin for the perfect ideal of Justice, we seek in vain. The omission is the more marked by the contrast offered by his contemporary Pindar. In the second Olympian, for instance, a vivid and alluring picture is drawn of the joys of the just—*ἀδακρυν νέμονται αἰῶνα*, where ocean breezes sigh round the islands of the blest; flowers of gold burn on land and water, whereof they carry garlands in their hands and wreath their heads with crowns: while the wicked

ἀπροσόρατον ὀχνέοντι πόνον.

And again in a fragment of the *Threnoi*: 'For them shines the might of the sun below, when here it is night; and meadows of red roses skirt their city, shaded with

incense-trees and orchards laden with golden fruit. And some delight themselves with horses and wrestling, and some with draught-playing, and some with lyres, and around them fair-flowering all plenty blooms. And a delightful smell is spread about the place, where they mingle ever all goodly spices in the beacon-flame upon the altars of the gods.'

There is nothing like this promised in the pages of Aeschylus, and yet tradition says that he like Pindar was a Pythagorean (Cic. *Tusc.* II. 10). 'Non poeta solum, sed etiam Pythagoreus: sic enim accepimus.' If therefore, as we are told, Pindar's peculiar views about the world to come are of Pythagorean origin, it is the more surprising that Aeschylus has nothing to say of the happiness in store for the pure and holy of life. But perhaps the poet, who believed (*Ag.* 797) that Justice may often be found in the smoke-dimmed cabins of the poor, when the *ἵβρις* of the rich has banished her from their gilded palaces, revolted from the anticipations which promised the futurity of bliss in those islands of the west only to the great and strong. Without wealth and prosperity the virtues of the *μεγαλόψυχος* hero of Pindar could have had no room for development, and indeed the value of wealth in this connexion is certainly hinted at in the second Olympian, though the exact interpretation of the passage is obscure. After all, the difference between the two is mainly in the point of view. With both the future continues the essential characteristics of the present, but circumstances and natural temperament lead the two poets to bring a different side of the belief into prominence. With Pindar to be rich and prosperous was in all probability to be virtuous, provided always the due sense of moderation and submission to the gods kept men secure from divine envy. *ἵβρις* is with him the dreadful exception; so he delights to paint the rewards of the future. But with Aeschylus *ἵβρις* is all too common; the rich too often fall from overweening confidence in their prosperity. Men must be warned by the continual reminder that Justice though halt of foot is unfailing in her pursuit and, though she may not overtake her victim in this life, that there is the life beyond where escape is hopeless.

If Aeschylus could have freed himself from the dreary influence of the past and of his own almost exaggerated moral sense, his real belief in divine justice and wisdom would no doubt have found room to expand into some comforting hope for the sorrowful,

the suffering, and the oppressed, perhaps too into a belief that in the future life as well, human character might be sublimated by suffering. But if his belief ever worked out its logical conclusion, he did not give it to his fellows, certainly not in his surviving works. Practically with him the other world exists, at least as a felt influence on conduct, only for the guilty.

'Victurosque dei celant, ut vivere durent,
Felix esse mori—'

said Lucan, stung with that fierce depression that seems the bane of a complex civilization. Perhaps the thought was in the mind of Aeschylus that for a yet loftier purpose the gods conceal the happiness of death, that chastening fear and patient acceptance of discipline might merit its rewards, and prepare fit recipients of the gift of immortality.

(b) *Permanence of Human Interests and Relationships.*—That the dead retain a distinct personality is part of the rudest forms of belief in an after-life, and in Greece indeed belongs rather to the simple popular beliefs than to the philosophical systems, which tend either in the direction of Metempsychosis or of reabsorption of the individual in the Universal Soul. Neither of these modes of extended existence can be described as personal immortality, though they may satisfy a belief in the immortality of the life-principle. In Aeschylus there is no trace of either of these hypotheses. Pythagorean though we are bidden to consider him, not only personal characteristics remain, but the more transient circumstances of rank and influence. Darius is still in Hades *δυναστῶν δυνάστης*, reigning as king among the dead. And if Agamemnon was without such honour, it was only because he had died in no kingly fashion, shamed and dishonoured, without due rites of worthy burial. Would that he had died on the scene of his triumphs, though in a foreign land, yet in a soldier's grave, sing the chorus of the *Choephorae*—

φίλος φίλοισι τοῖς
ἐκεῖ καλῶς θανοῦσιν
κατὰ χθονὸς ἐμπρέπων
σεμνότιμος ἀνάκτωρ
πρόπολός τε τῶν μεγίστων
χθονίων ἐκεῖ τυράννων,
βασιλεὺς γάρ ἦν, ὅφρ' ἔζη,
μόριμον λάχος πιμπλάντων
χεροῖν πεισίσβροτόν τε βάκτρον.

Choe. 346-354.

But not these outward trappings only survive the transition. Moral characteristics still cling to the bodiless ghost—fierce undying revenge, as well as the kindly feelings sprung from tender human relationships:—

τέκνον, φρόνημα τοῦ
θανόντος οὐ δαμάζει
πυρὸς μαλερὰ γνάθος.

Choe. 316.

The wrath of Agamemnon (*Choe.* 285) can make itself felt among the living in disease and madness, the assaults of the Furies and dire dreams, as long as he is unavenged; he can distinguish between the offerings of filial affection, however humble, and the perfunctory sacrifice of unholy hands. The lament of Electra (*Choe.* 364) is a more precious offering than gold, and its soothing influence has become a helper of his children with the wrathful dead:—

τῶν δὲ κρατούντων
χέρες οὐχ ὅσαι στυγερῶν τούτων
παυσὶ δὲ μᾶλλον γέγνηται.

Choe. 370-371.

The *Eumenides* and *Persae* afford many similar instances. But here again we somewhat wonder that it is still the gloomy side of the case that is prominent—nothing of reunion with those we have loved and lost to soften separation, no thought that we go to them though they return not to us. A strain of fresh human sympathy there surely was, tender and pitiful, in the poet who has left us the pleading eyes of Iphigenia and her dumb lips that should have moved pity with memories of sweet girlish songs. It was there, but it makes no sign to soften the terrors of futurity.

(c) *Communication between the Living and the Dead.*—In the seven extant plays of Aeschylus there are two apparitions of the dead, and numerous allusions to ghostly visitations as well as to the phantom forms of dreams. Both the eidolon of Clytemnestra and of Darius appear visibly on the stage and address themselves to the Chorus. They are therefore actual shades exercising their privilege of re-visiting the earth and holding intercourse with the living. The ancients seem to have believed in a very close connexion between these waking visions and the forms we see in dreams, which they considered to be equally faithful revelations of the spirit-world, though different in kind. Some anthropologists go so far as to say that a belief in an existence after death actually arose in primitive peoples purely from an attempt to explain dreams of the

departed. However that may be, the Greeks had a firm belief in the power of the dead to appear to the waking senses in a vision (*ὕπαρ*); and when the bodily senses are laid to sleep, they believed that the mind by its own peculiar faculties, whose activity is increased in proportion as they act independently of the body, perceives the spiritual inhabitants of the invisible world with which it has itself more intimate connection than with the visible.

ὁράτε πληγὰς τὰσδε καρδίας ὄθεν,
εὐδονσα γὰρ φρήν ὄμμασιν λαμπρύνεται—

cries Clytemnestra to the sleeping Furies; and though she describes herself as *ὄναρ*, yet it is evident that there is present before us all that is left of the dead queen who, ever hungry for revenge, and scorned and flouted in Hades, rises to the upper air to goad on the sleeping ministers of her wrath.

This idea of the duality of human nature, body and spirit, is traceable in Pindar, and reaches a definite conception in Euripides. For instance in the *Threnoi* occurs the following interesting fragment—

‘Ὀλβία δ’ ἅπαντος αἴσα λυσίπονον τελευτάν
καὶ σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ περι-
σθενεῖ,
ζῶν δ’ ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἰδωλόν· τὸ γάρ
ἔστι μόνον
ἐκ θεῶν· εὐδαὶ δὲ πρᾶσσόντων μελέων, ἀτὰρ
εἰδόντεσσιν ἐν πολλοῖς οἰνείοις
δείκνυσσι τερπνῶν ἐφέροισαν χαλεπῶν τε
κρίσιν—’

containing a clear assertion of the antithesis of body and spirit, of the alternatives of happiness and woe in the life to come, and of the prophetic perception when ‘we are laid asleep in body and become a living soul.’ This last belief is also evidently alluded to in the next line to the passage I have already quoted from the *Eumenides*,

ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δὲ μοῖρ’ ἀπρόσκοπος βροτῶν,

evidently implying that at night destiny unveils herself to men. In Euripides the belief in this duality of nature and in the superiority of the spiritual to the material essence leads towards the conclusion that the greater and better portion of human existence is what we now call death, since then the spiritual escapes the trammels of the body; the gain of which may be argued from this very fact, that even the partial loosening of the fetters in sleep permits the soul to penetrate the unseen. Thus the natural awe that springs from the mysteriousness of dreams tends to give them

value, and to carry the mind with them back to the unseen from which they seem to spring. And that in turn gives them fresh importance as glimmerings and intimations out of the spiritual world to which our own better selves, 'such stuff as dreams are made of,' belong, and which 'rounds our little life with sleep.'

To such a feeling we must ascribe the frequency of allusion to dreams in the plays of Aeschylus, and the importance he attaches to such visitations,

πτεροῖς ὁπαδοῖς ὕπνου κλεῖβοις.

(d) *The general condition of the Dead.*—

There is little to add to our account of the other world as Aeschylus shows it to us. It has its own ministers of justice who carry out the principles of earthly equity; its own stern deities, once hostile now subservient to the all-accomplisher Zeus Teleios, who in the other world works out the decrees that are promulgated in this: rewards and compensation there may be, retribution there assuredly is: the dead retain their earthly passions and attributes: they have power to exact from their kindred the satisfaction of their wrongs by troubling their peace, and they can make their influence felt upon the pious and the dutiful, as kindly δαίμονες, shielding from harm, and bringing peace and prosperity upon those who have deserved their goodwill. But they in turn are dependent upon the living for such poor comfort and peace as the nether world can give. Due performance of their burial rites and worthy veneration of their memory are essential to securing repose and veneration among the shades. This is all that is revealed of comfort—release from bodily suffering for a Philoctetes—

Θάνατε Παιάν, μή μ' ἀτιμάσῃς μολεῖν
μόνος γὰρ εἰ σὺ τῶν ἀνηκέστων κακῶν
ἱατρός, ἄλγος δ' οὐδὲν ἄπεται νεκροῦ.

Frag. of *Phil.* apud *Stobaeum*—

and for all rest, deep and endless and indifferently,

παροίχεται πόνος,
παροίχεται δὲ τοῖσι μὲν τεθνηκόσιν
τὸ μήποτ' αἰθις μηδ' ἀναστῆναι μέλει—
Ag. 551, cf. *Choe.* 316—

or at best a faint reflection of the past.

It is a gloomy conception. Aeschylus himself, as Dr. Westcott points out, half inclines to think that a secondary positivist immortality in our children is more consolatory (*Choe.* 512). Like Homer he realized the nobility of our present powers, and felt in

that intense Greek life that the fulness of existence is exhausted here. Here and now God sees and judges; it is only the execution of His sentence that is sometimes delayed. It is enough for us to walk circumspectly without prying too curiously into the counsels of omnipotence. Deeply and truly religious though Aeschylus was, his religion was one of terrorism, and could not fail to turn away thought from the future with a sentiment of vague alarm. He is essentially the prophet of the Greek drama, a religious reformer whom the age brought forth to meet the widely felt demand for something that should harmonize the old stories of the mythologers with the abstract and elevated ideas that began to be formed of deity. Orphism and the mysteries are products of the same movement, and indeed it is more than probable that Aeschylus himself fell under the spell of this influence. The old tradition that he was accused of profaning the mysteries by allusions in his plays is not so unlikely as it would at first appear. That he was ever actually initiated we do not indeed know, but his connexion with Eleusis makes it at least probable. And if it be objected that so religious-minded a man was not the one to be guilty of an act of profanation, on the other hand it may be argued that the very intensity of his zeal was likely to have led him to wish to share with his fellowmen such salutary teaching as he might with his quickened discernment have gathered from the Eleusinian rites. Like most great reformers he was a little one-sided. The truth which it was his special mission to preach, he was prepared to enforce somewhat at the expense of others almost equally important. And he was right. If the brutalizing influences of the old religion were to be got rid of, when man worshipped a reflected self, with all his own weaknesses and passions glorified as divine, the first truth to be enforced with inexorable severity was that of the stern and absolute majesty of a god of purer eyes than to behold iniquity. Men must realize that fact. Later philosophy might then teach 'the All-wise is the All-loving too,' and certain of their own poets remind them that they also were His offspring. With such a thought men might at last venture to look with hope as well as dread into the future life, and seek to form a wider and more satisfying conception of its character. But the stern teaching of Aeschylus was first needful, that they might understand that love need not be weakness, and that severity to sin may prove the highest form of mercy.

II.

SOPHOCLES.

And if Aeschylus is pre-eminently the prophet, the teacher of the Greek drama, Sophocles is first and foremost its supreme artist, the tender and refined, appealing to the feelings rather than to the intellect, to a sense of what is moving and pathetic rather than of what is sublime and terrible. In literature they stand to each other in somewhat the same relation as Pheidias and Praxiteles in sculpture. Praxiteles, says Diodorus, portrayed in his marble τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη, that is, emotions, moods, feelings, sensations. But Pheidias deals, not with the πάθος, but with the ἦθος of man—his general abiding characteristics, what he is, not what he feels (cf. J. E. Harrison's *Studies in Greek Art*). Aeschylus then is the Pheidias of Greek tragedy, Sophocles its Praxiteles, and their work respectively ἠθικός and παθητικός, ethical and pathetic in a limited English sense, and something more. And as we have seen in Aeschylus, this large ethic treatment of human nature in its subjection to law and its connection with the divine, evincing itself in a stern and uncompromising conception of the future state, so in Sophocles it seems *à priori* probable that a more human sympathy with the pathos of our earthly life would extend over his forecast of our ultimate destiny its softening influence, and induce him to dwell on the hopeful rather than the melancholy aspects of our passage to another world.

As a matter of fact Sophocles does not dwell with insistence upon the question. The grim traditions of the past, the gloomy Chthonian worship in which Aeschylus seems to have taken a certain stern delight, had no attractions for his more polished artist nature. With him the thought that death has its compensations, even if mainly negative ones, is frequent, while the pains and penalties of the other world are seldom alluded to. He is concerned not to vindicate principles so much as to write a perfect play, which shall produce in his hearers that serious pleasure and pleasant pain which the moving and the pathetic treated with the highest art evoke. Not that there is no moral purpose in the plays of Sophocles: far from it. But on the whole he treats his matter objectively, and while Aeschylus speaks *in propria persona* through his characters, Sophocles with less inspiration but better art makes his characters speak their own thoughts.

The plays that on the whole are most

fruitful of the information of which we are in search, are the *Antigone*, the *Ajax*, and the *Oedipus Coloneus*, in all of which the chief characters stand face to face with death—in the first two cases as the object of deliberate choice, in the other as the destined goal of long and weary vicissitudes. How then do they regard it? 'No one,' says the Chorus in the *Antigone* 'is so foolish as to be enamoured of death,' 220. *Antigone*, as Prof. Jebb points out, makes a perfectly sane choice in meeting death, only because the alternative was to neglect a sacred duty. The utterances of this play ought therefore to be more weighty and unbiassed than those of the shame-stricken *Ajax*, eager to hide his dishonoured head in night, or of the travel-worn *Oedipus*, longing for easeful death to rid him of the burden of a life that had been from birth mocked and flouted by Fate.

Importance of Burial.—The first question that the *Antigone* raises is that of the importance to the dead of burial. When the decree of Creon is first mentioned, *Antigone* says that Eteocles, whom the king has suffered to be duly buried, is τοῖς ἐνεσθαι ἐντιμον νεκροῖς, a state of things which is clearly traceable, not to superior merit, but to his having secured the reverence of the dead by the reverence of the living. For there is a tendency among the nether folk, like that prevalent in the upper world, to trample on those who are down, so that those who neglect or refuse to perform the burial rites of the dead are not only found guilty of failing in the most sacred duties of kinship and nationality, but of the heartless cruelty of robbing the dead of all hope of honour and peace in Hades.

The seriousness of such a crime is illustrated by the severe sentences that were passed upon Athenian generals who failed to gather up the slain for burial, as for instance after Arginusae, and by the conduct of Nicias, who on one occasion turned back with victory within his grasp, on finding that the bodies of two Athenians had been left behind unburied, preferring to forego the victory to wronging his dead countrymen.

Caelum tegit qui non habet urnam,

said the Roman poet, and Socrates reminded his sorrowful friends that it was not *himself* they would bury, who would be far away out of their reach. But in the popular Greek belief burial was an important event in each man's existence, one on which his future fate largely depends. The devotion of *Antigone* was therefore animated by the

highest of motives, her brother's happiness not in time but in eternity. Seen in this light, the wrangling over the body of Ajax, which to modern taste seems a fault in the construction of an otherwise fine play, is no longer an anti-climax but an integral part of the hero's story, full of point and significance.

It is evident therefore that in the view of Sophocles the dead are in an important respect dependent on the living for their future state. We go on to ask how far this is further influenced for good or evil by their actions in the earthly life.

Rewards and Punishments. — 'Justice,' says Antigone, 'has her dwelling with the gods below, and ruthlessly exacts her due from men.' Creon, who has retained in this world the dead Eteocles after he has become the proper subject of the nether kingdom, must surrender his own son Haemon—

νέκυν νεκρῶν ἀμοιβὸν ἀντιδούς.

But does Justice act against the dead themselves? This is tacitly implied perhaps, but nowhere in Sophocles is it insisted upon as it is in Aeschylus. Indeed he introduces a most disturbing element into his conception in the justificatory influence of initiation into the Mysteries. In a fragment of an unknown play, he says

ὥς τρισόλβιοι
κείνοι βροτῶν οἱ ταῦτα δέρχοντες τέλη
μόλωσ' ἐς Ἄιδον· τοῖσδε γάρ μόνους ἐκεί
ζῆν ἐστί, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοισι πάντ' ἐκεῖ κακά.

There is a similar statement in the Threnoi of Pindar.

The Mysteries.—It is now generally accepted as proved that the Mysteries, although originally mainly symbolical of the operations of nature, with her alternations of life and death, winter and summer, represented under the beautiful myth of Demeter and Kore, were further applied to the story of our common human destiny. The evidence of this from what we know of the rites and ceremonies of the Mysteries, from the study of comparative mythology, from vase-paintings and scattered allusions cannot now be entered into. But it is sufficiently evident that the analogy between the history of the corn of wheat buried out of sight in the dark earth only to spring up into an ampler and richer life, with which we are so familiar under St. Paul's treatment, had already been seized by the Greek Mystics, perhaps appropriated through the Egyptians out of the symbolism of an ageless past.

How far however the teaching connected with this analogy conveyed hope and consolation to the adepts we cannot say, except that the merits of the purifications and sacrifices of the ceremonies seem to be carried into the great mystery of all as justifying a right to joys and privileges beyond the reach of the profane multitude. But that the Mystae had any formulated doctrine of a future state is altogether doubtful. Indeed it is on the other hand almost certain that the aim of the initiation was less to impart definite knowledge, than to produce a state of mind susceptible of certain impressions, whose character was directed by the scenic surroundings and dramatic characters of the rites. Dr. Mozley in an interesting lecture on 'Pagan Conceptions of a Future Life' points out that the very fact that such a belief was taught suggests a want of real conviction. The possessor of true and consolatory belief would never submit to keep it shut up in his own soul, for true belief rests on our common human nature, human conscience and human reason. 'The crowd' he says, 'played with the imagery of another world, but it had no true place as a truth in their hearts; nobody lived for it; the old Pagan imagery was an enormous advance upon belief.'

In so far then as the Mysteries concerned themselves with the future life, they afford a further illustration of the fact that the Greeks as a nation believed that, whatever in the main might be our life here, it was continued or reflected beyond the grave: that the Mystae of Eleusis carried with them their exclusive holiness, and might hug themselves with the anticipation of the same vague and intangible benefits in that other world that accrued to them in this. Such a belief Sophocles shared.

That he did not however consider it incompatible with an earnest conviction of the infallibility of divine justice, that he could hold such a doctrine of predestination at the same time that he asserted that Justice is essentially an infernal deity, proves how dim and floating all these beliefs were. There is a similar inconsistency in what he says about the fate of Polyneices. The dying Oedipus, with a curse whose binding nature would have been generally admitted, consigns his rebellious son in death to

τὸ Ταρτάρου
στυγνὸν πατρῶν ἔρεβος.—

and yet the sisterly affection of Antigone has power to secure him peace and privilege in

Hades. That justice would not intervene to separate the lot of the two brothers in accordance with their different merits, is very clear. For Creon suggests to Antigone that Eteocles might reasonably object to receiving only the same honour as the wicked. To which Antigone replies that no one knows whether feuds be not made up in the world below, so that Polyneices might then think it fit and pious that Eteocles should be honoured.

οὗτοι ποθ' οὐχ ὁρός, οὐδ' ὅταν θάνῃ, φίλος,

replies Creon, and he is allowed the last word. There would be no room or occasion for such feelings if Eteocles were in bliss and Polyneices in a state of punishment.

Consolatory Allusions.—We gather therefore that Sophocles is in teaching less advanced than his elder rival. But while the terrors of the other world are far less prominent with him than with Aeschylus, there are on the other hand not wanting hints that there are some aspects of death which are half consolatory to the suffering and distressed.

The whole episode of the death of Oedipus at Colonus is treated with tender reverence, as the passing of an old blind king into peace from a life that had grown wearisome: and in clear and unequivocal terms Theseus forbids his children to lament—

παύετε θρήνον, παῖδες· ἐν οἷς γάρ
χάρις ἢ χθονία ξυναπόκειται
πενθεῖν οὐ χρεή· νέμεσις γάρ.

O.C. 1750.

Several passages speak of death as sleep:

καλῶ δ' ἅμα
πομπᾶν Ἑρμῇ χθόνιον, εὖ με κοιμῆσαι, says
Ajax before his suicide, and the same image occurs in O.T. 961 and O.C. 1577. So Antigone uses the epithet *παγκοίτας* of Hades.

Or again death is the saviour from all troubles—*ἐπίκουρος τῆς λύπης*, O.C. 1220, as in the prophecy to Heracles—

μόχθων τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἔμοι
λύσιν τελείσθαι. . .
τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν θανεῖν ἐμέ—
Trach. 1171.

And for Philoctetes and Ajax death is the Healer, long desired, much entreated:—

ὦ Θάνατε, Θάνατε, πῶς αἰεὶ καλούμενος
οὕτω κατ' ἡμᾶρ, οὐ δύνᾳ μολεῖν ποτε;
Phil.

The Survival of Human feelings and of Human Relationships.—The passages quoted

about the undying enmity of Polyneices and Eteocles have already given proof that human passions and relationships survive death. So too Oedipus, in his bitter shame and remorse, asks how he will be able to meet in Hades the father and mother he so foully wronged—

ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅμμασιν ποίοις βλέπων
πατέρα ποτ' ἂν προσεῖδον εἰς Ἄιδον μολών
οὐδ' αὖ τάλαιναν μητέρα. . . O.T. 1371.

Memory and remorse will survive therefore—perhaps sufficient punishment.

But there are kindlier aspects of the same fact. Ismene (*Ant.* 65) trusts that the dead will see extenuating circumstances in her position, and Antigone is assured that the gratitude of her kin, which after her own death will irradiate with love the dark house of death, will be worth all her suffering.—

καλὸν μοι τοῦτο ποίονσθι θανεῖν.
φίλη μετ' αὐτοῦ κείσομαι, φίλον μέτα,
ὅσα πανουργήσας· ἐπεὶ πλείων χρόνος
ὃν δέ μ' ἀρέσκει τοῖς κάτω τῶν ἐνθάδε.
ἐκεῖ γὰρ αἰεὶ κείσομαι σοὶ δ' εἰ δοκεῖ,
τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔντιμ' ἀτιμάσας· ἔχε.
Ant. 72—76.

Most beautiful and touching of all however is the address of Antigone to the rock-hewn chamber which is to be her living tomb. Fully aware of all she loses, and yearning surely, though in silence, for Haemon's love, the significant *μέντοι* carries the assurance of her hope:—

ὦ τύμβος, ὦ νυμφεῖον, ὦ κατασκαφὴς
οἰκησις αἰεφύρνος οἱ πορεύομαι·
πρὸς τοὺς ἑμᾶντῆς ὦν ἀριθμὸν ἐν νεκροῖς
πλείστον δέδεκται Περσέφασιν· δλωλότων
ὦν λοισθία' γὰρ καὶ κάκιστα δὴ μακρῶ
κάτειμι, πρὶν μοι μοῖραν ἐξήκειν βίου.
ἐλθοῦσα μέντοι κάρτ' ἐν ἑλπίσιν τρέφω
φίλη μὲν ἤξειν πατρί, προσφιλῆς δὲ σοί,
μητρὲ, φίλῃ δὲ σοί, κασίγνητον κάκ' α—
ἐπεὶ θανόντας αὐτόχειρ ἡμᾶς ἐγὼ
ἔλονσα κάκῳσμησα κάπιτυμβίους
χοῶς ἔδωκα. Ant. 891.

And besides this compensation Prof. Jebb points out that Antigone dies with the belief that the question which the poet has left unanswered as to her personal guilt, *ὅσα πανουργήσασα*, will in the other world be solved—

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν οὖν τὰδ' ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῖς καλά,
παθόντες ἂν ἐν γυνόμην ἡμαρτηκότες—
Ant. 925—6.

The gods have let her die for obedience to

their unwritten laws, and the why, that has tortured many a soul since hers, goes with her for its answer into the tomb.

There is this undertone of melancholy running throughout the plays of Sophocles, and if he dwells somewhat fervently upon the rest, the healing, the reunion in the other world, it is less from a strong appreciation of these joys as such than from a sense of the struggles, the suffering, the separations of our life here, which force us to cry aloud on death for comfort. Such happiness as it can offer us is after all only relative. To the prosperous and contented death has nothing to offer. It is the cold dreariness of night: but if we are only longing to be asleep, what matter?

III.

EURIPIDES.

And what of Euripides—the realist, the philosopher, or rather perhaps the sophist, the sceptic, the disciple of Anaxagoras, the friend of Socrates? Far from avoiding the question of our future destiny, that is just the kind of speculation that fascinates him. The fragments of his lost plays alone are full of allusions to it, and in most of those passages there is a real earnestness that does not always characterize his philosophical disquisitions. Many of them remind us of Socrates, the *δαιὼς σοφιστής*, to whom he seems to allude in the *Hippolytus*, and though Euripides does not seem to have been actually his disciple, there can be little doubt that as his friend he was conversant with most of his teaching. For instance:

τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ ζῆν τοῦθ' ὃ κέκληται θανεῖν
τὸ ζῆν δὲ θνήσκειν ἐστὶ, πλὴν ὁμῶς βροτῶν
νοσοῦσιν οἱ βλέποντες, οἱ δ' ὀλωλότες
οὐδὲν νοσοῦσιν οὐδὲ κέκληται κακά.

Frag. 967.

Socrates' last words to his judges might paraphrase the earlier part of the passage, and the thought that seems to lie behind his reminder to Crito of the debt to pay the god of healing is parallel to the latter part. So too there are echoes of the great teacher's saying, *βίος μελέτη θανάτου*, which must have haunted Euripides' mind, so often does he revert to the thought of death. In a fragment of the *Alexandros* he says:

πάντων τὸ θανεῖν· τὸ δὲ κοινὸν ἄχθος
μετρίως ἀλγείν σοφία μελετᾷ.

Cicero, in his *Third Tusculan*, chap. xiv.,

translates a lost passage of Euripides, where Theseus says that, in obedience to the precepts of some philosophers, he constantly meditated on death and other possible forms of evil, so that if any disaster should suddenly befall him he might not be overwhelmed by the unexpected blow. On which Cicero makes the following comment: 'Quod autem Theseus a docto se audisse dicit, id de se ipso loquitur Euripides. Fuerat enim auditor Anaxagorae, quem ferunt nuntiata morte filio dixisse, "Sciebam me genuisse mortalem." Quae vox declarat iis esse haec acerba, quibus non fuerint cogitata.' That knowledge, if we could but attain to it, of our future state would have an appreciable influence upon our actions, he fully believed; half our foolishness and error and 'lovesick fondness' for our present life being due to our ignorance of it.

πᾶς δ' ὀδυνηρὸς βίος ἀνθρώπων
κοῦκ ἔστι πόνων ἀνάπαυσις·
ἀλλ' ὅ τι τοῦ ζῆν φίλτερον ἄλλο
σκότος ἀμπίσχων κρύπτει νεφέλαις.
δυσέρωτες δὲ φαινόμεθ' ὄντες
τοῦδ' ὅτι τοῦτο στίλβει κατὰ γῆν
δὲ ἀπειροσύναν ἄλλον βίον
κοῦκ ἀπόδειξιν τῶν ὑπὸ γαίης·
μῦθοις δ' ἄλλως φερόμεσθα.

Hipp. 190—197.

The last words are significant. The old traditions and explanations are *μῦθοι*, and the mystery remains. His position is agnostic; but not, as is so often the case, with the half-conviction that not only can we know nothing, but that there is nothing to know. Rather that the best part of all knowledge lies behind the veil, the privilege of the spiritual self that will at last penetrate reality:—

τὸ ζῆν γὰρ ἴσμεν· τοῦ θανεῖν δ' ἀπειρία
πᾶς τις φοβεῖται φῶς λιπεῖν τόδ' ἡλίον.

Traces of Orphism.—Some writers have expended much learning in attempts to prove the presence of Orphism in the plays of Aeschylus and Euripides. The amount of truth however in the statement is of the kind continually exaggerated by writers with a hobby. The teaching of Orphism was not, like that of the Mysteries, confined to the initiated, and might therefore with its pantheism, its doctrine of metempsychosis, its exaltation of a life of ascetic purity, well have had attractions for minds like those of Aeschylus and Euripides eager in search of something that should remedy the spiritual poverty of the national religion,

and ready to assimilate floating elements of truth from whatever source they sprang. But to say that Aeschylus and Euripides were Orphists would assuredly be beside the mark. Each appropriated from Orphism what answered the special craving of his mind, and let the rest go by. There is in Aeschylus no trace of pantheism—on the contrary, he was a polytheist nominally, practically a monotheist—no trace of a doctrine of metempsychosis. But the Orphic spirit is there, the deep reverence for the unseen powers, the love of purity and righteousness for their own sake, the penetrating enthusiasm, that were the notes of its presence.

It is something quite different that attracts Euripides. It is the ascetic separatism of mystic cults in which his proud disdain of the mob finds satisfaction; and the purity of body and soul that Artemis loves in the young Hippolytus typifies perhaps half-unconsciously to the sceptic poet the purity of heart that gives insight into the mysteries he longed to probe.

These things Euripides doubtless found attractive in the purer forms of Orphism. But his was a mind that could satisfy itself with the whole of no fixed belief of his times. There is in him none of the longing of the essentially pious Sophocles for confidence and devotion. It is in Sophocles and Aeschylus that we find the real Greek religion, 'tantum quae potuit suadere malorum,' glorified by the first rays of the rising sun of philosophy. But Euripides parted with it to share with Socrates and Plato a longing to give voice to the common aspirations of humanity, prompted by the spirit of enquiry so strong upon that age to throw away the acquiescence and timidity, if not indifference, of the past, and to seek an explanation of the individual in the universal, of man in God, and of the present life in the life to come.

Influence of Philosophy.—Wonder, says Aristotle, is at the bottom of all philosophy. And so when under the guidance of Protagoras and of all the greater Sophists, including Socrates himself, the attention of the thoughtful came to be concentrated upon man himself, as the only object in this world of fleeting phenomena which can be studied with some advantage in the attainment of truth, the feeling of wonder and admiration at ourselves, so secretly and wonderfully made, imperceptibly grows into the timid belief that the great Demiourgos did not mean his highest work merely for swift destruction. And the pupil of Anax-

agoras who had talked with Socrates must have been led to the deduction from his master's teaching which his master himself did not perceive—that, with his hypothesis of mind governing the world, all things must be directed *εἰς τὰ ἀρίστα* :—

εἰ θεοὶ τι δρῶσιν αἰσχρὸν οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί,

he says. If therefore other laws, of which we have no knowledge, do not intervene, there is a reasonable probability that somehow good will be the final goal of ill, if not in this life, in another.

'Euripide excelle surtout à troubler,' says M. Jules Girard, and Robert Browning testifies to the same when he speaks of the many unsuspected temptations to faith that will trouble the most comfortable atheism, just as doubts will trouble faith :—

'And now what are we? unbelievers both.
Where's the gain?
Just when we are safest, there's a sunset-touch,

A fancy from a flower-bell, some one's death,

A chorus-ending from Euripides.—

And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears
As old and new at once, as nature's self,
To rap and knock and enter in our soul,
Take hands and dance there, a fantastic ring

Round the ancient idol, on his base again,
The grand Perhaps.'

Was it *this* that made Aristotle call him the most tragic of the poets, that strong appeal for 'more light' which Clement of Alexandria has preserved from some lost play?—

πέμψον μὲν φῶς ψυχᾶς ἀνέρον
τοῖς βουλομένοις ἄθλους προμαθεῖν
πόθεν ἔβλαστον, τίς ῥίζα κακῶν,
τίνα δεῖ μακάρων ἐκθυσσάμενος
εἶρεν μόχθων ἀνάπαυαν.

In spite of Aristophanes and of those who condemned Socrates, the scepticism of Euripides and of Socrates was latent in the minds of most of their contemporaries. The well-known stories of the popularity of Euripides are sufficient proof that his voice awoke an answering note in the hearts of his audience. Sophocles himself, says Aristotle, said that while he described things as they ought to be, Euripides described things as they are; and Sophocles no doubt thought that the Athenians *ought* to have worshipped with quiet confidence and submission the gods of their fathers, leaving the mysteries

of life and death in their hands. But in very deed they were, as Euripides divined them, deep in their hearts troubled and in doubt. Their very wrath with those who gave voice to their trouble was only the last effort of religious conscientiousness to stifle the over-mastering impulse within. Those who condemned Socrates of speaking blasphemously were themselves uttering the cynical 'What is truth?'

It follows that the allusions to the after-state in Euripides, though frequent, are vague and conjectural. Sometimes, for the purposes of his play, he makes use of the traditional imagery and legend; sometimes he openly rejects them as *μῦθοι*. He does not introduce apparitions of the dead or demon-phantoms. The Erinnyes seen by his Orestes are evidently the products of a distempered brain, and the eidolon of Polydorus, which appears in order to speak the prologue to the *Hecuba*, is only a piece of stage-machinery. We may take, as an example of his treatment, the play of *Alcestis*.

Alcestis.—The idea of redemption from death by the voluntary substitution of another person is not without parallel elsewhere in Greek legend. There is, for example, the sharing of immortality and death between the Dioscuri and the redemption of Prometheus from Tartarus by Cheiron in the *Prometheus Unbound*. But it is hardly necessary to say that Euripides did not believe, any more than the Hebrew poet, that man could release his brother's soul from death, or make agreement unto God for him. He treats the story as we should, as a beautiful fable, illustrative of wifely devotion and love that conquers death, and as a convenient vehicle for what is to us the less interesting motive, though the more important one in intention—that an unselfish regard for the duties of hospitality and of the obligations to noble self-restraint is not in time without its own rewards. Thanatos is a purely allegorical figure, not exactly answering to any of the Chthonian deities, just as the restoration to life of Alcestis is treated symbolically by the contest between Thanatos and Heracles.

Again the dying wife sees in fancy all that Greek imagination had figured of the under-world: the two-oared bark; the ferryman of the dead, his hand upon the oar; winged Hades himself, with burning eyes that frown darkly at her under his beetling brows. But the poet is only putting into her mouth the expressions appropriate to the long-past age to which his heroine may

be supposed to belong: they did not represent any belief of his own or his audience. Aristophanes might parody the same old fables without fear of censure in his *Frogs*. Euripides has distinctly said that we know not the meaning of this glittering bauble life, much less of what comes after. 'Sleep, rest, and peace are all we know of death' might translate many a passage in his plays.

The poet does not permit Alcestis herself any soothing prevision of recompense for her heroism; but three times the Chorus—who on the whole may be supposed to speak for Euripides—venture a conjectural hope that her lot in Hades may be made worthy her deserts:—

. εἰ δέ τι κακὴ
πλέον ἔστ' ἀγαθοῖς, τούτων μετέχουσ'
Ἄιδου νύμφη παρεδρεύοις.

Nay, they half canonize Alcestis, bidding Admetus to honour her tomb, not with the customary melancholy rites, but as the altar of a goddess:—

αὐτα ποτὲ προὔθαν' ἀνδρὸς
νῦν δ' ἔστὶ μάκαιρα δαίμων.
χαῖρ', ὦ ποτνί', εὐ δὲ δόξης.

And what of consolation for Admetus? That she will prepare a mansion where he may join her:—

ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκέισε προσδόκα μ' ὅταν θάνω
καὶ δῶμ' ἑτοίμαζ', ὥς συνοικήσουσά μοι,—

a reunion which his own funeral shall symbolize, laying him to rest beside her:—

ἐν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γάρ μ' ἐπισκήψω κέδροις
σοὶ τοῦτδε θείναι πλευρά τ' ἐκτείνειν πέλας
πλευροῖσι τοῖς σοῖς.

In the meantime, while Admetus remains to drag out a weary existence, *παρεῖς τὸ μόρσιμον*, 'her sorrow shall in no wise touch any more; she has ceased from troubles, fair-famed for ever.'

This is the grain of comfort, limited, alas! by many an if. Euripides however, we are fain to believe, leant like Socrates towards hope. The end presented itself to him, as to Socrates, as offering two alternatives, and the apparent contradictions of some of his utterances are due to this. A conception of the Deity as absolute good, consciousness of capabilities only half realized, of the far-away mysteriousness of God, *τὸν πᾶνθ' ὁρῶντα καὶ τὸν οὐχ ὁρῶμενον*, of man himself—'animus ut Euripides dicere audet deus est,' says Cicero (*Tusc.*

I. 26)—all this at times inclined him to the thought that death may after all be the better part of existence. But again the weariness and sorrows of this life, its contradictions and its failures, pressed in with stern insistence, and it was enough that death should end the pain and wretchedness in sleep dreamless and eternal :—

θάνατος γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νεικέων τέλος
ἔχει· τί γὰρ τοῦδ' ἐστὶ μείζον ἐν βροτοῖς ;
τίς γὰρ πετραῖον σκόπελον οὐτάζων δορὶ
δδύναισι δώσει ; τίς δ' ἀτιμάζων νέκυσ,
εἰ μὴδὲν αἰσθάνοιτο τῶν παθημάτων ;

Frag. of an Antigone.

In this mood he said in the *Cresphontes* that we should not, as we do, celebrate birth with thanksgiving and death with mourning. Rather should we mourn when a child is born into this world, pondering on all the sorrows of our human life ; but when another has ended all these cruel hardships in death, then with praise and joyfulness should his friends escort him forth upon his way (*Cic. Tusc.* I. 48). At another time, in his bitterness and disgust, he is ready to be rid of humanity altogether :—

τοὺς ζῶντας εὖ δρᾶν· καθανὼν δὲ πᾶς ἀνὴρ
γῇ καὶ σκιά· τὸ μὴδὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ῥέπει—

Dust and shadow, potential nothingness in life, actual nothingness in death. Our enemies can harm us no more, our friends forget us equally :—

τύμβω γὰρ οὐδεὶς πιστὸς ἀνθρώπων φίλος—

Frag. incert. Fab.

just as we forget the dead in enjoying the inheritance they have left us :—

τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πλεόν κρατεῖ
τῆς εὐσεβείας· ἡ δ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς χάρις
ἀπόλωλ', ὅταν τις ἐκ δόμων ἔλθῃ.

Ibid.

Only their works remain to keep green the memory of the just ; this immortality at least is theirs :—

ἀρετὴ δὲ καὶ θάνη τις οὐκ ἀπόλλυται,
ζῆ δ' οὐκετ' ὄντος σώματος· κακοῖσι δὲ
ἅπαντα φροῦδα συνθάνονθ' ὑπὸ χθονός.

Frag.

Still, in his gloomiest mood Euripides would have us remember that if we know not good, neither do we know evil—our ignorance is

absolute. Nothing remains for us but to cultivate a philosophic spirit in face of this inevitable mystery. Life is ours to make the best of it, whatever comes after, and if death is part of the course of nature, a harvesting of ripe fruit, there is at least that presumption that it is somehow for the best :—

ἔφν μὲν οὐδεὶς ὄστις οὐ ποιεῖ βροτῶν
θάπτει τε τέκνα χᾶτερ' αὖ κτᾶται νέα,
αὐτὸς τε θνήσκει· καὶ τὰδ' ἄχθονται βροτοὶ
εἰς γῆν φέροντες γῆν· ἀναγκαίως δ' ἔχει
βίον θέριζειν ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχυν,
καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ μή· τί ταῦτα δέῃ
στένειν ἅπερ δέῃ κατὰ φύσιν διεκπερᾶν ;
δεινὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων βροτοῖς.

Frag. Hypsipyle.

This is what the tragedians leave with us : Aeschylus, his trumpet-note of judgment ; Sophocles, his tenderer words of rest and reunion ; Euripides, his troubled questioning, his sceptic silence, his half-contemptuous calm. Between the birth of Aeschylus and the death of Euripides most of the great things of the Athenian empire are comprised, and when Euripides died the turmoil and distress of the later years of the Peloponnesian war was fast closing in the political horizon, and thrusting men's thoughts back upon themselves. And as the soldiers of Plataea could not but feel the value of life and action, and the citizen of the Athens of Pericles and Pheidias could not but feel the value of human personality (πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κοῦδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει), so the poet who had outlived the disasters of Syracuse, and had heard how the Odes that had been written to delight the gay leisure of the free proud sons of Athens had come to be the solace and alleviation of slavery and imprisonment, could not but have felt something of the vanity of life and of human achievement, and have asked more eagerly than his compeers, What lies beyond ?

There is at the British Museum a beautiful Graeco-Roman bronze head of Sleep or her twin Death. The parted hair, the dove-like wings over the delicate ears, the eyelids that droop low over the languid eyes, the small straight nose, the close quiet mouth and firm chin—all breathe an indescribable air of gravity and reticence and calm, which seem to say that this is the last and crowning experience of all, that this is the secret of all secrets, which when we have fathomed, we have fathomed all. And we stand before her, each with his separate

puzzle, his own vexed thoughts, his baffled questionings, his blank misgivings. She could give each his answer, but she will not speak for all our entreaties—not yet.

There in bronze is the Greek thought of Death. Volumes about it could tell us no more.

MAUD M. DANIEL.

POLITICAL ALLUSIONS IN THE *SUPPLICES* OF EURIPIDES.

Of the three great tragic poets of Athens Euripides most concerns himself with the political questions of the time. The *Hercules Furens*, the *Heracleidae*, the *Ion* all show this tendency to some extent, but of all Euripides' plays the *Supplices* is undoubtedly the most political. The disaster at Delium in 424 B.C. and the refusal of the Thebans contrary to Greek religious custom to give up the bodies of the dead manifestly suggested the theme of the play. Unfortunately no ancient authority gives us the date of its production, and the opinions of modern writers vary. The majority place it somewhere between 422 and 417 B.C.: some as late as 410. Hermann suggested that as the play so manifestly supports the Argive alliance it was produced before the Argive ambassadors in 420. Various passages in the play have been understood by various writers to apply to eminent Athenian politicians of the day. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf and others consider it practically a party pamphlet in the interest of Alcibiades. But the passages which have been referred to are too isolated to clearly prove the poet's political intention. The most important and most certain proof these writers have one and all passed over. It is contained in the long panegyric of Adrastus delivered over the bodies of the fallen chiefs (857 ff.).

The first of the heroes whom Adrastus describes is Capaneus who had died before the walls of Thebes 'by the visitation of God.' Aeschylus (*Septem c. Thebas* 422) describes how Capaneus declared that he would take the city and defied Heaven to prevent him. Euripides repeats the passage almost *verbatim* (498) ὡμοσεν πόλιν | πέρσειν, θεοῦ θέλοντος ἦν τε μὴ θέλῃ. To the Greek mind, the death of Capaneus by lightning was the natural result of such presumptuous sin. It is consequently with some astonishment we see that in Adrastus' account of the chieftains, although the original story of the death of Capaneus by lightning is kept, still his character is represented as all that is good and amiable. Of the haughty Capaneus braving in his pride the wrath of

Heaven we read (862) φρόνημα δὲ | οὐδέν τι μείζον εἶχεν ἢ πένης ἀνὴρ and again (869) ἄψευδες ἦθος, εὐπροσήγορον στόμα.

The editors explain this glaring inconsistency by the plea that the words are in the mouth of a friend, and that the cause of Adrastus was bound up with his deceased allies. But this did not prevent Adrastus saying before (160) νέων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν θόρυβος ἐξέπλησσε με. Nor is Theseus anywhere in the play inclined to palliate the conduct of the Seven although he feels himself bound in the interests of Greek religion to demand the bodies for the Suppliants at the altar of Demeter.

It might also be urged that the poet desired to lend some novelty to his treatment of the subject which, as Plutarch (*Theseus* c. 29) tells us, had already been handled by Aeschylus in his *Eleusinians*. It is not without reason that Aristophanes makes Euripides the claimant of the throne of Aeschylus in the lower world. Not a few times he goes out of his way to show his rivalry with Aeschylus. In this very play the speech of Theseus (195 ff.) is obviously modelled on and meant to rival the speech of Prometheus in Aeschylus' play of that name (*P. V.* 442 ff.). We learn from Plutarch that in the *Eleusinians* Aeschylus made the bodies be given up to Theseus after peaceable negotiation and without the battle which Euripides introduces. But as Euripides followed Aeschylus earlier in the play in his account of Capaneus, and as there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of that passage, there must be some other reason for his inconsistency with himself. That reason can only be that he wished to draw under the guise of the Argive chieftains the political chieftains of Athens.

The only editor, so far as I know, who has seen this is Musgrave. His words are ...*puto poetam in ducibus Argivis laudandis nobilium quorundam Atheniensium vitam et mores effinxisse. Quare non est adeo mirandum si receptam de veteribus illis opinionem non anxie ubique secutus est.* But Musgrave made no attempt to work out the matter in

detail. When once, however, the speech is looked at from this point of view it is comparatively easy to see who are the characters depicted. No doubt the youthful citizens to whom Adrastus is requested by Theseus to tell the names and characters of his comrades recognised with little trouble the politicians whom the Argive leaders were intended to represent.

(i.) The irreligious Capaneus is metamorphosed into the god-fearing Nikias, ὃ βίος μὲν ἦν πολλὸς | ἥκιστα δ' ὀλβω γαῖρος ἦν (861). The wealth of Nikias was proverbial not only among his own contemporaries (Lysias, xix. 47, says his property was estimated at a hundred talents) but also in much later times (Athenaeus, vi. 272e τῶν Ἑλλήνων ζάπλουτος Νίκιας). Cp. also Plut. *Nik.* xv. 2 τοῦ δὲ Νικίου καὶ διὰ τὰλλα μέγας ἦν καὶ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ὁ ὄγκος. Plutarch's character of Nikias is somewhat inconsistent with itself. As it is stated in ii. 3 it agrees admirably with the portrait here—καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν αἰσθηρὸν οὐδ' ἐπαχθὲς ἄγαν αὐτοῦ τὸ σεμνόν, ἀλλ' εὐλαβεῖα τινὶ μεμυγμένον αὐτῷ τῷ δεδιέναι δοκοῦντι τοὺς πολλοὺς δημαγωγοῖν. A poet who, as we shall see, was a more or less ardent sympathiser with the aims of Nikias, was not likely to dwell upon his weak points nor indeed, as we can see from his unhappy future history, were these so evident to his contemporaries as they have been to posterity. In any case it is hard to reconcile the passage given above with the statement (v. 4) that he was φίλοις οὐ προσήγῃς οὐδ' ἡδύς κ.τ.λ. or with xi. 2 Νικίαν ὁ τε πλοῦτος ἐπίφθονον ἐποίει καὶ μάλιστα τῆς διαίτης τὸ μὴ φιλόανθρωπον μηδὲ δημοτικὸν ἀλλ' ἄμικτον καὶ ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἀλλόκοτον ἐδόκει. Nor are these latter passages reconcilable with the statement (ii. 2) τὸν δῆμον εἶχεν εἶνον καὶ συμφιλότημοῦμενον—a statement which is indisputably true. Of no one could it be said more truly than of Nikias ἄκρατον οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐς οἰκέτας ἔχων οὔτ' ἐς πολίτας (870).

(ii.) The Athenian who is represented by Eteocles is equally easy to discover. The characteristic on which Euripides dwells is the poverty of the hero and his stern independence. One of the leading men of the time had precisely the same characteristics. Plutarch (*Nikias*, xv. 1) tells us that Lamachus was a brave and honest man (ἦν μὲν ἀνδρωδὴς καὶ δίκαιος ἀνὴρ) but so poor that he had always in his accounts to debit to the Athenians a small sum for clothes and shoes. We are told in the life of Alcibiades by the same writer that owing to his poverty he had not the influence he deserved (*Alcib.* 21). Aristophanes in Lamachus' life-time loved to

represent him as a swashbuckler and a sort of Captain Bobadil, but generously sang his praises after he had met his death in the service of his country (*Thesmoph.* 841, *Ranae*, 1039).

(iii.) Hippomedon, the chief who 'scorns delights and lives laborious days' in his desire to serve his country, seems to me to be Demosthenes, perhaps the greatest of all Athenian generals. Unfortunately no full account of him is preserved to us. He seems to have been a man of war from his youth and to have taken no direct interest in politics. In Aristophanes he appears only in the *Equites* as οἰκέτης A. Thucydides seems to think he needs no introduction to his readers, at any rate no special attention is drawn to his appearance on the political stage.

(iv.) The antitype of the next hero—Parthenopaeus the son of Atalante—is plain to all eyes. To only one Athenian of Euripides' time could the words Παρθενοπαῖος, εἶδος ἐξοχώτατος and πολλοὺς δ' ἐραστάς κατὰ θηλειῶν *ὁ παῖς*¹ ἔχων ἐφρούρει μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν apply—to Alcibiades. The verses 899, 900 coming at the end of the character seem thrown in as an afterthought of the poet in order to make identification absolutely certain. How true they were to Alcibiades' character may be seen by comparing Xen. *Memorab.* i. 2, 24 and Thuc. vi. 15. Alcibiades was just entering on his political career; there had been an attempt to snub him, but he had successfully revenged that and had suddenly found himself the author of a policy at least partially adopted by Athens. He would have been considered very young for a politician in any other state, says Thucydides (v. 43, 2). Are the lines λυπηρὸς οὐκ ἦν οὐδ' ἐπίφθονος πόλει | οὐδ' ἐξεριστῆς τῶν λόγων κ.τ.λ. (all of which Alcibiades already was or soon became) a gentle hint from the poet of conduct which his well-wishers and his country might think it well he should amend?

(v.) In the account of Tydeus there exists a very serious textual difficulty. Something has been lost after δεινὸς σοφιστής, or something has been interpolated; perhaps there have been both loss and interpolation. But the lines that remain give an excellent clue to the personage meant by the poet. The historical character must be the *beau-idéal* of the courageous warrior; he must be a man of deeds not arguments, οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ ἦν λαμπρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀσπίδι δεινὸς σοφιστής. Fortunately we have an account of such an

¹ Emendation of Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, xiv. 181) for the unintelligible ὅσας of MSS.

Athenian preserved to us by Plato. It is Laches. To both Euripides and Plato one person has acted as the exemplar of εὐανδρία. Plato sketches exactly the same bluff rude soldier as Euripides. Laches knows his own defects, as he tells us in his account of Socrates (188 E), Σωκράτους δ' ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν λόγων οὐκ ἔμπειρός εἰμι, ἀλλὰ πρότερον, ὡς εἶουκε, τῶν ἔργων ἐπειράθην (cp. also 194 A): πρότερον refers to the battle of Delium (181 B), at which Socrates showed his superiority in bravery even to Laches himself with whom he retired from the field (Plato *Symposium* 221 A).

This completes the list of heroes who have a funeral oration pronounced over them. Amphiarus had been swallowed up by the earth and Polyneices' corpse had been left at Thebes. Hence they are passed over with three lines each and these from Theseus not Adrastus. Nor is there any attempt to delineate their characters.

The list of persons mentioned strongly supports Hermann's date for the play. Of the five Athenians described—Nikias, Lamachus, Demosthenes, Alcibiades, Laches—all except Alcibiades had sworn to the treaty of Nikias in the previous year (Thuc. v. 19) and they are indisputably the best known personages among the Athenian deputies who were present on that occasion. It was since that treaty that Alcibiades' star had risen. Before that treaty he had been regarded by the Spartans as a person of no consequence; he was now at the head of the most influential party in Athens. No wonder then that, with those traits of character which had already shown themselves in him, the poet should warn him against his besetting sins.

When this, the most important passage politically in the play, has been set in its proper light, the political allusions scattered elsewhere throughout the play appear in their correct relations, and the whole purpose of the drama is made clearer. Euripides' aim is universal peace. The poet feels that men ought to heal their differences by milder remedies than the sword—ὦ κενοὶ βροτῶν | οἱ τόξον ἐντείνοντες ὡς καιροῦ πέρα, | καὶ πρὸς δίκης γε πολλὰ πάσχοντες κακά, | φίλοις μὲν οὐ πείθεσθε, τοῖς δὲ πράγμασι, | πόλεις τ', ἔχουσαι διὰ λόγον κάμψαι κακά, | φόνῳ καθαιρείσθ', οὐ λόγῳ, τὰ πράγματα (744 ff.). Let there be a treaty with Argos by all means, but that need not entail a war with Sparta. This was, as we learn from Thucydides, the general feeling of the Athenians on the subject (Thuc. v. 48, 1 αἱ μὲν σπονδὰι καὶ αἱ ξυμμαχίαι οὕτως ἐγένοντο καὶ αἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἀπείρηγτο τούτου ἕνεκα οὐδ' ὑφ'

ἐτέρων). This is supported also by the careful avoidance of anything which might offend Sparta unnecessarily. The only direct reference of any kind (187) Σπαρτὴ μὲν ὦμῃ καὶ πεποικιλταὶ τρόπους is in a passage part of which is certainly spurious. Dindorf brackets vv. 180 to 192. All editors are agreed that vv. 180—183 are spurious. Kirchhoff and Nauck bracket also vv. 190—192, which some have taken for a panegyric of Alcibiades. The poet's feelings and those of his audience must have been different on this occasion to those they entertained at the production of the *Andromache*. The passage in the *Andromache* (445—463) beginning ὁ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχθιστοι βροτῶν | Σπάρτης ἐνοικοὶ gives a list of the failings of Sparta which reminds one of the views expressed by the Athenians in the Melian dialogue. Even if the solitary verse in this play be kept it might be looked upon as a slight hint of the irritation the Athenians were feeling because Sparta had not coerced her allies into peace and had not compelled the Thebans to surrender Panactum.

But if Euripides' desire was for peace he could not have been a thorough supporter of Alcibiades. Here therefore I must dissent from the conclusions drawn by Wilamowitz-Möllendorf (*Analecta Euripidea* p. 179).¹ He there points out that Aristophanes, however merciless to Euripides' earlier and later plays, heaps none of his contumely on the cycle of political plays—the *Hercules Furens*, *Heracleidae*, *Cresphontes*, *Erechtheus*, *Supplikes*, *Ion*—which he assigns with great probability to the middle of the poet's career. He therefore argues that the reason for this must be that at this period both poets were fighting on the same side. That side he considers to have been the side of Alcibiades. There is however no proof that either poet was a partisan of Alcibiades. Aristophanes whose every desire is peace at any price could hardly be so. Neither could Euripides with the sentiments he develops in this play. The party which he favours is very clearly indicated (244 f.) τριῶν δὲ μοιρῶν ἥ 'ν μέσῳ σφῶει πόλεις | κόσμον

¹ Since this paper was in the hands of the editor I have had an opportunity of glancing at the first volume of W. M.'s new work—*Herakles*. It is pleasing to find so eminent an Euripidean scholar also expressing the opinion (p. 13) that the object of this play was 'frieden mit Sparta, aber anchluss an Argos zu suchen'; but, as will be seen, I cannot accept his further conclusion that, at the time of the production of this play at any rate, Euripides hoped to find in Alcibiades a greater Pericles. This conclusion is founded on vv. 190—192 which, as already remarked, are regarded as spurious by several of the best editors.

φυλάσσουν' ὄντιν' ἂν τάξῃ πόλις. Of the democratic side which Alcibiades was then favouring he uses very plain words (243) γλώσσας πονηρῶν προστατῶν φηλούμενοι, and sketches the demagogue in the darkest colours (412 ff.). Euripides will have none of the young party who πολέμους αὐξάνουσ' ἄνευ δίκης, | φθείροντες ἀστούς, ὁ μὲν ὅπως στρατηλατῇ, | ὁ δ' ὡς ὑβρίζῃ, δύναμιν ἐς χεῖρας λαβῶν, | ἄλλος δὲ κέρδους οὔνεκ' οὐκ ἀποσκοπῶν | τὸ πλῆθος εἴ τι βλάπτεται πάσχων τάδε (233 ff.), words which were as true applied to those who wished to upset the peace of Nikias in 420 as in the mouth of Nikias himself before the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. vi. 12, 2).

It is perhaps worth observing how careful Euripides is to make his audience see that he is not really describing a mythical scene, but one in which the majority of themselves have taken part. Little illusion as to the meaning of the play could be left after the reply of Theseus to the Theban herald (404) οὐ γὰρ ἄρχεται ἐνὸς πρὸς ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐλευθέρᾳ πόλιν—*a statement which is somewhat out of place in the mouth of even the most constitutional of ancient monarchs. The play is permeated with references to other events of the day. The words of Theseus (532) ὅθεν δ' ἔκαστον ἐς τὸ φῶς ἀφίκετο | ἐνταῦθ' ἀπῆλθε, πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα, | τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐς γῆν* are but a paraphrase of the inscription on those who fell at Potidaea (Hicks, *Inscript.* p. 60) αἰθὴρ μὲν ψυχὰς ὑπέδεξάτο, σώματα δὲ χθών] | τῶνδε κ.τ.λ. The lines 847 ff. seem a distant reminiscence of the reply of the Spartan captured in Sphacteria to the Athenian ally who asked him εἰ οἱ τεθνεώτες αὐτῶν καλοὶ κάγαθοί (Thuc. iv. 40). The course of the battle was obviously meant to remind the audience of Delium. At the battle of Delium the right wing of the Athenians drove back the Boeotians while their own left wing which was opposed to the Thebans was defeated (Thuc. iv. 96, 3, 4). Compare with this (*Suppl.* 703) λόχος δ'

ὀδόντων ὄφεος ἐξηνδρωμένος | δεινὸς παλαιστῆς ἦν ἔκλινε γὰρ κέρας | τὸ λαὸν ἡμῶν δεξιῶν δ' ἡσώμενον | φεύγει τὸ κείνων, ἦν δ' ἀγὼν ἰσόρροπος. Valuable light is thrown on the λόχος ὀδόντων ὄφεος by a passage in Diodorus (xii. 70) which tells us that in the front of the Theban force there fought a chosen band of three hundred, οἱ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἡνίοχοι καὶ παραβάται καλούμενοι. The names are specially interesting because they show that the band was really a survival from a time when the heroic methods of fighting were still in vogue and might therefore be attributed by Euripides without difficulty to the heroic period.

Finally, when we remember that Amphiaras had fled from before the walls of Thebes through the district of Oropus where the Athenians sought refuge after Delium, and that according to the legend he disappeared at Psaphis (Strabo, θ 399, Philostratus *Imagines* i. 26, 3), we see what opportunities Euripides had for connecting the battle of Delium with the story of the Seven and how cleverly he availed himself of these opportunities.

It has been made an objection to the play that it has no action. That is true. But the Athenian absorbed in reviewing the history of his own time unrolled before him with only a change of names would not have felt this any more than he would have felt it in the *Persae*. The play is—as the fragment of the *ὑπόθεσις* describes it—an ἐγκώμιον Ἀθηνῶν and a much more skilful one than the *Persae*. It was easy for Aeschylus to make his panegyric after a great triumph; it required much greater skill to do so after a great defeat. It is not in either case the highest form of dramatic art. But Euripides desired not only to praise Athens. He had a policy to support and a lesson to convey to his countrymen and, such being his aim, he could not have taken better means to attain it.

P. GILES.

THE PLOT OF THE AGAMEMNON.

DR. VERRALL'S brilliant and ingenious introduction to the *Agamemnon* opens up a question which it will take time to decide upon. Having been much discontented for a long time with the plot of the play as we have all been taught it, I at any rate am glad to have something set before me which

satisfies such modest demands as the aesthetic feeling of every reader makes with regard to the construction, or the skeleton, of a tragedy. It is in the hope that the following considerations may do something to further elucidate this difficult matter that I submit them to the reader.

Dr. Verrall lays great stress, as we all know, on the beacons, a feature of the play before inexplicable. Now it has never, I think, been pointed out in this connexion that in *another* story of the voyage home from Troy beacons play an important and disastrous part. Nauplius, the father of Palamedes, in revenge for his son's death, lighted false beacons and so caused the returning fleet to suffer shipwreck. According again to the Scholiast on Lycophron's *Alexandra*, 1093, Ναύπλιος διατρίβων ἐν Ἑλλάδι παρσκεύασε μοιχευθῆναι τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ καὶ Κλυταίμνηστρον μὲν συνέμιξεν Αἰγίσθῳ κ.τ.λ. So then in one story Nauplius and his beacons (cp. Lycophron 1096) are connected with the adultery of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra to bring about the ruin of the fleet and of Agamemnon; in the other story, that of Aeschylus, or of Dr. Verrall if you like, beacons and the adulterous pair are connected for the ruin of Agamemnon. This is hardly an accidental coincidence.

Again, Aeschylus must have known the story of Nauplius. For Nauplius was one of the characters of the Νόστοι. πρὶν δὲ τελευτῆσαι ἔγγημεν [ὁ Ναύπλιος], ὡς μὲν οἱ τραγικοὶ λέγουσι, Κλυμένην, ὡς δὲ ὁ τοὺς νόστους γράψας, Φιλύραν. Apollodorus *Bibl.* I. 2 (page 40 Teubner ed.). And the story of the shipwreck was told in the Νόστοι. εἶθ' ὁ περὶ τὰς Καφηρίδας πέτρας δηλοῦται χιμῶν, says the *Chrestomathia* of Proclus, in the epitome of the Νόστοι. It is no great assumption then that the beacon of Nauplius was a familiar story in the time of Aeschylus; at any rate it is more likely that he adapted this beacon story to his own ends than that there were two independent stories about beacons.

Can the beacon, one may ask, be doing double duty? Is it both a signal to Clytemnestra to be ready, and a false fire to destroy the Greek fleet? Aeschylus does not suggest this and it seems improbable, though it would give extra point to πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα in *Agam.* 656. Rather he prefers to make the beacon help in destroying Agamemnon in another way than in the old story, he or the authority he follows. He keeps the signal because it was in the legend, but drops Nauplius because he is not wanted and is better away.

If Dr. Verrall is right the conspirators had information from Troy. Why then watch for a year? They need not have begun watching till they heard of the capture of Troy. The inconsistency is that (1) they had news continually, (2) they fear they may be taken unawares. This comes of the epic story being transplanted. Homer naturally supposes they have *no* news, and he sets a σκοπός. Aeschylus naturally supposes they *have* news but keeps the σκοπός all the same, and leaves the inconsistency to look after itself as Sophocles does with much worse ones in *Oedipus Rex*. If he *had* troubled himself about it, he would have made the φύλαξ only have been looking out for a week or two, but it is no wonder that he prefers the Homeric year.

If we are to fill up the story in all its details we must suppose that watch was kept by day as well as by night, for a fleet is more likely to return by day of the two. But if the story said they returned by night, why should the poet trouble himself further?

Dr. Verrall justly lays stress on and defends line 1644 :

οὐκ αὐτὸς ἡνάριζες, ἀλλὰ σὺν γυνή.

In further defence it may be observed that this line is a reminiscence of Homer λ. 409 : ἔκτα σὺν οὐλομένη ἀλόχῳ. In both the point is the same, that Aegisthus devised the plot *with the help* of Clytemnestra.

The great difficulty in Dr. Verrall's view seems to be the φύλαξ. The Homeric watchman knows perfectly what he is about; why does the Aeschylean play a part he does not understand? It is due, I think, to the Attic irony, which is powerfully developed in his joy at what he supposes the sign of his master's success while it is really the sign of his ruin, and in his being the unconscious instrument, like Emilia, of what he least wishes.

The great speech in which the beacons are described may well have had a special interest for the audience, which would excuse its falsity, if a λαμπαδηφορία were to take place that evening after the tragedies were over. Clytemnestra herself speaks of it as a λαμπαδηφορία.

ARTHUR PLATT.

ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF CLAUSES FOLLOWING EXPRESSIONS OF EXPECTATION IN GREEK.

IN a note on Babrius ix. 2, discussing the constructions following expressions of 'hoping' in Greek, Mr. Rutherford has done good service in removing one of the few tares which have cropped up in the wheat of Mr. Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, itself indeed a καλλίπαις ἀμυγῶς ἐλπίδων πληρής. Mr. Rutherford there points the distinction between examples like ὄψον ἐλπίσας ἤξειν and ἐλπίς ἐστιν ἤκειν. In the former a future form of the inf. is required, because the inf. is oblique and so stands for a fut. indic. of the direct; but in the latter, where the inf. is substantival, the pres. or aor. (without ἄν) may stand—indeed the full form ἐλπίς ἐστι τοῦ ἤκειν often occurs, as Thuc. ii. 56, εἰς ἐλπίδα ἦλθον τοῦ ἐλεῖν. It appears however that Mr. Rutherford has overlooked another form, in which, though the governing phrase is verbal (ἐλπίζω, etc., not substantival ἐλπίς ἐστι etc.), the governed infinitive may still be substantival, and therefore does not necessarily take the mark of future time. We refer to those cases in which the inf. has no subject expressed. There is the same difference between ἐλπίζω σε ἤξειν, 'I hope that you will come,' and ἐλπίζω ἤκειν, 'I hope to come,' as there is between φησὶ σε ἐλθεῖν, 'he says that you came,' and βούλεται ἐλθεῖν, 'he wishes to come.' All this may seem very elementary, and indeed Mr. Goodwin has already stated quite clearly (p. 14) 'the Greek makes no more distinction than the English between ἐλπίζει τοῦτο ποιεῖν, "he hopes to do this," and ἐλπίζει τοῦτο ποιήσων, "he hopes that he shall do this."' What, however, he does not appear to point out with sufficient emphasis is, that if the infin. had a subject expressed, only the latter of these forms would be admissible in Attic: when the inf. has no subject, either form may stand. Hence, we venture to think, his remarks on p. 33 (§ 23, 2) lack precision. Both θήσων τὰ πρυτανεῖα φασὶ μοι (Ar. *Nub.* 1180) and δικάσασθαι φασὶ μοι (*id.* 1141) are good Greek: but the latter means, not 'they say they will bring an action against me,' but 'they speak of bringing an action against me.' Cf. Pl. *Euthyd.* 278 C. ἐφάτην γὰρ ἐπιδείξασθαι—an idiomatic use, which has come down from forms like Hes. *Op.* 455, φησὶ δ' ἀνὴρ φρένας ἀφνειὸς πῆξασθαι ἄμαξαν, 'speaks of making,' and Hom. *Il.* 13, 666, πολλὰκι γὰρ οἱ εἶπε — φθίσθαι, 'announced him a perishing.' These and similar con-

structions after νομίζω, ἡγείσθαι, οἶμαι, φρονῶ, εὔχομαι etc. are idiomatic survivals from the fuller predication once conveyed by these verbs, 'I am minded for,' etc., to which the original use of the inf. as a dative naturally accommodated itself. The instances of this use are therefore most frequent in the earlier stage of the language: cf. *Il.* 2, 401, εὐχόμενος θάνατόν τε φυγεῖν, 'for an escape,' 18, 497, ὁ μὲν εὔχετο πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι ('to pay all') ὁ δ' ἀνείητο μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι ('refused to receive anything'). Compare ἐέλπετο κῶδος ἀρέσθαι (*Il.* 12, 407) with ἐέλπετο νῆας ἐνιπρήσειν (15, 701); so Xenophon can say ὑποσχόμενος μὴ παύσασθαι (*An.* 1, 22) or ἐπέσχετο μηχανὴν παρέξειν (*Cyr.* iv. 1, 21). Similarly, *Il.* 3, 98, φρονέω δὲ διακριθῆναι ἤδη Ἀργείους καὶ Τρῶας, 'I am minded for the Argives and Trojans being separated.' Hence the same construction follows ὄμνυμι, oaths, which are of the nature of formulae, tending to preserve archaic constructions, *Od.* 4, 256, ὦμυσε μὴ μὲν ἀναφῆναι, *Hdt.* 5, 106, ἐπὶ ὄμνυμι μὴ ἐκδύσασθαι κιθῶνα. These and similar passages seem to have been quite needlessly altered by recent editors against the best MSS. e.g. *Il.* 20, 84, ἀπειλαὶ ἄς—ὑπίσχεο, Ἀχιλλῆος ἐναντίβιον πολέμειζεν, where the pres. inf. seems sound, being in app. to ἄς, 'the threats you undertook, namely, the fighting,' 21, 477 εὐχόμενον—πολεμίζειν. Cf. 22, 119: γερούσιον ὄρκον ἔλωμαι μὴ τι κατακρύψειν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρα πάντα δάσασσθαι, where Mr. Leaf says the aor. 'cannot be right,' although in 235 νοέω τι μῆσασσθαι he rightly adheres to the MSS. reading.

Several instances also occur in Attic writers, where the MSS. authority seems challenged without reason. Thus in all the Thucydidean passages cited by Mr. Rutherford (1, 11; 4, 24; 4, 80; 5, 28; 7, 21), the inf. has no subject, and the aor. or pres. may therefore stand as well as the fut. And 4, 13, in which he finds especial difficulty, illustrates Thucydides' usage particularly well, ἐλπίσαντες τὸ τεῖχος ὕψος μὲν ἔχειν, ἀποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὔσης ἐλεῖν μηχαναῖς. Here, as he says, 'ἐλπίσαντες in the first case means *believe*, but for the second clause *hope*'; hence he suggests μάλιστ' ἄν. But it may be observed that ἐλεῖν, which has no subject, needs not be oblique, and ἐλπίσας ἐλεῖν, 'hoping to capture,' presents no difficulty at all. (So in Eur. *H. F.* 746, πάλιν ἔμολεν ἂ παρος οὔποτε—ἤλπισεν παθεῖν, we do

not think 'Euripides wrote ἡλπισ' ἂν παθεῖν.') Thucydides rather affects the double construction illustrated above. Shilleto has well explained this use at ii. 3, ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθέμενοι ῥαδίως κρατῆσαι, comparing iv. 127, νομίσαντες φεύγειν τε αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβόντες διαφθεῖρειν, 'thinking he was in flight and to destroy him.' Yet recent editors have altered the reading of passages where just the same use reappears: vii. 42, 3, ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης... νομίσας οὐχ οἷόν τε εἶναι διατρίβειν, οὐδὲ παθεῖν ὅπερ ὁ Νικίας ἔπαθεν, 'thinking delay out of the question, and not being minded to fall into the same trap as Nicias had fallen into.' This construction must be distinguished from cases like ii. 54, 2: τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ὁπόταν βουλήται...καὶ τότε καλλίστην γίγνεσθαι, 'thinking "the attack rests with me, and that's the best time for it,"' where we have the oblique of the 'vivid' form, which appears in iv. 10, 3, τοῦ χωρίου τὸ δυσέμβατον ἡμέτερον νομίζω (ὁ) μενόντων ἡμῶν ξύμμαχον γίγνεσθαι: cf. Shilleto ad i. 127, 1. Both usages are united in iv. 24, 4: Πήγιον ἡλπίζον ῥαδίως χειρώσασθαι καὶ ἤδη σφῶν ἰσχυρὰ τὰ πράγματα γίγνεσθαι, 'hoping to capture Rhegium with ease, and "then we are safe"' ; iv. 9, 2, ἐπισπάσασθαι αὐτοὺς

ἡγείτο προθυμῆσθαι...ἐκείνοις τε βιασαμένους τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἀλώσιμον τὸ χωρίον γίγνεσθαι, 'thinking to entice them to be eager (Goodwin, p. 42) and that, if the enemy force a landing, the place is in their power'; iv. 117, 1, νομίσαντες μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τὸν Βρασίδαν σφῶν προσαιοσθῆσαι οὐδὲν... καὶ ξυμβῆναι τὰ πλείω, 'thinking B. would not...and intending to make peace.' For a similar idiom in Latin cf. 'facere dixerunt,' 'putas posse,' etc. (Roby 1345).

We venture then, to dissent from Mr. Monro (*H. G.* 235), 'the notion of future time may be given by an aorist or present inf.' as well as from Mr. Rutherford (*Babr. l.c.*), that 'well-known and acknowledged errors of copying' are needed to account for 'apparent exceptions to the legitimate construction,' which we would state as follows: ἐλπίζω etc. followed by an acc. and inf. takes the same construction as any other 'verb of reporting'; when followed by a simple inf., that inf. may either be oblique, in which case it takes the tense of the direct form, or 'prolative,' i.e. a direct object, in which case it may be pres. or aor., and will not denote time (pres., past or fut.) at all.

W. T. LENDRUM.

ON THE ANCIENT LAW OF SEARCHING FOR STOLEN PROPERTY.

GAIVS, in dealing with the *actio prohibiti furti* (III. 189 *et seq.*), says that the Twelve Tables enacted (Tab. VIII. l. 15) 'ut qui quaerere velit, nudus quaerat, linteo cinctus, lancem habens.' In discussing this, he says 'quid sit linteum quaesitum est: sed verius est, aliquod consuti genus esse, quo necessariae partes tegerentur.' He mentions two explanations of the lanx only to condemn them. But Festus gives a third without remark: 'lance et licio (i.e. linteo licio) dicebatur apud antiquos, quia qui furtum ibat quaerere in domo aliena, licio cinctus intrabat, lancemque ante oculos tenebat propter matrumfamilias aut virginum praesentiam.' Those who accept this explanation of lanx say that it was held before the eyes that the searcher might not be recognized. Now I believe this law is the outcome of a primitive custom of searching naked for stolen property. For the sake of decency, the barest covering was added, but such that nothing could possibly be secreted in it. The theft in these cases was counted as

'manifest' (Gelly xi, 18, 9), which shows that this law is the outcome of a state of things in which the injured man took the law into his own hands and struck while his blood was hot. (See Maine's *Ancient Law*, p. 379). Now whatever the meaning and use of this lanx, common sense demands that a man who goes to search for stolen property should have his hands free, and I fail to see how a man quits the indecent for the decent state by holding a perforated plate before his face. I believe that in place of lancemque ANTE OCULOS TENEBAT, which the stupid epitomizer of Festus gives, the original ran lancemque A LINTEO SUSPENDEBAT. Thus Festus took the covering to consist of a girdle suspending a lanx. Whether Festus' explanation rests on any better authority than those rejected by Gaius, who can say? But the fact that he had an explanation which satisfied him sets up a strong presumption that it was, not necessarily the true one, but a rational one. Therefore the folly of it as it now

appears in the text is probably due not to Festus the lexicographer, but to Paulus the epitomizer.

In the parallel passage in Plat. *Laws* 954 φωρῶν ἂν ἐβέλη τίς τι παρ' ὀπφοῦν, γυμνὸς ἢ χιτωνίσκον ἔχων ἄζωστος... οὕτω φωρῶν, C. Hermann is probably wrong in bracketing ἢ as spurious. This is from an old law, and in early language neither γυμνὸς nor nudus bore the secondary meaning they afterwards acquired, viz. 'wearing only the tunica.' Thus in Homer (*Od.* 6, 222) a man is ashamed to appear γυμνός, but (*Od.* 14, 489) not ashamed to appear οἰοχίτων. The distinction is sometimes kept up in Attic, sometimes lost. Thuc. 1, 6 in contrasting ἐργυμνώθησαν with διαζώματα ἔχοντες keeps it. So does Demosthenes in 21 § 216 μικροῦ γυμνὸς ἐν τῷ χιτωνίσκῳ γενέσθαι, by inserting μικροῦ. Moreover Plato's searcher is not to wear a girdle; but when γυμνός and nudus mean 'without the ἱμάτιον,' they still imply that the girdle is retained, as in Vergil's

'nudus ara,' where nudus means 'wearing the tunica succincta,' and in Dem. 54 § 9 ἀπεκομίσθην γυμνός, οὔτοι δ' ὄχοντο θοιμάτιον λαβόντες. Hence in Plato there is a contrast between γυμνός and ἄζωστος. The Greeks qualified the original requirement of complete nudity in one way, the Romans in another. In Aristoph. *Clouds* 497 (*Socr.* ἴθι νυν, κατάθου θοιμάτιον. *Streps.* ἡδίκηκά τι; *Socr.* οὐκ ἀλλὰ γυμνοὺς εἰσιέναι νομίζεται. *Streps.* ἀλλ' οὐχὶ φωράσων ἐγὼγ' εἰσέρχομαι), there is a play on the two meanings of γυμνός, Strepsiades in ἡδίκηκα and φωράσων understanding Socrates to mean that he will have to take off girdle and χιτῶν as well as ἱμάτιον. I venture to doubt whether Westermann and Sandys rightly quote *Lysist.* 150 ἐν τοῖς χιτωνίοις γυμναί to illustrate Dem. 54 § 9, since in the *Lysistrata* γυμνός, as in the law before us, has its original sense, the χιτωνία being transparent.

E. C. MARCHANT.

ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE TEXT OF PLATO'S *THEAETETUS*.

149 D.—καὶ μὴν καὶ διδοῦσθαι γε αἱ μαῖαι φαρμάκια καὶ ἐπάδουσαι δύνανται ἐγείρειν τε τὰς ὥδιναι καὶ μαλθακώτερας, ἂν βούλωνται ποιεῖν, καὶ τίττειν τε δὴ τὰς δυστοκούσας, καὶ εἰς νέον ὃν δόξῃ ἀμβλίσκειν, ἀμβλίσκουσιν;

The words νέον ὃν are generally held to be corrupt: Schanz gives no fewer than fourteen emendations of different critics, besides his own. Of these perhaps the best is Heindorf's δέον: certainly the worst is Naber's καὶ νᾶνον ἂν δάξῃ. I conjecture νηδύν for νέον ὃν: cf. Eur. *Andr.* 355—6 ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰ σὴν παῖδα φαρμακεύομεν, καὶ νηδὺν ἐξ αμβλοῦμεν κ.τ.λ.

155 E.—χαίρην οὖν μοι εἶπει, εἰάν σοι ἀνδρός, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὀνομαστῶν τῆς διανοίας τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀποκεκρυμμένην συνεξερευνήσωμαι αὐτῶν;

The situation is this. Socrates humorously pretends that the true meaning of Protagoras' πάντων μέτρον ἄνθρωπος has been intentionally hidden away, being communicated to his pupils only *in camerâ*. If we look closely at the passage, we shall see that the metaphor is from the chase: this is clearly the meaning of συνεξερευνήσωμαι: cf. Homer *Odyssey* xix 435—436 οἱ δ' ἐς βῆσσαν ἱκανὸν ἐπακτήρες: πρὸ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῶν ἵχνι' ἐρευνῶντες κ' ἐς ἦσαν. But what of the final αὐτῶν? Except by Campbell, the word is

regarded as corrupt by nearly every critic, as a glance at Schanz's *apparatus criticus* will shew.

Campbell suggests two explanations: either to take αὐτῶν as recapitulatory of ἀνδρῶν ὀνομαστῶν, or to make the word depend on ἐξ in συνεξερευνήσωμαι. Neither explanation seems consistent with the lucidity of Plato's style. Madvig and Kreyenbühl suggest ἰών and μετιών respectively: they are right in so far as they see that a participle is required, and Kreyenbühl has done well in selecting one with associations of the chase. Plato perhaps wrote αὐτῶν, from αὐτῷ, the words ἐρευνήσωμαι αὐτῶν being from the end of a hexameter. Fragments of poetry are frequently imbedded in the Platonic writings; some will be pointed out later in this very dialogue. Translate: 'will you be grateful to me then, if with a halloo I help you to ferret from its lair (ἀποκεκρυμμένην) etc.' The words accord well with Socrates' hilarious mood: and Plato's fondness for the 'venatory metaphor' is well known (e.g. *Republic* iv 432 B—E).

156 D.—ὅσον μὲν οὖν βραδύ, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὰ πλησιάζοντα τὴν κίνησιν ἴσχει καὶ οὕτω δὴ γεννᾷ, τὰ δὲ γεννώμενα οὕτω δὴ θάπτω ἐστίν. φέρεται γὰρ καὶ ἐν φορᾷ αὐτῶν ἡ κίνησις πέφυκεν.

The difficulties of this passage are well known. Plato is describing the πάντα βέλ theory of perception. αἰσθησις and αἰσθητόν are declared to be the product of the interaction between the ego (operating through the organ of sense) and the object. Now each of these, the ego, the object, the αἰσθησις and the αἰσθητόν, is a κίνησις or mode of change: the two former being slow, the two latter fast κινήσεις. It is this which the words quoted are meant to bring out, and even as they stand the meaning is clear, but the expression is faulty, as the editors (including Campbell) admit. Cornarius supplies after the second οὕτω δὲ a long clause in which he completely mistakes Plato's meaning: see Campbell's note. Read, by transposition and omitting γὰρ after φέρεται, τὰ δὲ γεννώμενα φέρεται καὶ ἐν φορᾷ αὐτῶν ἡ κίνησις πέφυκεν <καὶ> οὕτω δὲ θάπτω ἐστίν. The whole sentence is then a perfect balance. With ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὰ πλησιάζοντα τὴν κίνησιν ἔχει contrasts φέρεται καὶ ἐν φορᾷ αὐτῶν ἡ κίνησις πέφυκεν, and to ὅσον μὲν οὖν βραδύ, καὶ οὕτω δὲ θάπτω ἐστίν forms the right antithesis. The words φέρεται καὶ ἐν φορᾷ αὐτῶν ἡ κίνησις πέφυκεν perhaps formed in the archetype a single line which fell out and was restored after θάπτω ἐστίν as a clause of reason, with γάρ instead of καί.

162 E.—τῷ εἰκότι χρῆσθε, ᾧ εἰ ἐθέλοι Θεόδωρος ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν γεωμετρῶν χρώμενος γεωμετρῆν, ἄξιός οὐδ' ἐνὸς μόνου ἂν εἴη.

The words οὐδ' ἐνὸς μόνου have rightly proved a stumbling-block: Bonitz suggests οὐδ' ἐνὸς λόγου, Madvig οὐδενὸς μνοῦ, Naber οὐδὲ Μάνου. Read οὐδ' ἐνὸς νόμου, and understand the phrase ἄξιός οὐδ' ἐνὸς νόμου as a Sicilian

proverb, meaning 'not worth a single groat.' Plato may well have brought the proverb with him from Sicily or lower Italy, where νόμος was common in this sense: see Head's *Historia Numorum* p. 55 and compare Epicharmus *Frag.* 93 (Ahrens) κάρνξ ἰὼν εὐθὺς πρία μοι δέκα νόμων μούσχον καλάν.

168 E.—τί δέ; οὐ πολλῶν τοι Θεαίτητος μεγάλους πώγωνας ἔχόντων ἄμεινον ἂν ἐπακολουθήσειε λόγῳ διερευνημένῳ;

The words μεγάλους πώγωνας ἔχόντων have manifestly a hexametrical rhythm. Perhaps there is an allusion to some such line as ἄξιός ἴδρις ἀνὴρ πολλῶν πώγωνας ἔχόντων.

169 C.—πάντως τὴν περὶ ταῦτα εἰμαρμένην, ἣν σὺ ἐπικλώσης, δεῖ ἀνατλήναι ἐλεγχόμενον.

The insertion of ἂν after ἣν is needless, for the words clearly refer to some fragment of dramatic poetry. The poetic ἀνατλήναι and especially ἐπικλώσης, together with the semi-poetic εἰμαρμένη, make this inference obvious, and I believe we have here an allusion to some such lines as those of Cleanthes:

ἄγον δέ μ' ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ σὺ γ' ἡ πεπρωμένη
 ὅποι ποθ' ἔμιν εἰμι διατεταγμένος,
 ὥς ἔβομαι γ' ἄοκνος· ἦν δὲ μὴ θέλω
 κακὸς γενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἦττον εἶσθαι.
 (apud Epictet. *Man.* 53.)

Addressing himself to destiny, some character in a Greek play (most probably by Euripides) may have said:

ἀλλ' ὅπῃ θέλεις ἄγε·
 εἰμαρμένην γὰρ ἦν ἐπικλώση τύχη
 πάντως . . . ἀνατλήναι χρεών.

J. ADAM.

NOTES ON GREEK MSS. IN ITALIAN LIBRARIES.

(Continued from Vol. III. page 352.)

THE following article contains notes taken down in Rome and elsewhere in the earlier half of the year 1889, during a journey in Italy under the Craven Trust. Their comparative scantiness may perhaps be excused by the circumstance that the writer had begun to devote his time to a definite philological object, which allowed him only occasionally to note down points of general interest. It has seemed worth while to print them, without waiting for a possible opportunity of completion, partly because so many Italian libraries have so little chance of possessing a printed catalogue that any

information concerning them must for some time to come possess value, and also to spare future travellers the trouble of investigating out-of-the-way collections that have been more or less completely looked through by the writer.

The writer desires to take this occasion of expressing his obligations to the authorities of the Public Libraries of Pistoia, Lucca and Siena. It may be well also to say definitely, what few people now would be inclined to believe, that there are no Greek MSS. in the University Library at Pisa.

BIBLIOTECA VALLICELLIANA.

An account of the steps by which the library of S. Maria in Vallicella acquired its books may be read in Blume, iii. p. 161 *sq.* The Greek MSS., taken by themselves, do not afford much indication of ownership; occasional references occur to the Portuguese Achilles Statius, the so-called founder of the library, and to other XVIIth century personages, such as Fulvio Orsini and Cardinal Sirleto. These I have gathered together, wherever they were met. The collection is not of very great importance, although the notes that I give here do not fairly represent it. I wish to reiterate this, lest any one should be deterred from examining the library by the thought that its contents had been exhausted. There is a full but somewhat inconvenient MS. catalogue of Greek MSS. Facsimiles of seven MSS. may be found in Blanchinus, *Evangelium Quadruplex*, Romae 1748.

1. A. 25. A LATIN MS. OF CHRYSOSTOM *adversus Vituperatores vitae monasticæ*, to which is prefixed one quinion, being 10 pages, of a xvth cent. vellum MS. of EURIPIDES, containing *βλος εὐριπίδου*, hypothesis and HECUBA 1—327. It is in the hand of John Rhosus.

2. B. 86. s. xii. On f. 151r, in a monocondylion, *ἰσακέμῃ ἱερμοναχος*. 228v. *γεωργιος ἔγραψε ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου*.

3. B. 70. bomb. ff. 91 s. xiv. AESCHYLUS, *PROM.* inc. v. 187, S.C. TH., *PERSAE*.

4. B. 115. bomb. s. xiv. GEORGIUS PISIDIUS DE IMPERIO CONSTANTINOPOLITANORUM, etc. At beg. *Fulvius Ursinus dono dedit | Achilli Statio Lusitano*.

5. C. 8. chart. s. xv. OPUSCULA CAESARII; at the end, *ἐν μνημασίῃ ἐγγράπτο*. On the last page, *ab hinc DC. annos fuisse putat Card. Sirletus et valde probat*.

6. C. 28. chart. s. xvi. contains lists of MSS. belonging to Sirleto and to the *Ecclesia Trevirensis*.

7. C. 61. s. xv. GOSPELS. At end, *τὸ τέλος ἦκε τῆς παροιῆς πύξις ἀγγελοῦ θύτης διεγράφατο φίλοι*.

8. C. 29. chart. s. xvi. PHOTII, IULIANI EPISTOLAE. f. 54, at end of Photius, *ex codice no. xxix. 38 Bibliothecae Sfortianae, Romae in Die 3 Februarii MDC. anno Jubilaei*; at end of Julian, *omnia quae in hoc q^{no} sunt in exemplari Ant. Augustini desunt, ego transcripsi ex codice vaticano die 26 Februarii 1588*.

9. D. 43. membr. 11 × 8½, ff. 85 s. xi. according to the Index. S. GREGORII MAGNI DIALOGI (Latin). At the end, 2 ff. in Greek, concerning which a note at the beginning says *In fine hujus Voluminis sunt duae Paginae perantiqui Codicis Graeci quae Indicem incerti operis continent*. They are in the hand of Paul, Abbott of Grotta Ferrata, the writer of the MS. Grott. Ferr. B. a. i. of the year 986. See 'Notes on Abbreviations in Greek Manuscripts,' Oxford 1889, pp. 33, 34.

10. E. 29. membr. s. x. DION. AREOPAG., with scholia, in a fine minuscule hand above the line.

11. F. 10. membr. 9¾ × 6½ in., ff. 252, 27 ll. quaternions s. x. contains CANONS, S. BASIL AND OTHERS' EPISTLES ON THE CANONS. Handsome minuscule above the line, small semiuncial scholia. A leaf of

contemporary minuscule from another book is inserted at the beginning.

12. F. 16. chart. s. xv. contains ff. 2—44 VAR. ECCL., 45—52 ILIAD K 332—Σ 467, 53—60 ARISTOPH. ACH. 661—893, 61 *sq.* HESIOD O. D. THEOG. SCUT. HER. with Scholia.

13. F. 17. membr. EVANGELIA, al. a. 1330, very carefully written in the xiii century style. At end,

μιχαήλ ἱερεὺς ὁ καλὸς θεός· μὴ ἰούλ. δ' ἰνδ. ιγ' ἔτους ᾠλῆ [1330]

14. F. 25. membr. s. xvi. contains ff. 64—71, ARISTOPH. PLUTUS 1—55.

15. F. 59. 2 s. xv. CHRYSOSTOM. On the flyleaf, in a different hand to that of the text, some verses *εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν τῆς θεοτόκου κοίμησιν*, after which, *Habui a Card. Sirletto reperit in libro ut aiebat | scripto ab hinc cccccccc. annos litteris grandibus | addendum ad ἐκλογὰς διον in hoc libro*. There is a reference to Sirleto also in F. 59. 1.

16. F. 47. membr. 7½ × 4½ in., ff. 547, 29 ll., quaternions, s. x. contains CANONS, written in a beautiful small minuscule.

17. 68. chart xv.—xvi. has at the end two lines of cryptography.

18. F. 83. chart. s. xvi. GEORGII SCHOLARII GRAMM. ff. 50 on f. 50 ^{ησ} *ἰω στρατηγὸς ἔγραψεν τὸ βιβλίον | ὁ κυθηριώτης*.

ARCHIVIO DI SAN PIETRO.

By the permission of the Chapter of S. Peter's, and with the kind assistance of Don Pietro Wenzel and Don Giovanni Silvestri I spent a morning among the MSS. that are preserved in the Chapter Library of S. Peter's. I subjoin notes of two manuscripts that I noticed more particularly.

1. C. 152. chart. xv. 8½ × 6 in. ff. 1—94 ARISTOPH. PLUT. from v. 206, CLOUDS, with scholia and interlin. glosses. HES. THEOG. c. schol., followed by the HOMILIES of SCHOLARIUS GENNADIUS, and other ecclesiastical matter.

At the end :

οἱ παρόντες λόγοι καὶ κανόνες ἡγοράσθησαν διὰ τὸν ἅγιον τάφον, παρὰ τοῦ ὁσιωτάτ. ἐν ἱερο μονάχοις κυροῦ σιλβέστρου καὶ πρωτοσυγγέλου τῶν ἱεροσολύμων ἐν ἔτει ζ ρ κ η [1620]

ἡ ἀλ μ ἰου ιζ
ἔγραφ. παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἐλαχίστου
Nov
τῶν ἱερέων γγμ[?] καὶ οἰκονόμου τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἀρ ἐπι σκοπῆς πωγμαννῆς.

other similar inscriptions in different parts of the book.

2. H. 45. membr. 9 × 7 in., ff. 308, s. xiii. palimpsest, very damaged, contains GALEN, part of his works.

At the end, partly in tachygraphical writing, *τοῦ φιλοσόφου κυροῦ φιλαγάθου*.

PISTOIA.

R. LICEO FORTIGUERRI.

1. A. 55. membr. 10½ × 6½, ff. 225, 35 ll., s. xv. contains the ILIAD; without scholia. Initials of books illuminated, and a picture of Homer at the beg. In the same hand as the text. Two inscriptions in

Latin, on f. 1 and at the end, I was unable even with the Librarian's help to decipher.

2. A. 24. THEOCRITUS AND HESIOD, in the same hand as A 55; with the subscription *Τέρμα θεοκρίτου ὑπὸ σωζομένου γραφέντος ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ*. The hand is plain and rather poor.

Upon Sozomenus, and the donation of books of which these two MSS. are part, reference may be made to Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis* 1752 p. 29 sq. The other Greek MSS. that are mentioned in the inventory, *ib.* p. 44, were not shown to me. The Liceo possesses a good MS. Catalogue by Vittorio Capponi, 1873.

LUCCA.

R. BIBLIOTECA PUBBLICA.

1. 1387. chart. s. xv. PROCLUS ON PLAT. TIM.
2. 2502. s. xv. PSALTER. At beg. *θῦ τὸ δῶρον νεοφίτου δὲ πόνος*.
3. 1424. chart. s. xv. EURIPIDES HEC. ELECTR. Belonged to Cesare Lucchesini, as did most of these MSS.
4. 1254. The notebook of some scholar.
5. 1427. chart. s. xv. THEOCR. IDYLL, PHAL. EPP., FABLES, HESIOD O. D. AL. In various hands.
6. 1426. chart. xv. AESOP. On the vellum cover, *Iste liber est mei Caroli S. Joannis andre | despiglati Civis flor* :—
7. 2335. CICERONIS SOMNIUM SCIP. ET AESOP. FABUL. GRAECE. a. 1767.
λατινιστὶ μεταφρασθεὶς | καὶ γραφεὶς παρὰ | φραγκίσκου ξαυερίου | Βογγὶ τῆς | ξυναγωγῆς τῆς Μητρὸς | τοῦ
θεοῦ | ἐν Νεαπόλει | ἀψῆξ.
8. 1375. A COMEDY, ITALIAN AND GREEK, by Agostino Ricchi, s. xvii.

SIENA.

R. BIBLIOTECA PUBBLICA.

1. THE GOSPELS IN GREEK. Membr. 14½ × 12, 23 ll., signed quaternions, s. xi.-xii.; illuminated and splendidly bound in boards covered with silver-gilt

plates with pictures in enamel. Said to have come from the imperial chapel at Constantinople.

2. I. ix. 3. chart. s. xvi. contains AESCH. S. C. TH. PERSAE, HOM. BATRACH., MUSAEUS, HER. ET LEAND. (part).

3. I. ix. 4. membr. s. xv. HESIOD, O. D. THEOG. SCUT. HER., THEOCR. IDYLL. (part). Unsigned, but in the hand of John Scutariota.

4. H. vi. 9. membr. s. xvi. PLUTARCH *περὶ φιλαδελφείας*. At beg. *Luzio Borghesi*.

Two other MSS. are of the xviiiith century and unimportant.

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T. W. ALLEN.

TUCKER'S SUPPLICES OF AESCHYLUS.

The Supplices of Aeschylus, a revised text with Introduction, Critical Notes, Commentary and Translation, by T. G. TUCKER, M.A., Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Melbourne, late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London, Macmillan and Co. 1889. 8vo. pp. xxxvii, 228. 10s. 6d.

THIS edition gives proof of many virtues: common sense, alert perception, lucidity of thought, impatience of absurdity, a rational distrust of MS. tradition, and a masculine taste in things poetical. The learner who attacks the play with this commentary will find un-failing help by the way and acquire much

information before his journey's end. The old miserable experiences of the classical student who wants to understand what he reads, his lonely fights with difficulties whose presence the editor has never apprehended, his fruitless quest of a meaning in notes where the editor has rendered Greek nonsense into English nonsense and gone on his way rejoicing, are not repeated here. Here on the contrary is a commentator who shares the reader's difficulties, rescues him from some of them, warns him of some existing unperceived, and to tell the truth invents a good many where none exist.

It is Prof. Tucker's main concern, as it must be for an editor of this play, to find

out what Aeschylus wrote; and his administration of this province will decide the value of the book as an original contribution to learning. He has introduced into the text, I reckon roughly, about 200 conjectures of his own. It is the critic's chief duty, and should be his chief pleasure, to commend what is good; so I begin with four emendations which I should call quite certain.

115 (as if our studies were not yet enough perplexed with conflicting numerations Mr. Tucker has invented a new one: I ignore this and cite according to Dindorf). τοιαῦτα πάθαι μέλα θρεομένα δ' ἐγὼ λυγέα βαρέα δακρυοπετῆ, ἢ ἢ, ἱαλέμοισιν ἐμπρεπῆ, ζῶσα γόοις με τιμῶ. Whether this means *conspicuous for or among dirges*, neither suits, and Dindorf is obliged to translate *decens, aptus*, i.e. to render ἐμπρεπῆς as if it were *εὐμπρεπῆς*. Mr. Tucker writes ἐμφερῆ which I find most convincing: the sense is just what one looks for and the error of a common type.

121. πολλάκι δ' ἐμπίτνω ξὺν λακίδι λίνουσιν ἢ ἢ Σιδονία καλύπτρα: in the repetition at 133 αἰνοῖσιν ἢ. At first this looks like λίνουσιν ἢ, but since ἢ is not at all appropriate they conjecture ἢδὲ or λίνουσι καὶ: Mr. Tucker however comparing *Cho.* 27 λινόφθοροι λακίδες proposes ξὺν λακίδι λίνουσιν ἐ, an admirable correction.

341—4.

- B. βαρέα σύ γ' εἶπας, πόλεμον ἄρασθαι νέον.
X. ἀλλ' ἢ δίκη γε *εὐμμάχων* ὑπερστατεῖ.
B. εἴπερ γ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων κοινῶνός ἦν.
X. αἰδοῦ σὺ πρῦμναν πόλεος ὧδ' ἐστεμμένην.

'Yes, if she was concerned in the affair at first' is nothing to the point: that Justice was concerned one way or the other there can be no manner of doubt. Or if there is an insinuation that the Danaids were first in the wrong, they cannot afford to ignore it in their reply. Mr. Tucker alters ἦν to ἢ, 'that would have force had I been originally concerned, but now it is no business of mine,' an answer which compels the suppliants to shift their ground; and we are really nearer the MS. than before, for in the next verse it gives ἐστεμμένη: the ν was transposed.

499.

φύλαξαι μὴ θράσος τέκη φόβον.
καὶ δὲ φίλον τις ἔκταν' ἀγνοίας ὕπο.

No recorded use of καὶ δὲ is here in place: Mr. Tucker writes ἦδη: one abbreviation of καὶ is much confused with η, and ἦδη is so appropriate to the sententious aorist that the correction, once made, is obvious.

The following conjectures I select as

favourable specimens. 154. εἰ δὲ μὴ, μελανθῆς ἡδιόκτυπον γένος τὸν γάιον...Ζῆνα...ἰξόμεσθα: Wellauer's ἡλιόκτυπον is generally read, but Mr. Tucker objects that κτύπος means *noise* not merely *stroke* and that ὀμβρόκτυπος νιφόκτυπος χιονόκτυπος do not warrant ἡλιόκτυπος = ἡλιόβλητος: he writes with great ingenuity μέλαθρ' ἐς ἡλλῶ στυγούμεν' ὡς τὸν γάιον κ.τ.λ.: the sense is excellent and the changes though numerous are all easy: it must however be remarked that the preposition ὡς is not found in Aeschylus. 198. τὸ μὴ μάταιον δ' ἐκ μετώπων σωφρονῶν | ἴτω προσώπων: Mr. Tucker writes κατωποσωφρόνων which he compares with such compounds as ἀγνόρυτος and ἀκριτόφυρτος: certainly former conjectures have small likelihood, Porson's least of all. 220 sq. Δ. Ἐρμῆς ὅδ' ἄλλος τοῖσιν Ἑλλήνων νόμοις. | X. ἐλευθέρους νῦν ἐσθλὰ κηρυκεύτω: here ἐλευθέρους seems quite irrelevant, and Mr. Tucker proposes ἀλλ' εὐρεθεῖς with allusion to Hermes as the god of εἰρήματα: this to be sure gives the verse a point, though hardly perhaps of the sort one looks for after the six foregoing lines. 380. φόβος μ' ἔχει φρένας | δρᾶσαι τε μὴ δρᾶσαι τε καὶ τύχην ἐλεῖν: Mr. Tucker's difficulties about ἐλεῖν I share to the full; but when he writes τύχην εἰάν, to be construed closely with μὴ δρᾶσαι, the result is not a well-balanced phrase. 405. τί τῶνδ' ἐξ ἴσου ῥεπομένον μεταλγείς τὸ δίκαιον ἔρξαι; a man cannot μεταλγείν what he has not yet done, so Tournier proposes μ' ἔτ' ἀργεῖς: Mr. Tucker's με ταρβείς seems better. 480 sqq. σὺ μὲν, πόττερ γεραῖε τῶνδε παρθένων, | κλάδους τε τοῦτους αἰψ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις λαβὼν | βωμοῖς ἐπ' ἄλλους δαιμόνων ἐγχωρίων | θές: an anacoluthon mended in various ways, as by altering σὺ to σοῦ (= ὄμμα) or τε το γε or αἰψ' to αἶρ' or λαβὼν βωμοῖς to λαβὲ βωμοῖς τ'. But Mr. Tucker further points out what seems to have escaped notice, that τοῦτους cannot well be right when the Danaids are found still in possession of their κλάδοι at 506, and he removes two difficulties by the easy change of τε τοῦτους to τοιούτους. 632. θεοὶ διογενεῖς, κλύουσ' εὐκταῖα γένει χεοῦσας: γένει seems quite harmless, but in M it is corrected into γένῃ whence Mr. Tucker conjectures τέλη, offerings: the word is appropriate and the error common. 834: certain restoration there can be none in this wilderness of ruin, but δύσφρον' ἀνάγκαν for δύσφορα ναὶ κἂν ought to be right. 907. διωλόμεσθα ἐπτάναξ πάσχομεν: it is usual to read ἀελπτ', ἀναξ, πάσχομεν with Robortellus, but Mr. Tucker's ἄσεπτ' seems more suitable. 924. ἀγοιμ' ἂν, εἴ τις τάσδε μὴ ἔαιρήσεται: this weak verse Mr. Tucker alters to μάθοιμ'

ἀν εἴ τις τάσδε μ' ἐξαίρησεται comparing Eur. *And.* 715 ὡς ἂν ἐκμάθω | εἴ τίς με λύειν τῆσδε κωλύσει χέρας: the change cannot be called certain, but to me it is very attractive. 1018. ἴτε μὲν ἀστυνάκτας μάκαρας θεοὺς γανάεντες πολιοῦχοις τε καὶ οἱ χεῖμ' Ἑρασίνου περιναίουσιν: Mr. Tucker objects to 'city-gods' comprising both πολιοῦχοις and οἱ χεῖμ' 'E. περιναίουσιν, and writes ἀστυδ', ἀνάκτας: the meaning of ἀστυ however need not be more restricted here than in ἀστυγειτονουμένας 286: the tragedians, as Strabo viii. p. 356 observes, often make no difference between *burgh* and *land*. 1063. Ζεὺς ἀναξ ἀποσπτεροῖ γάμον: this sense of the verb is unexampled, and Mr. Tucker's ἀποσπτέροι μοι is as likely as Hartung's ἀποσπτρέφοι μοι.

Among the residue of the 200 conjectures there may very well be some which will seem more probable to other critics than to me, but there can hardly be many. Mr. Tucker's objections to the vulgate are often acute and true: some instances I have given; others are the remarks on σκόπον 647 and κλύουσά γ' ὡς ἂν οὐ φίλη 718, and the geographical difficulties raised about 254—7. His alterations seldom fail to give a just and straightforward meaning; and the book is almost wholly free of those incredible emendations which consult the *apices codicum* and consult nothing else. There is indeed one extraordinary specimen of this class at 146, where ἔχουσα σέμν' ἐνώπ' ἀσφαλές is altered into λέχους ἄσμεν' ἐν Ὀπιδι σφάλασα, a reading dependent on two fables, both invented by Mr. Tucker,—that Orion assaulted one of Artemis' handmaids named Opis, and that λέχους ἄσμενα is Greek for *unholy lust*; but this stands almost alone. What vitiates two thirds of Mr. Tucker's conjectures is that despite his professions he takes no due heed to palaeographical probability. 'In the present work,' says he in his preface, 'there have been assumed as axioms..... (iii.) that the reading substituted on conjecture must approve its claims by satisfying the conditions of palaeography—as a most natural source of the incorrect reading.' But this is just what an average conjecture of Mr. Tucker's does not. True, it seldom sets the MS. utterly at naught, and it is usually fortified by a parade of uncial type, the decorative effect of which is often pleasing; but it diverges too far from the *ductus litterarum* to have any convincing force. Possible no doubt it is; but half-a-dozen alternatives are equally possible. We know of course that the scribes did make mistakes as bad as those which Mr. Tucker postulates; but when such mistakes have

once been made they can never be corrected. It may be that εἴρηται λόγος was the source of εἰθείη Διός, Ἄκμων of Στρυμών, δηχθῆναι πόθω of μυχθῆναι βροτῶ, φοβουμένους of φόβω φρενός, διόρυνται ἐς of διορυνμένα, τίς ποτ' οὐ οἱ τις βροτῶν, στυφελώδεις of φυγάδες, κηπωρικὴν λαβοῦσ' ἀνεωσμένην θύραν of καλωρα κωλύουσιν θωσμένειν ἱρῶ; and if the ghost of ever-living Aeschylus has uprisen before Mr. Tucker from Acherusian quarters and has begun to shed salt tears and to unfold in words that it was so, well. But if not, then such inventions may indeed convince their inventor, but to the cold world they are offered in vain.

When Mr. Tucker's conjectures are not palaeographically improbable they are apt to be causeless and even detrimental. Among the axioms assumed in the preface are the following: 'the reading in the text must hold its place until such cause to the contrary can be shewn as will satisfy a rigidly impartial tribunal. The *onus probandi* lies entirely with the impugner of the text.' 'The conditions of dispossession are these. It must either be proved that the reading is an impossibility, or else that in point of grammar it is so abnormal, or in point of relevance so manifestly inappropriate, as to produce a thorough conviction that the MS. is in error.' I for my part should call this much too strict; but these are Mr. Tucker's principles. His practice is something quite different: in practice no word, however good, is safe if Mr. Tucker can think of a similar word which is not much worse. 180 sq. ὁρῶ κόνιν, ἀνανδὸν ἄγγελον στρατοῦ. | σῦριγγες οὐ στυγῶσιν ἀξονήλατοι: Mr. Tucker removes the stop after στρατοῦ and alters οὐ to οἷ. 'The MS. reading οἷ,' says he, 'causes an asyndeton which can only be explained by a protracted pause after στρατοῦ, while Danaus is awaiting further developments.' Five lines later on we learn that 'Danaus must have paused several times in this speech, commenting from time to time on the further progress of the Argives,' so there is an end of that objection: proceed to the next. There is none. There are assertions, possibly true but on the editor's principles irrelevant, that the new reading is better; and that is all. 418 sqq. φρόντισον καὶ γενοῦ πανδίκως εὐσεβῆς πρόξενος: τὰν φυγάδα μὴ προδῶς κ.τ.λ.: Mr. Tucker removes the colon and writes προδοῦς. The change is a mere trifle, but it is a trifle for the worse, since the μὴδ' ἴδης which follows tallies rather better with μὴ προδῶς than with γενοῦ πρόξενος μὴ προδοῦς: and when Mr. Tucker says that προδοῦς is given

on the same obvious ground as that of the change ἐκδῶς to ἐκδούς in 340, he quite misapprehends that obvious ground, which is, if I must explain it, that the question πῶς is more properly answered by a participle than by a finite verb. 517 sqq. ἐγὼ δὲ λαοὺς ξυγκαλὼν ἐγχαυρίους | στείχω, τὸ κοινὸν ὡς ἂν εὐμενὲς τιθῶ. | καὶ σὺν διδάξω πατέρα ποῖα χρὴ λέγειν: Mr. Tucker puts a comma after τιθῶ and writes διδάξων. Now στείχειν is a necessary preliminary to ξυγκαλεῖν because the λαοὶ are away in the city, whence ξυγκαλὼν στείχω: τοῦ διδάσκειν it is not a necessary preliminary, for Danaus stands by the speaker's side: better then διδάξω than στείχω διδάξων. If we had διδάξων I would not take the trouble to alter it, because the superiority of διδάξω is not worth the change; but superior it is. 606. ὥστ' ἀνηβῆσαι με γηραιά φρενί: Mr. Tucker writes γηραιὰν φρένα because the dative would imply that it is the aged heart which makes the speaker grow young again, and because if we are to express the part or respect in which the rejuvenation takes place we must use the accusative: then γήθησε δὲ θυμῷ, for instance, means 'he rejoiced because of his soul.' 935. τὸ νέικος δ' οὐκ ἐν ἀργύρῳ λαβῇ | ἔλυσεν: it occurs to Mr. Tucker that λαβῇ and βλαβῇ look much alike and both make sense; the MS. gives one, therefore Aeschylus wrote the other. But this method cannot well be avowed, so he looks round for a stone to throw at λαβῇ, and the first that comes to hand is this: 'λαβή is a very common word and always means either a *handle* or a *grasp*. We have no authority for treating it as = λῆψις.' Very good; but at 674 we had these excellent remarks on φόρος (which is a very common word and always means *tribute*, and which we have no authority for treating as = φορά): 'just as τόκος and πρόσδοδος had a general meaning before and besides *interest* and *revenue*, so φόρος had a general meaning before and besides *tribute*. The special meaning is the only one in prose, but not in verse. φορά is both *tax* and *crop*, and φόρος should be given the same values. Indeed we are apt to insufficiently remember the sound (and etymological suggestion) of Greek words to Greek ears. φόρος = *bearings* and γὰς is sufficient definition.' Why then are we not to say that λαβῇ = *taking* and ἀργύρῳ is sufficient definition? because φόρος has the luck to be a conjecture and λαβῇ the misfortune to stand in a MS. 961. μονορρυθμούς δόμους: 'we can hardly speak of a *house* having a *rhythm*,..... a house cannot even metaphorically have a *rhythm*': i.e. Mr. Tucker, preoccupied with the interests of his conjec-

ture μονορρυθμούς, has omitted to look out *ῥυθμός* in the dictionary; just as at 533 he asserts, to recommend his proposal there, that 'rhythm points to a pause at γένος,' forgetting that if so, then in the antistrophic verse 526 rhythm points to a pause in the middle of the word τελειότατον. But when one hangs one's criminals first and tries them afterwards, a flaw in the indictment is of no practical consequence.

The emendations of scholars fare no better than the readings of the MS. if their place is wanted for a conjecture of the editor's own. Again and again in passages which we all thought had been corrected long ago Mr. Tucker proffers another solution, not better but newer, and promotes it, with rigid partiality, to the text. 56. γνώσεται δὲ λόγους τις ἐν μάκει: Mr. Tucker very properly objects to μάκει standing alone and alters λόγους τοῦ χρόνου. Can he not see that before we bestow a thought on this he must demolish Martin's λόγους which removes the difficulty so much more easily and moreover is clearly what the scholiast read? 74. δειμαίνονσα φόλους, usually amended to φίλους: 'but the ο preserved in M can scarcely be accidental' says Mr. Tucker, and writes ποιμαίνονσα φόβους: the δ, the ε and the λ can all be accidental, but not the ο. 164. κοινῷ δ' ἄγαν γαμετουρανόνεικον: Mr. Tucker writes γαμετῶν τῶν οὐρανοοίκων. It ought of course to be γαμετῶν; but apart from that, in what respect is this conjecture not inferior to the γαμετᾶς οὐρανόεικον of Victorius? 229. οὐδὲ μὴ 'ν Ἄιδον θανὼν | φύγη μάταιον αἰτίας πράξας τάδε: this is corrupt, but Mr. Tucker's μάταιον αἰτίας is a conjecture which has no excuse for existing: it means the same as Tournier's ματαίους αἰτίας and comes no nearer the MS., while Schuetz's ματαίων αἰτίας is of course more probable than either. 271 sq. ἔχον δ' ἂν ἥδη τὰ π' ἐμοῦ τεκμήρια | γένος τ' ἂν ἐξεύχοιο καὶ λέγοι πρόσως: Robortellus emends λέγοις πρόσω: for ἔχον δ' ἂν the second hand in M gives γρ. ἔχουσιν: now this second hand collated M throughout with its original and corrected it thence, and pure nonsense like ἔχουσιν cannot be a conjecture: we therefore take this for a foothold, write ἔχουσα δ' with Heimsoeth, and all is clear. The reader now knows how to estimate Mr. Tucker's assertion 'the correction of these lines must start with ἔχον δ' ἂν. It is contrary to all the principles of criticism that this should be an error for ἔχουσα δ'. ἔχων is the only rational correction.' Then he goes on 'either λέγοι or ἐξεύχοιο is wrong, and the omission of C from the former is less likely than that of T from the latter.' But

no : nothing in the world is more likely than the omission of σ before π . 'Next, what *τεκμήρια* has the king given? He has made a statement, but he neither offers nor needs to offer *proofs*.' First Mr. Tucker mistranslates *τεκμήρια* and then declares it corrupt on the strength of his mistranslation : it means here what it means in *Ag.* 352, testimony. All this leads up to the reading $\epsilon\chi\omega\nu\delta'\alpha\nu\eta\delta\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi' \epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\varsigma \epsilon\nu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota | \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma \tau' \alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omicron\iota\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\iota \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\iota \tau\omicron\rho\omega\varsigma$: and to write $\epsilon\chi\omicron\nu\sigma\alpha\delta'$ for $\epsilon\chi\omicron\nu\delta'\alpha\nu$ is contrary to all the principles of criticism! 502. $\kappa\alpha\iota \xi\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu \omicron\upsilon \pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu \chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$: Mr. Tucker's $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu \xi\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ is well enough, only Valckenaer's $\xi\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ is much better, and Mr. Tucker finds nothing to say against it. 515. $\sigma\upsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\nu \epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu \phi\rho\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}$: we all read $\phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ with Heath, against which Mr. Tucker can only say that $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon$ does not 'require' an object: the rest of the note is a conscience-stricken apology for the demerits of his own conjecture $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota$. 744. $\epsilon\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu \omicron\delta' \epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota \tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\iota \kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega$: for these corrupt words Mr. Tucker writes $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\upsilon\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon$; but if we enquire why this is to be preferred before conjectures so much easier and more attractive as *Turnebus'* $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\upsilon\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota} \kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega$ or *Weil's* $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega \tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\iota$, the only reason that can be rendered is Mr. Coventry Patmore's : 'Say, how has thy Beloved surpassed So much all others? *She was mine.*'

But to shew what Mr. Tucker can do and dare on behalf of his emendations the following example is, as King Pelasgus would say, $\omicron\upsilon\chi \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\tau\omicron\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\nu$. In 137 *sqq.* we read $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \delta' \epsilon\nu \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omega \pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho \acute{\omicron} \pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\tau\alpha\varsigma \pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma \kappa\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\sigma\iota\epsilon\nu, \sigma\acute{\pi}\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha \sigma\epsilon\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha \mu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\varsigma} \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \alpha\nu\delta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu, \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}, \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\mu\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\phi\upsilon\nu\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$. Mr. Tucker objects to $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha$ and alters $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha \mu\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ to $\mu\epsilon \delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$: $\sigma\epsilon\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ means the august bride of Zeus, the $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho \pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\tau\alpha\varsigma$ who has just been mentioned. Well, this is very pretty ; but unluckily the lines $\sigma\acute{\pi}\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha \sigma\epsilon\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \kappa\tau\lambda.$ are iterated at 151 *sqq.*, where they are preceded by the mention not of Zeus but of Artemis, so that $\sigma\epsilon\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ will there mean the august bride of Artemis, a discouraging result. Mr. Tucker's expedient to avoid this mishap is of a sort that strikes criticism dumb. He silently prints $\Delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ instead of $\sigma\epsilon\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$: not as a conjecture, but as if it were the MS reading.

Here I have given proofs enough of the disasters which attend us when we desist from the pursuit of truth to follow after our own inventions. Thus much it was necessary to say, because the many students who will I hope resort to this edition for

help and instruction must be warned that they will find not only what they seek but also a good deal which they are not to believe. The book however in spite of its faults is the most useful edition of the *Supplices* we have. The purely explanatory part of the commentary does not contain very much that is absolutely new, and this is well ; for it is really a far more venturesome thing, if critics would but understand it, to propose a new rendering than a new reading. Among the most interesting notes are those on 189 $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, 472 $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega \chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$, 669 $\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota$, 691 $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$, 1071 $\delta\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\iota\rho\omicron\nu$. I mention one or two miscellaneous points which are wrong or doubtful, not that I think them important but because the editor may like to correct or reconsider them. 19 : Mr. Tucker defends $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma \tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ by *Pind. Pyth.* IV 256, $\tau\acute{\omicron}\theta\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu \phi\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \lambda\omicron\iota\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota \tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron$: $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron$ and $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ however do not come from the same verb. 167 : Mr. Tucker proposes a difficult interpretation because he does not observe that $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma$ means *fitting*. 400 : it seems rash to conjecture $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ when this adjective, so common in prose, is found in tragedy at one place only and makes nonsense there. 503 : there can be no cause for Mr. Tucker's rendering of $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ unless it be that a contorted interpretation is better than a plain one. 534 : by what artifice can $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma\omicron\nu \epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\omicron\nu' \alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu$ be made to mean $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma\omicron\nu \alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu \omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon \epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\omega\nu \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$? 556 : Mr. Tucker supports his conjecture $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\upsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ by *Ovid met.* I 730 'profugam per totum *circuit orbem*' : where did he find this reading and how does he construe it? 604 : 'we might read $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota \pi\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ' : no : a pyrrhic cannot constitute the fourth foot of an iambic senarius. 924 : the suggestion $\mu\omicron\iota \acute{\xi}\alpha\rho\eta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ is of course impossible : it is not certain that even $\mu\omicron\upsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\rho\eta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ would be used by Aeschylus. 1035 : Mr. Tucker is here involved in some confusion : we have $\eta\mu. \beta$ coming before $\eta\mu. \alpha'$, and in the note we read of 'the other $\eta\mu\chi\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ ' though we have hitherto had no $\eta\mu\chi\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ at all.

The translation is written with vigour and adroitness, and its rhythm is often admirable. Here and there, chiefly in the stichomythia, are crude phrases, and one or two so afflicting as 'horde of males' for $\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma \sigma\acute{\tau}\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$. $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota} \sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$ in 147 and $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\rho\theta\epsilon \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\nu$ in 782 are left untranslated ; $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\iota$ in 627 is very freely rendered 'further' ; 'lea' at 722 seems meant for 'lee' ; and at 966 occurs the comical misprint, 'for thy good deeds mayst thou have thy fill of food, Pelasgian lord.' A. E. HOUSMAN.

DR. RUTHERFORD'S THUCYDIDES, BOOK IV.¹

DR. RUTHERFORD'S contributions to classical learning have been marked hitherto by striking vigour and originality. The book now under review is distinguished no less by conspicuous power of generalization, conciseness and force of style, and acuteness of logic. But the thesis which he now seeks to establish is far more important than any which he has yet handled, and has a far wider scope than any of his previous works have aimed at. Dr. Rutherford will have made an epoch in classical learning if he succeeds in making good his case. If he is right, Thucydides wrote, or may have written, in a style as simple and direct as that of Xenophon; all the characteristic Thucydideanisms are foreign accretions, and should be cut away. As we have Thucydides now 'there is hardly a page which does not supply an instance of a sentence violating every law of a sentence, but still regarded as justifiable in Thucydides, who for his great merits of another kind is to be forgiven occasional lapses into utopian syntax' (p. xiv). But we have not the work of Thucydides as it was written, or anything like it. According to the editor nearly all the violations of normal grammar may be explained on one principle. In the text of Thucydides have become embedded thousands of the glosses, comments, adscripts (to use the general term which he employs to include them all) of the scholiasts, copyists, ancient critics, and all and sundry who have had anything to do with his great work.

Dr. Rutherford does indeed point out (and very acutely) certain marked characteristics which distinguish the style of Thucydides from that of (say) Xenophon. These are, broadly: (1) the idiom by which almost any verb may in the active be paraphrased by *ποιεῖσθαι* and some substantive expressing the action of the verb — an idiom which, when its boundaries are somewhat enlarged, has a tendency to elude us, and disguise itself as grammatical license; (2) his management of participles; (3) the frequent use he makes of the indirect reflexive pronoun in the plural. Moreover he allows that there is such a thing as style, such a thing as genius modifying language, and giving it the

special impress of a great writer's mind. But nine-tenths of the so-called violations of the common law of grammar, which are supposed to be characteristic of Thucydides, arise, according to the editor, from the fact that into the very warp and woof of his language, as it has come down to us, has been wrought the adscript pattern of the copyists and scholiasts. Were it not for this his style would be as free from grammatical license as that of Plato or Demosthenes. Indeed Dr. Rutherford claims for Thucydides a singular preciseness in the use of grammatical forms, and illustrates his case by some very acute remarks on passages in the fourth book. For instance in c. 98 *σπένδουσιν* is defended as an instance of extreme logical exactitude, because 'one side can only bid the other *σπένδειν*, i.e. do their part in the common ceremony, not *σπένδεσθαι*, i.e. do the part of both.' So *ἀναπαύοντες* in c. 11 has a reason in strict logic, for it is the relieving party who make the attack. A like precision is claimed for the active *ξυνεπῆγον*, c. 79, and for the reciprocal middle *διακινδυνεύεσθαι*, c. 19; and in c. 71 Dr. Rutherford finds in the word *ἐφεδρεύνοντων* an apt reference to the *ἐφεδρος* who sat by in the gymnastic contests, ready to step in and contend with the victor.

How, then, did it come to pass that this most precise of writers thus became the victim of a set of circumstances which have presented to us as his work something which certainly cannot be called precise? Every one admits that many adscripts have forced their way into the texts of the ancient Greek writers, and in Thucydides especially numbers have been pointed out by Dobree, Krueger, Badham, Herwerden, and above all by Cobet. The question which at once presents itself is, how did it happen that the text of Thucydides suffered so much more from this source of corruption than that of Xenophon, Demosthenes, or Plato? I cannot find any really satisfactory answer to this question in Dr. Rutherford's book. When he writes:

In Thucydides especially this kind of corruption has escaped notice more easily because of his undeserved reputation for obscurity and clumsiness of expression,

surely we have here something like that form of *petitio principii* which logicians call 'the vicious circle.' Whence came the undeserved reputation? Was it not from the adscripts? But what peculiar power of

¹ *The Fourth Book of Thucydides*, a Revision of the Text, illustrating the principal Causes of Corruption in the Manuscripts of this Author, by WM. GUNION RUTHERFORD, M.A., LL.D., Head-Master of Westminster; author of the *New Phrynicus* and editor of *Babrius*. London, Macmillan, 1889.

attracting adscripts had the text of Thucydides?

In his text Dr. Rutherford prints the supposed adscripts in uncials in the margin, and certainly in a great many instances their expulsion from the text is a great improvement to the style. A good example occurs in 126 (I inclose the adscripts in square brackets): γνώσεσθε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅτι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄχλοι τοῖς μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον δεξαμένοις ἄπωθεν [ἀπειλαῖς] τὸ ἀνδρείον μελλήσει ἐπικομποῦσιν, where ἀπειλαῖς is evidently a gloss on μελλήσει used in its thoroughly Thucydidean sense of 'a demonstration' of feeling, as opposed to action. Again, in the speech of Hermocrates, c. 63, he detects a serious interpolation of nineteen words from κατ' ἀμφοτέρα to εἰρχθῆναι, and fairly asks commentators 'can they honestly render τὸ ἐλλιπὲς εἴργεται into English or any other tongue?' In some cases the interpolation is harder to detect because it has undergone some change—generally a change of case—to enable it to take its place as an integral part of the sentence. In c. 34 all the MSS. give αὐτοὶ τῇ τε ὄψει [τοῦ θαρσεῖν] τὸ πλεῖστον εἰληφότες πολλαπλάσιοι φαινόμενοι. Dobree emended πλεῖστον to πιστόν. Dr. Rutherford holds that τὸ θαρσεῖν was a gloss on πιστόν, which was changed to τοῦ θαρσεῖν to make it fit into the sentence. In the same chapter ἀποκεκλημένοι τῇ ὄψει [τοῦ προορᾶν] was originally ἀποκ. τῆς ὄψεως, but when the gloss got into the text τῆς ὄψεως was changed to τῇ ὄψει to procure a construction.

Most interesting are those *additamenta* which are betrayed by the presence in them of some idiom unexampled in classical usage but prevalent in late Greek. Of these the most remarkable are ὅτε ἐπεφεύγει, 133, where the pluperf. is used as a simple past, as in later Greek; διὰ τὸ περιέχειν αὐτήν, 102, where διὰ must bear its post-classical meaning of 'for the purpose of'; so in 40 δὲ ἄχθηδόνα is a gloss because the meaning required is not the classical *in distress*, but the post-classical *to cause annoyance*; and in 67 διὰ τῆς τάφρου is foreign matter because the context requires for διὰ the late meaning of *by* or *along*. With like certainty we may reject the adscript in 120, περὶ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας [αἷς ἐπύρχοντο] because 'even if Thucydides may have used ἐπύρχοντο, so far as form goes, he undoubtedly no more used it in the late sense of *discuss* than he used διὰ in the late sense of *to cause* and *along*.'

Dr. Rutherford even gives us marks whereby we may detect the intruder into the text. A very common way of introducing a marginal or interlinear note is by

a relative pronoun, adverb, or conjunction, either simple or (far more commonly) compounded with περ. Suspect a clause beginning ὅπερ, ὥσπερ, οἷσπερ, ἵναπερ. Thus in 48 ἵναπερ τὸ πρῶτον ὤρμηγτο should be expelled from the text, not corrected by a change of ἵναπερ to ἐνθαπερ or οἷπερ.

Sometimes the adscript gets into the wrong sentence, or the wrong part of a sentence, as in 66, οἱ δὲ φίλοι τῶν ἔξω τὸν θροῦν αἰσθόμενοι φανερώς [μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον] καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡξίουν κ.τ.λ., where the adscript really belongs to the following sentence, γνόντες οὐ δυνατόν τὸν δῆμον ἐσόμενον.

It is a pity that Dr. Rutherford almost completely confines himself to the limits of Bk. IV. in illustrating his theories. One would have been glad to know whether he regards as a gloss the οὐ in μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ, where it is apparently redundant, as in μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους, III. 36. It is very interesting to read Thucydides afresh and watch for places where Dr. Rutherford would resort to excision. One feels at once a bloodthirsty desire to wield the weapon he has put into our hands; we cry φονᾶ φονᾶ νόος ἦδη, and we see everywhere τομῶντα πῆματα to which we will keene no incantations. To take Pericles's speech in the second book, I fancy Dr. Rutherford would certainly expel from the very beginning of it, c. 35, ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν and πιστευθῆναι, and probably αὐτῶν after ὑπερβάλλοντι. I would infer from the same speech, c. 39, that Dr. Rutherford goes too far when he says 'the text of Thucydides is dotted over with Λακεδαιμόνιοι and Ἀθηναῖοι in every case and every construction, none of which he ever wrote.' If the scholiasts and copyists were so prone to append these names by way of explanatory comment, why do they not always append them? In c. 39, if anywhere, we should have expected οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι to have crept into the sentence οἱ μὲν ἐπιτόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρείον μετέρχονται, for surely no one will believe that any person capable of writing any comment at all could fail to see that the reference here is to the Lacedaemonians, and yet the addition of the name would certainly add to the clearness and antithesis of the passage.

I fear that if we apply Dr. Rutherford's knife impartially in pruning away from the text what is ungrammatical according to normal usage, we shall find that many of the finest things in Thucydides will vanish. The following is a passage, II. 53, than which there are few more impressive in Thucydides: θεῶν δὲ φόβος ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπέργε,

τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ σέβειν καὶ μὴ, ἐκ τοῦ πάντας ὄραν ἐν ἴσῳ ἀπολλυμένων, τῶν δὲ ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδὲς ἐλπίζων μέχρι τοῦ δίκην γενέσθαι βίους ἂν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀντιδοῦναι, πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην σφῶν ἐπικρεμασθῆναι, ἣν πρὶν ἐμπσεῖν, εἰκὸς εἶναι τοῦ βίου τι ἀπολαῦσαι. It will be seen that we are at once confronted with a glaring violation of the strict laws of construction—a most characteristic Thucydideanism. At first sight the passage seems to illustrate most forcibly Dr. Rutherford's theory. The κρίνοντες clause and the οὐδὲς ἐλπίζει clause are those which interrupt the construction and mar the grammar. The one would be a most apt explanatory note on θεῶν φόβος and the other on ἀνθρώπων νόμος. But where are we to stop? These supposed adscripts are inextricably bound up with what follows. We must refer to the commentator the whole sentence down to ἀπολαῦσαι, and the result is that by far the most memorable sentiment in the whole chapter belongs, not to Thucydides, but to the scholiast. I can think of only three ways in which Dr. Rutherford could meet the difficulty thus raised. He may maintain that the theory of the adscript is here inapplicable; but it seems to fit the passage to a nicety. Or he may show that the words of the comment may be disentangled from those of Thucydides without carrying away with them most of that to which the passage owes its glow and strength; but in the present case this seems to me to be impossible. Or finally, he may hold the theory that among the many scholiasts there may have been one or two capable of rising to the height of feeling and expression required by such a sentence as πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην, κ.τ.λ. He may hold that there may have been a scholiast capable of doing for the text of Thucydides what Carlyle has done for the letters and speeches of Cromwell, capable of emphasizing and enhancing the beauties of the expression, and deepening and elevating the train of thought. Then I ask where are the writings of this Καρλύλιος? How did this genius content himself with the humble labours of a com-

mentator when he possessed original faculty of so high an order? I believe there never was a scholiast capable of conceiving or expressing this sentiment, though considerations of grammar only would point to it as an undoubted scholiastic comment.

Dr. Rutherford's work teems with evidences of his high and deep scholarship, and with instructive and suggestive comments on Greek usage. He has embodied in his text many acute conjectures of recent scholars,¹ and several of his own, which, though as a rule quite convincing, yet deal with such minute points that it would not be very interesting to record them here. He has undoubtedly detected many adscripts which have eluded the vigilance of even Cobet himself, and has thus proved that the text of Thucydides has suffered more than has been hitherto suspected from this particular source of corruption. When he writes (p. xxvii.) :—

His style is simple but powerful, a fitting weapon for a vigorous understanding dealing in an unaffected way with events and the lessons to be derived from them,

it seems to me that he has not yet succeeded in showing that we may fairly call the style of Thucydides simple. We shall be able to pronounce a more decided opinion when he deals with the question more at large—as I hope he will—and takes his illustrations from the whole work of Thucydides. One feels however that it would be unfair to claim the immediate performance of so large a task from one who is the Head Master of a great public school, and who has already begun to turn the sod of another new wide and fertile field of philological labour.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

¹ There are two conjectures by the Editor of this *Review* published in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. vii. p. 234, which might well have found a place among these. For προσέλαντες in iv. 7 Professor Mayor would read προσειλήσαντες, 'having penned up,' which he defends by comparing Hom. *Il.* x. 347, Eur. *Hel.* 445; and for σκαιότητα (al. νεότητα), *ib.* 80, he conjectures σκληρότητα, a word which expresses 'the unconquerable determination and stiff-neckedness of the Helots.'

COUAT'S ARISTOPHANES AND THE ANCIENT ATTIC COMEDY.

Aristophane et l'ancienne Comédie Attique, par A. COUAT, Recteur de l'Académie de Lille: Paris, 1889.

THOSE who have read M. Couat's *Étude sur Catulle* and his *Poésie alexandrine sous*

les trois premiers Ptolémées will expect much pleasure and instruction from a work by the same hand on the great Athenian wit. And they will not be disappointed. A French scholar has perhaps peculiar advantages in dealing with the genius who from one point

of view suggests Rabelais and from another Molière. But M. Couat does not seek to gain for his work an adventitious attractiveness by reading the past into the present, or the present into the past. 'Athènes,' he writes, 'n'est pas la France, et en cherchant parmi nos écrivains, je n'y vois pas un Aristophane.' In the introduction he traces the rise and growth of comedy. In the subsequent two books consisting of seven chapters he deals with the materials which the comic poets found ready to their hands. This comprises of course *quicquid agunt homines*; and hence the work is nothing less than a study of Athenian life during the period of the Old Comedy from B.C. 446 to 392—its institutions, public men, social questions, religion, education, and manners. In learning the writer is quite abreast of modern scholarship, and he has his full share of that charm of style which seems to be the birth-right of every Frenchman whatever be the subject of his essay. Especially brilliant is his description of the fierce struggle for literary existence at Athens in the time of Aristophanes. The poets were innumerable. The chances of getting the public ear were few. It was a triumph even to obtain a hearing for one's work. To be known at all a poet must be among the first poets of his time—*entre la lumière éclatante du théâtre de Dionysus et l'obscurité profonde il n'y avait pas d'intermédiaire*. The relations between Aristophanes and Euripides are touched incidentally with much originality and clearness. M. Couat regards the Aristophanic attack on Euripides as but an episode in the war against Socrates and the Sophists; an ancient comic poet called the tragedies of Euripides *σοκратογόμους*.¹ Of the stage of Euripides, as satirised by Aristophanes, with its lame and ragged kings, poor but fluent, M. Couat writes, *c'est la cour des Miracles des héros*. Before Euripides Tragedy had to do only with the grand adventures and the disguised sufferings of heroes and heroines; he enlarged it to embrace the troubles of every-day life and the loves and jealousies of ordinary women. The women of Sophocles suffer, those of Euripides *souffrent*. M. Couat sums up the influence of Euripides on Tragedy in a delightfully French expression, *avec Euripide les événements tragiques ne se passent plus dans un palais, mais dans un alcôve*. But he is far from adopting the views of Aristophanes

on this subject. It must be remembered that in the time of Aeschylus, and for the first fifty years of the life of Sophocles, prose was unknown at Athens. The first play of Euripides of which we know the date was produced when the poet was forty-two years of age, and when prose had come to Athens with the Sophists, and the reign of King Logos was beginning.² With them came in a tendency towards introspection and analysis, and Euripides saw how powerfully this growing taste might be appealed to by remodelling the method of Tragedy. Hitherto there had been no such thing as the analysis of human passion in poetry. Homer had told us how the love of Helen for Paris had been the cause of the Trojan war. We had read how the passion of Haemon for Antigone had precipitated the doom of the House of Labdacus, and how the lewdness of Clytaemnestra brought ruin on the Atreids. We had seen the work of Aphrodite at her terrible play,³ but neither Homer nor Aeschylus nor Sophocles analysed the passion, or observed its symptoms. Euripides was the first who saw that the passion of love was worth watching for itself. No one will now hesitate to admit that the bounds of Tragedy were widened when *Medea* and *Phaedra* walked the stage, or will sympathise with the boast which Aristophanes puts into the mouth of Aeschylus—that no one can say he ever brought a love-sick woman into his plays.⁴

The whole debate between Aeschylus and Euripides in the *Frogs* has now for us a new and special interest, because it resolves itself to a great extent into a question which is now agitating our critics—how far realism is reconcilable with art. When Aeschylus condemns the portrayal of the foul passions of Phaedra and Sthenoboea, Euripides triumphantly asks, 'But do not the passions exist?' The same plea is still urged by the defenders of Zola's minute details in description of misery, profligacy and filth. The discussion is often closed by the argument that it is the province of Art not to teach, but to please. This would not end the debate between Euripides and Aeschylus, for they agree that it is the duty of Art 'to make men better.'

The reader will receive with interest the judgment on this question of the distinguished scholar to whom we owe the present treatise:

² *Frag.* 170 (Nauck).

³ ἄμαχος γὰρ ἐπαίλει θεὸς Ἀφροδίτα, *Soph. Ant.*

⁴ οὐδ' οἷδ' οὐδέ τις ἦντιν' ἐρώσαν πώποτ' ἐποίησα γυναικα, *Ran.* 1044.

¹ Some verses preserved from the *Melanippe* appear to contain the retort of Euripides on his persistent assailant (*frag.* 495, Nauck).

we commend it to M. Zola : ' le public a plus de plaisir aux fictions qui l'élèvent, qu'aux réalités qui le dégradent. L'Art, sans

cesser d'avoir le plaisir pour but, le cherchera plutôt dans la transfiguration que dans la copie de la réalité.'

R. Y. TYRRELL.

TWO EDITIONS OF ANDOCIDES.

Andocidis Orationes edidit IUSTUS HERMANN LIPSIIUS ; pp. xxxii, 67. B. Tauchnitz, Leipzig, 1888. M. 1. 20.

THE interest felt in the announcement that an edition of Andocides was in preparation by the reviser of *Der Attische Process* was somewhat tempered by the knowledge that the work would be purely critical. The fact that no satisfactory explanatory edition of this author had ever been written made it all the more desirable that the entire field should first be covered by a scholar who had given proofs of his competence to deal with the general subject.

The editor however gives a very valuable introduction on the life and writings of Andocides, where in copious notes the reader is referred to the sources, ancient and modern, upon which he bases his judgments. His argument against the genuineness of the so-called Fourth Oration is a most powerful one, and further proof will scarcely be needed that it is the work of a late rhetorician. His belief that the pseudo-Lysian oration against Andocides was a similar exercise, and not a contemporary argument in court, will hardly yet find such general acceptance. He promises an article on the subject, but I am not aware that it has appeared. Upon the critical apparatus of this edition it is not necessary to enlarge here, although it is distinctly the most valuable part of the book. The spelling is based throughout upon the combined results gleaned from Attic contemporary inscriptions which are certainly better authority for spelling than the most careful copyist of the Middle Ages, and we must accordingly expect to find the latter give place in our newer texts of the authors. Such emendations as are due to the editor, except mere verbal corrections based upon the new collations of MSS., have in the main already appeared in his contributions to German periodical literature, and are therefore known to readers. But we are given also a collation of the suggestions and corrections of other scholars, most conscientiously gathered and destined to be of great helpfulness. On the whole, this edition, in

spite of a number of emendations which have elsewhere met with criticism, may be safely recommended as the most useful to the critical student which has ever appeared.

Andocidis de Mysteriis et de Reditu ; edited by E. C. MARCHANT, B.A., late scholar of Peterhouse, Cambridge ; Assistant Master at St. Paul's School. Rivingtons, London, 1889. 5s.

MR. MARCHANT's text, also, is preceded by an essay on the life of Andocides and by a full analysis of the two orations. The historical circumstances are ably treated with fair references to authorities. At the end of the book there is an appendix on the connexion of Andocides with the Hermes affair. In this, Mr. Marchant concludes that Andocides had fully intended to take part in the business. So far he is probably right, but what about the reasons he assigns for the inaction of Andocides ? ' His absence was due to scruples at the last minute, or to the fear of detection.' To believe this, it is necessary to discredit the whole of Andocides' description of the affair as given in *Myst.* § 61 sq. Mr. Marchant thinks that he is justified in disbelieving all the statements in the later oration by the admissions made in the earlier (*de Reditu*, § 7), which he interprets as a declaration of guilt ; he avoids stating, however, whether he believes that Andocides was really an actor in the crime or not. I think that the statements in the two orations may be partly, although not wholly, reconciled. We are not obliged to believe from *de Red.* § 7 that the speaker is confessing participation in the actual mutilation of the Hermae. Perhaps he means only to say that he was in the plot and had intended to take part in its execution. He was thus in a position to inform against the actual criminals and at the same time to clear himself from the act of crime, although he does not try to avoid the charge of being to some extent implicated in it. He doubtless expected complete indemnity, and indeed

got it for a time, but the decree of Isotimides was sweeping enough to cover his case, and he went into exile. The story about the fall from his horse is too natural and too easily refutable to be a lie; not so his statement that he refused altogether to share the plot. This may fairly be discredited, and one may think that Euphiletos was ignorant of this accident and expected Andocides to do his part. I should therefore reject only the latter's statement that he refused to join the plot and that Euphiletos knew it. His absence, then, on the eventful night would be due to his accident, and not to scruples, least of all, in such a man, to fear. This explanation may reconcile perhaps the statement of Thucydides (vi. 60) that Andocides gave evidence against himself. However, I do not feel as anxious as some commentators over any apparent contradiction of Andocides by Thucydides. The historian, it will be remembered, left Athens eight years before the Hermes affair and could not have returned till eleven years after it. In so complicated a matter it would be difficult for any one, not actually on the ground, to know the exact details. Thucydides himself admits that nobody had ever been able to be sure about them. It is rather surprising that Mr. Marchant, who seems to realize (pp. 127 and 136) the untrustworthiness of Thucydides in two particulars, should elsewhere (pp. 35 and 178) accept his evidence with little question. Mr. Marchant is perhaps nearer the truth in other places (pp. 11 and 22) and when he says (p. 6) 'Andocides gave evidence incriminating himself and others,' but even 'incriminating' appears to me scarcely the proper word in this connexion. But after all that has been written on this vexed subject, we are as far as ever from the last word.

Mr. Marchant is familiar with the work of Lipsius along the lines of legal antiquities, and treats fully of legal matters as far as they fall within his subject. Perhaps teachers would have been better satisfied with fuller references to the sources. It is rather unfortunate that all the references to Lipsius' *Attische Process* should be by sections, the fact being that Mr. Marchant has taken for sections the page-numbers of the old edition found on the margin of the new. This is frequently confusing, especially on p. 155, where the reference should read *Att. Proc.* p. 900, note 383. The page-numbers of Stephanus are omitted. They should always be given as long as Liddell and Scott continue to quote by them.

Not much grammatical comment is attempted, but what appears is as a rule founded upon acquaintance with the general subject and with the habits of this particular orator. In a very useful note on *Myst.* § 10 the reference to Kühner should read 423 C. On § 30 we are given some sound doctrine on ὁῦλον ὅτι. Just above, in the same section, Mr. Marchant reads with Blass ἡγήσεσθε, where Lipsius has allowed the unnecessary ἡγήσασθε. In his note on § 21 the proper reference to Professor Goodwin's *M. and. T.* is § 49, 2, N 3, (ε), although § 44, 3 may also be compared. In the *de Red.* § 16 my feeling is that the notion of *possibility*, so prominent in ὁδόν τε καὶ πόρον, takes away any 'harshness' from the following infinitive. In his translations the editor is correct enough, but not always idiomatic. There is here and there the especial weakness of rendering a long Greek sentence, composed of many subordinate clauses, into a correspondingly long one in English (cf. p. 126).

The comments on two passages may be mistaken. In *Myst.* § 41 Leagoras was not represented as supposing that Diocles had come to 'join the plot,' but to listen to proposals of the conspirators that he should keep quiet about it. In § 132 we read 'of course μὴν does not mean A. himself performed the rites, but he paid the expenses.' The first part of this is right, for A. was nothing but μυσταγωγός, but what were the expenses? The μυσταγωγός, as I know him, merely presented the candidate, and, himself an initiate, took charge of the latter as a sort of 'Mentor' during his initiation. Do we know anything of initiation fees? Mr. Marchant wisely refrains from saying much about so dark a subject as the Mysteries; he might well have omitted his quotation on § 31 from C. R. Kennedy. 'Solemn revelations' looks too much like a reference to a fancied expounding of doctrines. Lobeck exploded the notion that any preaching was done at Eleusis.

In the matter of spelling the editor wisely follows Lipsius, and goes even further in the right path when he prints τοῖν for ταῖν (*Myst.* § 144). We have long been warned in grammars of the feminine dual of the article; it utterly disappeared from F. D. Allen's edition of Hadley, but it still survives in a few passages in the authors as printed.

In the critical notes the editor's system seems to have been to present only the collation of those passages wherein Blass and Lipsius differ, and to state which of them he

himself has followed. In *Myst.* § 4 the emendation attributed to Lipsius was made by Köpke in 1864 except for the spelling *δοπειῶ*. Realizing the danger of emending according to stereotyped rules so easy-going a writer as Andocides, the editor is very conservative. His restoration of the MS. reading *de Red.* § 22 seems sound, and also his transposition of *χρήσασθαι* in *Myst.* § 86. The correction of *ταῖν χερῶν* (*Myst.* § 144, by a misprint referred on p. iv. to § 141) has already been mentioned. In § 153 his change to the aorist seems unnecessary, although it might be accepted in the case of a more exact writer. In § 12, for *τὸ μεράκιον ὃ* Mr. Marchant reads *ὄν*, on the ground that an Attic ear would not bear the neuter. It is true that the natural gender prevails in such cases, yet we have a neuter with *μεράκιον* in Anti-

phon *Tetral.* B γ, § 10, and in Plat. *Prot.* 315 D, side by side with the masculine; cf. 315 E. Neither of these examples is an exact parallel, but after all who shall decide on the nicety of the ear of Andocides?

The remarks here made are by no means written with a wish to detract from the just dues of so meritorious a book as the one before us. Every one must be grateful to Mr. Marchant for giving English and American readers an excellent practical edition of an author who has been too long neglected; for his fairness in stating both side of disputed questions, his clearness in summing up results, and the modesty with which he differs from the more dogmatic utterances of some of his predecessors.

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COLERIDGE'S TRANSLATION OF APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius translated into English prose from the text of R. MERKEL by EDWARD P. COLERIDGE B.A. George Bell & Sons, 1889. 5s.

THERE are in English three poetical or rather verse translations of Apoll. Rhod. by Fawkes, Greene, and Preston respectively, more or less near the original, but it is certainly time that there should be a prose translation, and so the present one is welcome. The interest of the poem at the present day is mainly literary, not to say philological, and apart from the Greek the story of the Golden Fleece as told by Apollonius will not attract many readers.

The present translation though it cannot be compared to the best of Bohn's, such as Dale's Thucydides or Kennedy's Demosthenes, is yet above the average and may be considered adequate. At the same time it bears many marks of haste and some of the errors I shall presently point out seem to be due solely to that cause. The translation is from the Teubner text of 1852 based on the Laurentian MS. In the next year came out Merkel's larger edition which contains many improvements over the ed. min. Mr. Coleridge apparently adopts the theory that Apollonius should be translated in an archaic style. I have nothing to say against such a theory, indeed much may be said for it, but it is not carried out by writing in a modern style and interspersing archaic words and

phrases. The archaism should lie rather in the structure of the sentences than in single words. Thus we find such scattered gems as 'astonied,' 'God wot,' 'I wis,' 'swinked,' 'an' (= if), 'took up his parable' (= replied) 'or ever,' 'yestreen,' &c. 'Unbeknown to thy father' may be archaic, but its associations are rather with Mrs. Gamp, and 'for to behold' is a vulgarism now at any rate. Mr. Coleridge has a sufficient vocabulary at his command and can use it with effect, e.g. IV. 152 'like a dark wave dumb and noiseless rolling o'er a sluggish sea.' Alliteration is no stranger to him, as 'a flash as of flame from the flashing of the fleece.' The passage of the Symplegades II. 551 foll. is very well rendered on the whole. It is rarely we find such an awkward sentence as 'what time, alone and apart from the other chiefs, he routed them' &c., but why will he always write *Iolchos*?

The translation is prefaced by a short notice of the life of Apollonius in which the date of his birth is given as 'about B.C. 235.' I should have thought this to be a misprint, if it were not that Smith's *Dictionary of Biography* gives the same date. Though the precise year of Apollonius' birth is uncertain, the limits of deviation are narrow and Ritschl's date of Ol. 126 (276-273 B.C.) is probably correct. I will now notice more particularly some points in the translation and notes which require correction. I. 43 'Now on that day were his limbs

weighed down with wine.' There is nothing about wine in the Greek, which is *τότ' αὖ βαρύθεσκέ οἱ ἤδη* | *γνία* and means of course 'heavy with age,' and then comes the usual antithesis between age of body and youthfulness of spirit. 368 *ἔζωσαν πᾶμπρωτον ἐυστρεφεῖ ἐνδοθεν ὄπλω* 'they lashed the ship stoutly with a well-twisted cable from within.' 'From within' is nonsense. The *ὕπόζωμα* is meant and we should probably read *ἐκτοθεν*: at any rate some emendation is necessary. 1110 *ἤρεσαν ἐς λιμένα Θρηήκιον* (note) 'It is clear that the heroes did not sail across to Thrace because Mt. Dindymus is a considerable distance inland in Galatia, and it was hither they meant to come.' The Mt. Dindymus here meant is that at Cyzicus, as is clear from 985 *sup.* 1277 *ὑψι δὲ νηὸς* | *εὐναίας ἐρύσαντες ἀνεκρόνσαντο κάλως* 'and they hauled in the anchor ropes of the ship and backed her out.' *εὐναίας* is a noun = *εὐνάς*, and if it were an adj. could not agree with *κάλως* masc. Without some emendation, such as *εὐναίους*, it is not easy to see the meaning of *ἀν. κάλ.* Schol. Laur. explains *προσέκρουσαν τῇ νηὶ τὰ σχοινία τῆς ἀγκύρας διὰ τὸ βεβρέχθαι*. In a note it is said 'The ancient mode of landing was to beach the ship if possible and then fasten by cables to the land, and by anchors from the stern in the sea.' This is the exact opposite of the fact. The Homeric mode of landing, as 'every schoolboy' knows, is to fasten the stern by cables (*πρυμνήσιω*) to the land, and to steady the ship by large stones (*εὐναί*) used as anchors, cast out from the prow, cf. A 436, ι 137 and Apoll. Rhod. II. 160. II. 163 (note) 'The Therapnaean son of Zeus, i.e. Apollo, so called from Therapnae, a part of Sparta, which was sacred to this god.' So Schol., but more probably Polydeuces, is meant who had just conquered Amycus, Therapnae being the birthplace of the Dioscuri. 592 *ὅσσον δ' ἂν ὑπέικαθε νηὺς ἐρέτησιν, δις τόσον ἂψ ἀπόρουσεν*. 'So she sprang forward twice as far as any other ship would have yielded to rowers' (!), literally 'but as far as the ship yielded to the rowers it leapt backwards twice as far' i.e. through the force of the waves. The difficulty is to assign any meaning to *ἀν*: hence some (Brunck and Beck) read *παρείκαθε* with an inferior MS. 1064 (note) *ἄρσετε* Ionic fut. from *ἀραρίσκω*: more probably aor. imper. like Homeric *οὔστε*. III. 1 (note) 'Ἐρατώ the Muse of Dancing...As this third book is to relate Jason's wooing and winning of Medea, there is a certain appropriateness in an address to the Muse who presided over such festivities as were customary at wed-

dings.' The Muses were invoked quite indifferently by the poets, as e.g. by Horace, and the introduction of Erato is clearly due to the play on *ἔρω*s: see l. 5 *τῷ καὶ τοι ἐπ' ἡράτων οἶνον' ἀνήπται*, which is imitated by Ovid (*Am.* II. 16) *Nunc Erato, nam tu nomen amoris habes*. Moreover, if we assign separate functions to the Muses, Erato is not the Muse of Dancing but of Erotic poetry and so strictly in place here. 206 *ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδεψήτοισι κατελεύσαντε βοείαις κ.τ.λ.* 'but two men must roll them up in hides untanned' etc. and note 'it is difficult to believe that Apollonius wrote the dual.' It is probable that Ap. here uses the dual for the plural in imitation of Zenodotus, so in I. 384. 613 'lest haply he should win her over in vain... or lest if she consented to his prayer' etc. The subject of *μειλίζαιτο* is not Argos but Chalciopie; *ἀτυζομένην* and *ἐσπομένης* both refer to Medea. 988 *ὑμείων* cannot mean merely 'thee,' but alludes to Hecate and Zeus as well as to Medea. 1018 *τῆς δ' ἀμαρηνῶς* | *ὀφθαλμῶν ἥραπεν* 'snatched bright glances from her eyes': rather 'snatched (i.e. captivated) her sparkling eyes,' cf. *rapere ocellos*. 1025 *φράξω νῦν ὥς κέν τοι κ.τ.λ.* not 'that I may devise' but 'how I shall devise.' 1058 'but be not thyself eager for the fray,' strike out *not* which is probably a slip. 1092 (note) 'The isle of Aea was a small island in the river Phasis in which the golden fleece was kept.' Not at all: the isle of Aea here meant is the abode of Circe in the West, as is clear from *sup.* 1073. 1104 *συννημοσύνας ἀλεγύνειν* 'to heed the ties of kin.' No: 'to heed compacts (or agreements)'. 1116 *ἀπροφάτως* means not 'openly' but 'unexpectedly.' 1118 *ὑποβλήδην προσέειπεν* not 'caught her up and said' but 'said in answer.' This is always the meaning of *ὑπ.* in Apollonius. 1137 *ἐδέετο δ' ἡματος ὥρη* | *ἂψ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι κ.τ.λ.* 'for the time of day demanded the maiden's return home' etc. This cannot be correct: *ἐδέετο* is here used absolutely as in Y 122, lit. 'the time of day was wanting (or failing) for her to return' etc. 1285 *παρὰ δ' ὀβριμον ἔγχος ἔπηξεν* | *ὀρθὸν ἐπ' οὐριάχῳ* 'and fixed his strong sword upright to the hilt hard by.' *ἔγχος* is spear not sword—in IV 223 it is again mistranslated sword—and *ἐπ' οὐριάχῳ* means 'upon the butt-end' which was furnished with a spike. 1298 (note) 'the *χάανος* is the mould into which the liquid metal is poured for casting.' The *χ* is the smelting-furnace, or perhaps melting-pot, as it is translated in the text. 1334 *λαῖον ἐπὶ στιβαρῷ πιέσας ποδί* 'pressing down the left stilt with heavy heel.' This is nonsense. *λαῖον* is a rare word meaning

ploughshare. Jason presses his foot on it to make it go deeper into the ground as ploughmen often do nowadays. 1385 ἀμφ' οὐροισιν ἐγειρομένου πολέμοιο not 'upon his boundaries' but 'concerning boundaries,' which were a frequent subject of strife. IV. 16 τάρβει means not 'terrified' but 'was afraid of.' 24 'poured from the casket all her drugs at once into the folds of her bosom.' No one would think that the Greek describes exactly the opposite action, viz. the pouring of the drugs from her bosom into the chest. 78 ἡπείριοι not 'mainland' but 'shore,' as often. 304 Πόντοιο not 'into Pontus' but 'out of Pontus,' probably a slip. 337 μέσφα with gen. not 'between' but 'as far as to' and Νέστιδος αἴης, which is described in the note as meaning Thrace from the river Nestus, really means a part of Illyria and has no connexion with the Thracian river of that name, cf. *inf.* 1213 Νεσταίους. 379 ἦε μάλ' εὐκλείης; 'will not my fame be passing fair?' *dele* 'not.' 436 θελεγέμεν, εἴτ' ἂν πρῶτα θεᾶς

περὶ νηὸν ἵκηται | συνθεσίη... | ἐλθέμεν 'so as to persuade them to depart, as soon as Absyrtus came by agreement' &c. So Wellauer, but rather 'to persuade him (Absyrtus) to come as soon as she (Medea) came' &c. 501 ῥηιδίη δέ κεν ἄμμι... | ἦ τ' (or ἦ δ') εἴη μετέπειτα κατερχομένοισι κέλευθος 'twill be an easy route for us or indeed for any who come hither hereafter.' Not so; with ἦ δέ, κατ. refers back to ἄμμι, with ἦ τ' to the Colchians. 530 περόνῃ κατὰ χρέος not 'in obedience to an oracle' but, as Beck translates, 'negotii sui causa.' 552 περιώσια σήματα νηός 'Argo's wondrous pennon' probably means figure-head or some other ornament, see *inf.* 1618. 578 (note) 'Hera brought them by contrary winds to the island of Electra, in order that Jason and Medea might there be purified by Circe.' Not the island of Electra, but the island or rather promontory of Circe is where they were purified, *inf.* 659. 705 δέρην is translated 'skin' as if it were δορὴν.

R. C. SEATON.

OWEN'S EDITION OF THE *TRISTIA*.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Libri V.
Recensuit S. G. OWEN. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1889. pp. cxiii + 271. 16s.

THOSE who, after reading Mr. Owen's small edition of the first book of the *Tristia* published a few years back, looked for some more elaborate work on Ovid from his pen, will certainly not be disappointed in the volume before us. His new book is a model of sound criticism, laborious research and orderly arrangement; and in every way a real honour to English scholarship. Mr. Owen has collated nearly thirty manuscripts of the *Tristia*, and has consulted or secured collations of several others. He also gives the readings of seven *deplorations* and fourteen old editions. So we are furnished with a splendid *apparatus criticus*. Any one who has studied the text of Ovid with the help of the meagre MSS. evidence given in such respectable editions as those of Riese, Korn, Zingerle or Ehwald, must sincerely hope that our editor will do similar service for other parts of his author.

The book opens with a very complete introduction in eight sections, written in Latin, which, though sometimes too verbose, is always intelligible. The chapter headed *de codicum rationibus* is an interesting and

solid contribution to textual criticism. By a minute and ingenious process the MSS. are compared and divided into families. Mr. Owen shows that six of his MSS. (including the Marcianus, to which of course he gives the supremacy) are to be traced to one archetype. He also establishes beyond reasonable doubt his contention that the *codices deteriores* form quite a distinct family. Hence he gets a satisfactory basis on which to work. Another valuable section of the introduction is that entitled *quibus temporibus Tristia recensa sint*, in which it is argued chiefly from the evidence of the MSS. that the *Tristia* must have undergone several recensions, one before the fourth century and two or three others in the middle ages. There is one thing in this introduction against which I should like to protest, and that is the Latinization of the names of modern Englishmen, which often produces a grotesque result: e.g. Coxius, Robius, Nettleshipius, Shuckburghius, Thackerayus, Wilkinsius. Surely these might have been left as indeclinables.

Mr. Owen has adopted the wise plan of consigning to an appendix the bulk of the conjectures made on the *Tristia* by older scholars, mentioning in his critical notes hardly any besides those which he admits

into the text. This long list of emendations (among which we find Madvig's *si iam deficiam suppressaque uena pæletur*, III. 3, 21) is a sad monument of wasted ingenuity. To this list Mr. Owen has added but little, for he is a model of caution in editing. His improvements in the text are mostly due, not to brilliant divination, but to the wise restitution of the readings of good MSS. As an instance of such restitution we may quote II. 77—80 as it stands in his text:—

*a ! ferus et nobis crudelior omnibus hostis,
delicias legit qui tibi cumque meos,
carmina ne nostris quae te uenerantia libris
indicio possint candidiore legi.*

Other good examples are II. 378 *corpora pressa toro*, II. 277 *at quasdam uitio*, III. 4, 73 *quamuis longe*, IV. 1, 29 *uis me tenet ipsa sacrorum*, IV. 4, 62 *frigoris axe*, IV. 9, 3 *dementia*, V. 1, 23—24 *animos—mei*, V. 1, 66 *sic mihi*, V. 6, 5 *si non tempore nostro*. These readings are ably defended in the chapter entitled *Vindiciae*; and in some cases new and ingenious interpretations are offered.

The few emendations of his own which the editor introduces into the text, though they are not all convincing, are at least improvements on the vulgate. The most noteworthy are II. 85 *cum quae*, II. 479 *ut comitare sequens*, III. 3, 21 *deficiat sub crasso lingua palato*, IV. 1, 104 *iste*, V. 10, 12 *tempora uersa*, V. 13, 6 *scilicet inmodico*. In IV. 10, 96 Mr. Owen prints a clever conjecture communicated to him by Prof. Strachan, *equis* for *eques*. The difficult passage II. 191—198 is greatly improved by a rearrangement of lines and emendation of the proper names.

On a few passages I venture to offer some small criticisms:—

I. 3, 52 *uel quo festinas ire. uel unde, uide*. The MSS. are certainly in favour of *festinas*. But it is hard to believe that an Augustan poet could have used the indicative in such a case. Almost all Mr. Owen's parallels are instances of *sunt qui* with the indicative, a well-known Ovidian use and surely far less curious than *quo festinas uide*. We cannot argue from such passages that Ovid is generally loose in his use of moods. Mr. Owen refers also to Metam. X. 637. Does he really believe that Ovid wrote there *quid facit ignorans*?

II. 232 *pars nulla est, quae labat, imperii*. The Marcianus has *labat*; but almost all other MSS. have *labet*, and the variants point

to the same reading. It seems to me that this is just one of those passages where the authority of the Marcianus is outweighed by the consensus of the other MSS. Besides, *quae labat* after a preceding negative is strange syntax indeed, which cannot, I think, be supported by Mr. Owen's instances referred to above.

IV. 10, 7 *non modo fortunae munere factus eques*. Though I quite agree that Mr. Owen gets the right meaning in this and the preceding line, I cannot think with him that *fortuna* here = *res familiaris*. *Fortunae munere* must mean 'by the bounty of Fortune.'

V. 1, 71 *ipse nec emendo, sed, ut hic deducta legantur,
non sunt illa suo barbariora loco.*

Mr. Owen's interpretation is, I venture to think, rather clumsy. Perhaps we should explain *ut—legantur* as meaning 'though what is read (at Rome) has been composed here (in Scythia),' putting the stress of the clause on the participle. But the passage is a very doubtful one.

V. 10, 41 *utque fit, in se aliquid statui, dicentibus illis
abnuerim quotiens annuerim-
que, putant.*

in se...statui is a good emendation. For the subjunctives in the second line Mr. Owen quotes Cic. *Cluent.* § 86 *quodcumque diceret, honestius diceret*. Surely they are due to *Oratio Obliqua*: 'they think that, as often as I have nodded...'

With regard to the vexed question of Latin orthography Mr. Owen has no preconceived system, but, as a rule, follows the MSS., except where their spelling is clearly incorrect. Purists in spelling will be surprised to find that he prints *vulgus* and *uultus* with the MSS., in fact *uu*, not *uo*, always; and that he makes out a good case for *anchora* (p. xeviii). For *brachia* (so the MSS., not *braccia*) he refers to Riese, vol. I, p. xiii. But Riese's argument seems to me absurd. Mr. Owen writes *Laodamia*. I thought that the evidence was rather in favour of *Laudamia*.

The excellent collotype facsimiles of pages of the Marcian and Tours MSS. add greatly to the value of the work. They will be of much service to students of textual criticism. It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that the whole book is got up in that admirable style which we have learnt to expect from the Clarendon Press.

G. M. EDWARDS.

HARDY'S EDITION OF PLINY'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH TRAJAN.

C. Plinii Caecilii Secundi epistulae ad Traianum imperatorem cum eiusdem responsis.
 Edited, with notes and introductory essays by E. G. HARDY, M.A. London. Macmillan. 1889. 8vo. pp. xii, 251. 10s. 6d.

MR. HARDY is to be congratulated on the choice of his subject, both in this volume and in the edition which he promises of Plutarch's lives of Otho and Galba.

He has been fortunate enough (see his article in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xvii) to discover in the Bodleian a volume containing the editions of Beroaldus (1498) and Avantius (1503, part of the correspondence with Trajan) together with a transcript of the letters wanting in both collections. It seems certain that this Bodleian volume was used by Aldus as copy for the first Aldine edition (1508). Even Keil's larger edition thus receives a welcome supplement from Mr. Hardy's collations.

The mass of new material brought to light chiefly from inscriptions, and digested by Mommsen and Marquardt (Mr. Hardy I think always, certainly seventeen times, writes Marquadt; if any consonant in this clumsy name is superfluous, surely it is the *d* or *t*), suggested to Mr. Hardy the illustration of the *litterae inlitteratissimae* (he writes (p. vi) a single *t* in each word; p. 29, where he gives the reference, has the right spelling) of the official correspondence between Trajan and Pliny. It is a great convenience to have collected at the foot of the page what must else be sought in several costly volumes. Even possessors of the best old editions will be grateful for the saving of time and labour which this work offers to them.

Mr. Hardy complains that Pliny's letters to Trajan 'have hitherto received comparatively scanty notice from editors and scholars.' It would have been well for the solidity of his undertaking, if he had used the labours of such pioneers as exist. He betrays no acquaintance with the elaborate edition of Gottlieb Curtius and P. D. Longolius (Amst. 1734, 4to), with its index of words and the valuable elucidations (for the so-called Tenth Book) of Rittershusius, Buchner, Longolius: in this work, and in that of G. E. Gierig (Leipz. 1802 8vo.) almost all difficulties, of matter or of language, are fully discussed by masters of Silver Age

Latinity. If to these two editions, and the slighter work of J. M. Gesner, as edited by G. H. Schäfer, he had added the colossal commentary of Schwarz on the panegyric and Lagergren's dissertation on the life and language of Pliny, he might safely have neglected the German notes of Moritz (not Möritz, as we read p. 74) Döring (Freyberg 1843), which have received undue attention from him and from other English editors. Any one who will verify Döring's citations through a few letters, will learn to distrust his guidance.

For the famous letters on the Christians, Mr. Hardy's choice of authorities is especially unfortunate. 'For my notes and essay on the Christians, I have consulted the dissertations of Baudouin (read *Baudouin*) and Vossius; Aubé, *Histoire des Persécutions*; and Schiller's *Geschichte der Kaiserzeit*.' Schiller and Aubé are notoriously weak on the side of ecclesiastical history; a few hours' study of the sober critics Kortholt in the 17th century, Boehmer, Mosheim, Lardner in the 18th, would have enabled our editor to form a clearer and more consistent view of the bearing of Trajan's rescript than he conveys to the reader who compares his scattered utterances on the subject.

On p. 12 we read: 'This reply made Christianity a definite political offence, and laid down the precedent which in fact characterised the subsequent persecutions.'

P. 62: 'Trajan commends Pliny's past procedure, and distinctly lays it down that all who are charged by responsible accusers and prove to be Christians, on refusing to deny the name, and, as a test of *bona fides*, to worship the state gods, are to be executed. This, then, is the first distinct and legal ordinance made respecting the Christians. It amounts, there is no doubt, to an edict of proscription. The profession of Christianity, as such, if proved on satisfactory grounds, was a punishable offence... That the edict opened out the possibility of a legal persecution there is no doubt, for it was quite within the competence of the governor to invite accusations though he could not initiate them.'

p. 62: 'With regard to the application of the edict, I think it is quite clear that it related not to the empire as a whole, but to Bithynia only. Trajan's own words, 'neque in universum aliquid... constitui potest,' partly imply this, but apart from this, without definite evidence, it would be quite inadmissible to suppose that a rescript given to a particular governor in answer to particular questions could be applied beyond the province about which it was written.' [Yet the *corpus iuris* and Haenel's collection have no meaning except by virtue of this supposition.]

ibid. 'Trajan's rescript is really little more than a supplement to his previous edict concerning the

hetaeriac in Bithynia, and really did not touch Christianity as a religion at all.' cf. p. 243.

It is melancholy, in the nineteenth century, to find on epp. 96 97 the loose citations of Catanaeus or Baudouin reproduced without attempt at verification. Thus 'Ulpius' (p. 211), 'Hieronymus in Chron. Euseb.', 'Tertullian' (p. 212), 'Prudent. *passione Vincentii*,' 'Tertullian' (p. 213), 'Tertullian,' 'Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* V,' 'Iosephus *Ant. Iud.* 14,' 'Philo,' 'Dio Cass.' (p. 214), 'Ulpius lib. viii, *de officio Procons.* cap. 1,' 'again,' 'in the persecution in Gaul under Marcus Aurelius it is said,' 'Tertullian to Scapula,' 'Döring appositely quotes Prudentius' (p. 215, Döring of course had not seen Prudentius, whose words are given by Longolius with the precise reference). 'Tertullian,' 'Eusebius,' 'Cic. *pro Roscio*' (p. 216). 'Tertullian *ad Scapulam*,' Tertull. in *Scep.* (sic, p. 217).

The misprints, especially in proper names, in German and in Greek, are very frequent. I count the barbarism *connection* ten times; but, until correctors and critics unite in proscribing the *ct* in substantive derivatives of *necto* and *flecto* (which to a scholarly eye are as nauseous as *resurrection*), we cannot visit a universal error on any single head. But no such excuse can be made for the ingenuity which rolls into one the two editors John Scheffer (1621-1679), librarian to Queen Christina of Sweden, and George Henry Schäfer, best known here as editor of Porson's four plays and of Reiske's Demosthenes. Preserving the *ff* of the earlier, and the *ae* of the later name, Mr. Hardy, to avoid favoritism, gives us for both (once, p. 74, within the space of four lines) Schaeffer. Wilmanns, the epigraphist, when his name is not abridged, appears as Wilmann (pp. 48, 75, 79a, 85b, 95b, 109b, 111a, 115ab, 138a, 231b, 233a) or Wilman (202b bis, 203b, 222b). The abbreviation *röm.* (for *römische*) always figures as *rom.* I give a specimen of other errors as they occur.

p. 3 n. 1 *Beitrag* pl., *Trojan* gen. p. 15 l. 4 from foot 'Henri Francke.' Why not Henry (or Heinrich, as it stands in the book)? p. 31 l. 9. from foot *quia* (l. *quin*). p. 56 l. 8 from foot *κάν* (=καὶ ἐν), in defiance of Porson's warning. p. 78a l. 10 from foot 'Antonius' (l. Antoninus). p. 79a 'succurit' and (for *arrogantia*) 'arroganti.' p. 87a 'for a son to refuse the *hereditas* was most dishonourable; see Cic. *Phil.* 11 16, quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum mentionem te hereditatum autum esse facere, cum ipse hereditatem patris non adisses.' A son 'cut off with a shilling' cannot be said to refuse his patrimony. p. 88 on letter 5 I miss a reference to letters 6 and 7 and 10, which relate to the same matter. pp. 89 (text) and 90a (note) the barbarous form *conditionis*, though Keil has *condicionis*. p. 90a

Thcomuthis, but p. 89 rightly 'Thermuthin.' p. 92 a (summary of ep. 7) 'home' for 'nome.' p. 92b three false accents. p. 94b 'Quintitius' for 'Quintilius.' p. 97a *bis* 'vindematio.' p. 100 title to ep. 11 '*media*' for '*medici*.' p. 113b 'Gierig cites.' Not Gierig, but Döring in reply to Gierig. p. 116 on letter 23 should be cited 70, on the same subject. p. 118a an impossible accent *ἀλπειραι*. p. 119b three monsters *Γαῖον. ταμῖς. τρὸς* (for *πρὸς*). p. 134b 'numerals enclosed by two vertical and one horizontal line are multiplied by 100,000, and those by a single horizontal line, by 1000.' A fine example of zeugma. p. 160b *ἐνι*. p. 165a 'atrociosa.' p. 202b *κεχιλαρχήκως. ἑλπίδα*. p. 212b 'exprobatiss,' 'exprobativ.' p. 214b Tertullian [add 'de ieiun. 17']... implies that abuses crept in, 'Apud te agape in saeculis [l. *caccabis*] fervet: fides in culinis calet: spes in ferculis iacet.' The context ought to have guarded our editor from this slip. p. 216b *ἐμπεσον*. p. 221b 'perigrini,' 'miliariae.' p. 221b 'vitem poscet libello,' for 'posce.' p. 230 (text) 'debeant'; (note) 'I have adopted with the substitution of *deberent* for *possent*.' p. 231b 'Suet. Claud. 32 *convivia* agitant [l. *agitavit*] et ampla et assidua ac fere patentissimis locis, ut plerumque sexcenteni simul discernere[n]t' [l. *discumberent*].

A great boon would be conferred on readers of Pliny, if the wish of Fabricius were carried into effect, and the commentary on the epistles, left ready for press by one of the most learned of English Latinists, John Price, were given to the world. A lexicon to Pliny, to match Bonnell's to Quintilian and Gerber and Greef's to Tacitus, is also greatly needed. It would, for one thing, make it impossible for any sane man to question the genuineness of the letters relating to the Christians. The following parallels will suffice to shew how absolutely identical they are in style with the remainder of the book.

ep. 96 § 1 *cunctationem meam regere*. ep. 118 = 119 § 3 *rogo igitur ut dubitationem meam regere, id est beneficia tua interpretari, ipse digneris*. 81 = 85 § 8 *te, domine, rogo ut me in hoc praecipue genere cognitionis regere digneris*. 56 = 64 § 1 *summas, domine, gratias ago quod inter maximas occupationes in iis de quibus te consului me quoque regere dignatus es*. 19 = 30 § 1 *rogo, domine, consilio me regas haesitantem*.

quid et quatenus. 92 = 93 *ut tu, domine, dispiceres quid et quatenus aut permittendum aut prohibendum putares*. cf. 116 = 117 § 1 *quod an celebrandum et quatenus putes, rogo scribas*.

§ 2 *nec mediocriter haesitavi*. 118 = 119 § 3 *hic quoque non mediocriter haereo ne cuiusquam retro habeatur ratio*.

nomen ipsum, si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini puniantur. Iustin dial. 39. Tert. scorp. esp. 9. Iren. I 24 § 6 (of Basilidians) *quapropter et parati sunt ad negationem qui sunt tales, immo magis ne*

pati quidem propter nomen possunt, cum sint omnibus similes.

§ 3 perseverantes duci iussi. The late Prof. H. J. Smith once asked me whether capital punishment is of necessity implied here. Doubtless, esp. after *supplicium*. cf. Sen. ep. 4 § 9. de ira III 22 § 2. Tert. ad Scap. 5 Arrius Antoninus, when all the Christians of a city presented themselves before his tribunal, *paucis* duci iussis reliquis ait, ὦ δειλοί, εἰ θέλετε ἀποθνήσκειν, κρημνοὺς ἢ βρόχους ἔχετε.

pertinaciam Trajan ep. 57=65 § 2 *neque enim sufficit eum poenae suae restitui, quam contumacia elusit.* Gataker on Antonin. XI § 3 p. 386—7.

§ 4 quos quia cives Romani erant. adnotavi in urbem remittendos. Trajan ep. 57=65 § 2 *qui a Iulio Basso in perpetuum relegatus est, . . . victus mitti ad praefectos praetorii mei debet.* 74=16 § 2 *quem ego perductum ad me mittendum ad te putavi.* 78=82 § 3 *si in urbem versus venturi erunt.*

plures species inciderunt 56=64 § 4 *nam haec quoque species incidit in cognitionem meam.*

§ 5 imagini tuae 8=24 § 4. 9=25. 74=16 § 1. cf. apocal. 13 15. 6 9. 20 4 (Mommсен röm. Gesch. V 522).

ture ac vino supplicarent, praeterea male dicerent Christo. Iustin dial. 131. Tert. adv. Val. 30. Orig. in Matt. comm. ser. 38 (IV 267 L) *Basilidis quoque sermones detrahentes quidem iis, qui usque ad mortem certant pro veritate, ut confiteantur coram hominibus Iesum, indifferenter autem agere docentes ad denegandum et ad sacrificandum dis alienis.* Epiphan. haer. 24 4. Haversaat's criticism that *male dicerent* belongs to ecclesiastical Latin, would only hold if it were followed by an accusative.

§ 7 secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram 56=64 § 3 *mandatis tuis cautum est, ne restituum ab alio aut a me relegatos.* 110=111 § 1 *utabaturque mandatis tuis, quibus eius modi donationes vetantur.* 22=33 *mandatis meis.* 30=39 § 1 *secundum mandata mea.*

§ 8 per tormenta quaerere. Torture of slaves Eus. h. e. V 1 14 (ep. Vienn. et Lugd.). Iren. fr. 13 (I 832 St.). Iustin apol. II 12. Tert. ad nat. I 7.

dilata cognitione ad consulendum te decurri 72=77 *rem integram distuli dum tu, domine, praeceperis, quid observare me velis.* 29 § 1. 79 § 5. 110 § 2.

consulendum 56=64 § 2 *necessarium credidi rem totam ad te referre.* § 5 *per quod effectum est, ut te consulerem.* 29=38 § 1 *quorum ego supplicium distuli ut te condit-*

orem disciplinae militaris firmatoremque consulerem de modo poenae. 31=40 § 4 *necessario ergo rem totam, dum te consulerem, in suspenso reliqui.* 58=66 § 4 *nilhil decernendum putavi, donec te consulerem de eo, quod mihi constitutione tua dignum videbatur.* 65=71 § 2 *ego auditis constitutionibus principum, quia nihil inveniebam aut proprium aut universale quod ad Bithynos referretur, consulendum te existimavi, quid observari velles.* cf. 79=83 § 5. 68=73 te, domine, maximum pontificem consulendum putavi. 81=85 § 5 *ego cum dandam dilationem et consulendum te existimarem in re ad exemplum pertinenti.* cf. 82=86 § 1. 110=111 § 2 *quibus ex causis integram cognitionem differendam existimavi, ut te, domine, consulerem quid sequendum putares.*

§ 10 victimarum, quarum adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur. Renan St. Paul p. 308 n. 3. Philostr. Apoll. I 2. IV 41. Schmidt Denkfreiheit 168. 181. Minuc. 12 § 5.

ex quo facile est opinari quae turba hominum emendari possit, sisit paenitentiae locus. That this last phrase may not be suspected as biblical (Hebr. 12 17) cf. Liv. XXIV 26 § 15 *ira deinde ex misericordia orta, quod adeo festinatum ad supplicium neque locus paenitendi aut regressus ab ira relictus esset.* XLIV 10 § 2 *Andronicus . . . traxerat tempus, id ipsum, quod accidit, paenitentiae relinquens locum.* Fronto p. 207 Naber *leviora sciens dissimulavit: locum paenitendi reliquit.* dig. XL 7 3 13 *paenitentiae heredi locum non esse.* And Pliny himself I 24 § 4 *ut paenitentiae locum non relinquat.*

ep. 97 (98) § 1 *actum* 27=38 *pristinum actum.*

in exentiendis causis 86=82 § 2 *ratio totius operis excutiatur.*

neque enim in universum aliquid quod quasi certam formam habeat constitui potest. 113=114 *honorarium decurionatus omnes qui in quaque civitate Bithyniae decuriones fiunt inferre debeant necne, in universum a me non potest statui.* id ergo quod semper tutissimum est, sequendum cuiusque civitatis legem puto. 65=71 § 2 *nilhil inveniebam aut proprium aut universale quod ad Bithynos referretur.* 66=72 § 1 *nec quicquam invenitur in commentariis eorum principum qui ante me fuerunt, quod ad omnes provincias sit constitutum.*

§ 2 suspectus in praeteritum. cf. 111=112. 115=116 *mihi hoc temperamentum eius placuit, ut ex praeterito nilhil novarem.* VIII 14 § 1 *non ut in praeteritum (serum enim), verum ut in futurum, si quid simile acciderit, erudiar.*

sine auctore propositi libelli 96 § 5 pr. 31 = 40 § 5 *credibile erat neminem hoc ausum sine auctore*. 32 = 41 § 1 *qui damnati ad poenam erant, non modo ea sine auctore, ut scribis, liberati sunt*.

nec nostri saeculi est 23 = 34 § 2 *quod alioqui et dignitas civitatis et saeculi tui nitor postulat*. 37 = 46 § 3 *ego illud unum affirmo et utilitatem operis et pulchritudinem saeculo tuo esse dignissimam*. 55 = 63 *invitos ad accipiendum compellere . . . non est ex iustitia nostrorum temporum*. 82 = 86 § 1 *cum propositum meum optime nosces non ex metu nec terrore hominum aut criminibus maiestatis reverentiam nomini meo adquirere*. 1 § 2 *prospera omnia, id est digna saeculo tuo*. 12 = 7 *felicitas temporum*. 3 A = 20 § 2 *tranquillitati saeculi tui*. cf. Iuv. 4 68n. M. Aurelius (Vulcat. Gall. Cass. 2) non nostri temporis. Keim Rom p. 326. dig. XLVIII 22 1. Dio LXVIII 6 § 4 (of Trajan) διαβολαῖς ἡκουτα ἐπίστευε.

Mr. Hardy follows Schiller in rejecting the evidence of Tacitus and Suetonius respecting the persecution of Christians by Nero. Their positive testimony is supposed to be outweighed by the silence of Seneca and the elder Pliny. It is assumed that, if either of these latter authors had heard of Christians, they must have mentioned them in their extant works. It would be charitable to assume that Dr. Schiller had read neither Seneca nor Pliny. But he pushes to an absurdity the argument from silence to ignorance when he informs us (Nero p. 584 n. 3) 'Juvenal also knows nothing of the Christians.' Marvellous as is the art with which the poet of Aquinum packs into a few pages a panorama of his age, *quidquid agunt homines*, he necessarily leaves out more than he can insert. The silence of Josephus is no doubt significant, but the criticism which infers from its ignorance of Christianity certainly sins on the side of credulity rather than of scepticism. Mr. Hardy goes farther than Schiller. Not only does he reiterate (pp. 51, 54, 55, 239-243) the assumption that 'Tacitus and Suetonius in relating the events of Nero's reign are speaking of the Christians from the point of view of their own time,' which means, I suppose, that, finding in their authorities 'Jews,' they arbitrarily substituted 'Christians'; but he surmises (p. 211) that Pliny, when he says (ep. 96 § 1) *cognitionibus de Christianis interfui numquam*, is guilty of the same confusion as his two friends.

In Bithynia the Christians were especially numerous, and Pliny on the spot would soon distinguish them from the Jews, and applying this acquired

knowledge back to past events in which he then took no interest, he describes as 'cognitiones christianorum' (*sic*), what had been in the eyes of the government only trials of Judaisers.

Mr. Hardy seems inclined to believe that Tacitus and Suetonius may have heard of the Christians first from their common (or, as he prefers to say, *mutual*) friend, Pliny.

P. 240. Dr. Lightfoot lays even more stress on the language of Tacitus and Suetonius, who both of them distinctly mention the Christians as victims of Nero's cruelty. The view that they may be 'injecting into the incidents of the reign of Nero the language and experience that belong to the age of Trajan,' he regards as a wholly gratuitous assumption. That it is an assumption which cannot be proved is not denied, but at least it has the advantage of explaining the facts, which Dr. Lightfoot's assumption about the all-predominant influence of Poppaea and her use of it against the Christians does not do. Nor can it be said to be gratuitous. These notices, written certainly not before the second decade of the second century, are the very first indications in non-Christian writers that the Christians were regarded as an independent body, or were in fact known by name to the Roman world at all. Josephus, Seneca, and the elder Pliny are absolutely silent about them. This silence does not prove that those writers knew nothing about the Christians, but it certainly gives some grounds for the assumption, while both Tacitus and Suetonius, whose notices about the Christians are later in date than Pliny's letter, might have gained their information, if in no other way, from their mutual friend.

An ingenious attempt, by aid of the 'great might-have-been,' to reduce three independent witnesses to one. If Mr. Hardy will look at the third chapter of the life of Josephus, he will see that Dr. Lightfoot's statement respecting Poppaea is no gratuitous assumption, like the rejection of the witness of the two historians, or the argument from silence, but rests on indisputable evidence.

The Jews, wishing to procure the release of certain priests, send Josephus to Rome, with instructions, as it appears, to approach Poppaea by means of a favorite Jewish actor. Josephus carries out his instructions with perfect success. It is incredible that then for the first or last time Poppaea used her influence on behalf of the Jews.

p. 28 (cf. p. 21) we read of Pliny: 'A dabbler in philosophy, he had no convictions which could have drawn upon him the fate of Thrasea, or Helvidius, or Rusticus.' We know that the informer Carus denounced Pliny, and that Domitian's death alone saved him from sharing the fate of his friends (ep. VII 24 § 14).

It is to be hoped that the following is not an average specimen of Mr. Hardy's use of authorities (p. 215):—

Ulpian lays it down, lib. viii, *De officio Procons.* cap. 1, 'servum alicuius corporis vel universitatis

torquere licebit in eorum etiam caput qui eius corporis erant.' Again, 'Divus Hadrianus rescripsit a suspectissimo incipiendum et a quo facillime potest verum scire iudex crediderit.'

Few readers will take the pains to ascertain that the latter quotation is from dig. XLVIII 18 § 2, where book eight of the specified treatise of Ulpian is cited, but not chapter one. The former quotation, though given in inverted commas, contains, not the precise text of Ulpian, but Baudouin's summary of his teaching (Mr. Hardy himself corrupts *licebat* to *licebit*). To Baudouin also is due 'cap. 1,' for which no authority exists. At least none is known to Otto Lenel (*Palingenesia iuris civilis*, Lips. 1889, II 966-991) who has collected with great exactness the extant fragments of Ulpian's book.

A somewhat similar freedom is taken with Ulpian's words on ep. 96 § 1 p. 211a :

The general duty which, as Ulpian says, was incumbent on all provincial governors, 'statim atque in aliquem (*sic*) celebrem civitatem vel provinciae caput proconsul venit, debere sedes sacras circumire atque inspicere.'

This is from book II of the *de officio proconsulis* (II 968 Lenel, dig. I 16 7 pr.) *si in aliam quam* (v. l. *aliquam*) *celebrem civitatem vel provinciae caput advenerit, . . . debet . . .*

§ 1 *sedes sacras et opera publica circumire inspiciendi gratia.*

It would be easy to add illustrations which have escaped the commentators. Thus ep. 10 § 1 *epistulae* is used like *litterae* and *ἐπιστολαί*, of a single letter. See my note on III 9 § 13 and ind. ep. 23 § 2 *saeculi tui nitor*. Tac. d. 22 *laetitia nitoremque nostrorum temporum*.

In conclusion I would recommend the letters regarding the Christians as a worthy theme for a monograph. Any one who will digest the whole literature will, I believe, prove beyond possibility of cavil, that it would have required a more skilful forger to compose the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan than to compose the nine books of miscellaneous correspondence; and that, as Aldus said long ago, letters 96 and 97, far from being an interpolation, establish the genuineness of the entire collection.

[P.S.—The best criticism of these letters, known to me, is the latest—in Neumann's *Der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche bis auf Diocletian* (Leipz. Veit), of which the first volume has just appeared.]

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

BURY'S HISTORY OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE.

A History of the Later Roman Empire, from Arcadius to Irene (395 A.D. to 800 A.D.), by J. B. BURY M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin. (Macmillan & Co. : 2 vols. 8vo.)

MR. BURY's volumes are an important and valuable contribution to our knowledge of a period, the history of which has been too much neglected by scholars. It may be safely said that, for a student of the History of the World, Imperial Rome—whether we apply that name to the city by the Tiber or to the daughter-city by the Bosphorus—is far more important than Republican Rome; yet how many an undergraduate who knows every detail of the Second Punic War would fail to give a satisfactory account of the great event which marked the reign of Constantine Pogonatus!

Of course this partial treatment of history is to some extent explained by the immense difference between the literary excellence of the earlier and the later historians. It is far pleasanter to follow the footsteps of Hannibal under the guidance of Livy or

Polybius than to piece out the history of Heraclius from the turgid sentences of Theophylact or the curious iambs of George of Pisidia. But if history is to be studied seriously as a science it will not be possible for the student to confine his reading to books distinguished by their literary excellence; and the more repulsive the material the greater is the credit due to an author who, like Mr. Bury, has patiently and laboriously dug it for us out of the mine and wrought it into historical form.

It will be seen from the title that the book deals with the four great transitional centuries between Theodosius and him whom we used without fear to speak of as Charlemagne, that is to say between the so-called 'Downfall of the Western Empire' and its restoration by the King of the Franks. How much there was that was wrong and misleading in this view of the matter is fully explained by the author in his preface. He is a loyal follower of Bryce and Freeman, and it may be said that one great purpose of his book is to show the thorough continuity of the Empire, and to explain how completely

during these transition-centuries Augustus Imperator remained the foremost figure in the eyes of the European nations, whether he held his court on the Palatine at Rome or by the Augusteum at Constantinople.

It would be interesting but is of course here impossible to discuss the author's views of some of the chief actors during these eventful histories. His bias is throughout rather more pro-Roman and anti-Teutonic than that of some recent authors, including the writer of this notice. Thus he takes the least favourable view of Stilicho's character, considering him little better than an accomplice with Alaric in his invasion of Italy and believing the story told by the ecclesiastical historians of his ambitious views on behalf of Eucherius his son. So too he speaks of 'the tender hot-bed plant of Theodoric's Ostrogothic *civilitas* which had never really looked promising': a remark from which some admirers of Theodoric would venture to dissent, holding that Theodoric's system was full of promise for Italy and the world, and that, if it had had anything like fair-play, the barbarian darkness of the Middle Ages might have been shortened by some centuries. He also has little but praise for Justinian, the great re-asserter of the supremacy of 'Romania' as against 'Barbaricum,' and entirely dissents from the view that his conquest of the Vandal kingdom in Africa smoothed the way for the victories of the Saracens in that region. All these paragraphs would furnish material for much interesting controversy if this were the time or the place for it. There is certainly much force in Mr. Bury's argument that the fact that Carthage formed part of the Empire at the critical moment of the dethronement of Phocas was of vital importance to the safety of the Empire. From this point of view the best champion of the fame of Justinian is Heraclius.

For readers of this *Review* probably the most interesting chapters in the book will be those which relate to the history of literature and the survival of the Hellenic nationality. Mr. Bury has devoted great pains to this part of his subject and we think has treated it very successfully. His remarks on Procopius are very just.

'In fact Procopius was at core, in the essence of his spirit, a pagan: Christianity, assented to by his lips and his understanding, was alien to his soul, like a half-known foreign language. He could not think in Christian terms: he was not able to handle the new religious conceptions, he probably

felt wonder, rather than satisfaction, at the joys that come from Nazareth. And we may safely say that it was just this pagan nature, deeper perhaps than that of the aggressive Zosimus, that (in the peculiar circumstances of the times) made him such a good historian. He is almost worthy to be placed beside Ammianus.'

We are rather surprised to read that 'there is no reason to consider the "Edifices" of Procopius an insincere work, although it was perhaps written to order.' We should have thought it, as the work of the same pen that wrote the 'Histories'—to say nothing of the 'Anecdota'—one of the most thoroughly insincere books in literature.

On the difficult question of the authorship of the 'Anecdota,' Mr. Bury is disposed to follow Ranke rather than Dahn, and to attribute this strange performance to a sort of clique of opposition scribes who may perhaps have got hold of some 'MS. of fragmentary jottings written by the true Procopius' and tacked on to these their wild and scurrilous stories against the Emperor and his court. The suggestion is an ingenious one, but it will require a good deal of argument to overthrow the strong case for the absolute identity of authorship made out by Dahn in his 'Procopius von Caesarea.' Possibly the ultimate conclusion will be as to this most difficult question—

'All that we know is, nothing can be known—'

but we should like to suggest yet one more possible theory to the disputants, and that is that the 'Anecdota' may have been the work of Procopius under the influence of a disordered intellect.

Mr. Bury has much to say on the obscure but important subject of Slavonic settlements in Greece. He accepts in the main the argument of Hopf and rejects the famous theory of Fallmerayer which would have dethroned the present inhabitants of Greece from their Hellenic pride of birth and made them descendants of Slavonic barbarians. He points out however some flaws in the reasoning of Hopf, whom he considers 'almost as much an advocate as Fallmerayer,' and concludes that, at any rate in the eighth century, there was a large infusion of the Slavonic element, rather perhaps in the country districts than in the towns of Greece, and that at any rate the earlier Slavonic settlers very speedily adopted the Hellenic speech and the Christian religion.

For the remarks of the author as to the changes which the Greek language underwent we must refer our readers to his very

interesting chapter (Book IV., cap. vii.) on 'the Language of the Romaiot in the Sixth Century.' He distinguishes 'three kinds of Greek: (1) the vulgar spoken language from which modern Greek is derived, (2) the spoken language of the educated, which under the influence of the vulgar tongue tended to degenerate, and (3) the conventional written language which endeavoured to preserve the traditions of Hellenistic prose from the changes which affected the oral "common dialect." He concludes, partly from the strange dialogue between Justinian and the Green Faction which has been preserved by Theophanes, that the Hellenic language was 'already far on its way to becoming what is called Romaic and was in fact already known by that name.'

A sixth-century inscription in Nubia proves that the word *νηρόν* was then used for "water," whence comes the modern Greek *νερό*. A mule is *βορδώνης* instead of *ἡμίονος* and *σγαυδάριν* or *γανδάριν* is apparently used

for an ass. A standard is *βάνδον*, an iron-headed club is *δίστρων*, luggage is *τοῦλδον*, and *σκούλκα* is used for a guard or watch. Besides the strange vocabulary, derived partly from Latin and partly from local Greek words, changes are taking place in the grammar and syntax. Terminations in *-ων* for example are becoming corrupted to *-ιν*: the perfect tense and many prepositions and particles are falling into disuse.'

We conclude, as we began, by commending to the attention of all historical students, but especially of those who may have been chiefly occupied hitherto with the fortunes of Athens and the Elder Rome, this careful and patient survey of the history of the Roman Empire during a period which witnessed changes of the most momentous import to the nations of Europe and Asia, the effects of which we are continually feeling in the political controversies of our own day.

THOS. HODGKIN.

RAWLINSON'S HISTORY OF PHOENICIA.

History of Phoenicia. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1889. Pp. xxii. 583. 8vo. 24s.

THE Bible is the chief source of Prof. Rawlinson's information about Phoenicia: he cites it more than 250 times as his authority. Its evidence appears to him conclusive, and is accordingly exempted from any criticism. Thus he says on p. 449:—'The army which he [Sennacherib] set in motion must have numbered more than 200,000 men.' And in a note he gives his reason for this estimate:—'It was the same army which lost 185,000 men by miracle in one night (2 Kings, xix. 35).' And yet he at times fails to take note of important biblical statements; e.g. in speaking of the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, he says on p. 473 that the city submitted:—'Thus Tyre, in B.C. 585, fell from her high estate. Ezekiel's prophecies were fulfilled.' But Ezekiel himself, xxix. 18, admits the notorious fact that his prophecies were not fulfilled, inasmuch as the siege failed.

The Egyptian and Assyrian sources have not been properly utilized. For Egyptian sources, there is one reference to Brugsch's

History of Egypt, and three references to two translations in *Records of the Past*: and that is all. Consequently on pp. 406, 407, there is only some vague talk about Egyptian supremacy and its decline, where there should be precise statements about the Egyptian invasion of Phoenicia in the twenty-ninth year of Thothmes III., the invasion of Egypt from Phoenicia in the eighth year of Rameses III., and so forth. There is no allusion to the alleged Phoenician origin of the Hyksos; nor to the suggested identification of the Fenchu of the inscriptions with the Phoenicians. For Assyrian sources, there are only references to George Smith's *Eponym Canon*, and to translations in *Records of the Past*. Consequently many historical events are completely ignored: e.g. the reduction of Cyprus by Sargon, attested by the Larnaka inscription. The Babylonian or Assyrian origin of Phoenician writing, maintained by some high authorities, is likewise ignored; though space is found on p. 378 for wild conjectures about Hittite hieroglyphic and the Cypriote syllabary. Curiously E. de Rougé's theory of derivation from Egyptian hieratic is attributed by Prof. Rawlinson on p. 377 to a writer in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, as if it were there enunciated for the first time.

The Greek and Latin sources were pretty completely collected by Movers; and then Kenrick appropriated most of his results. But Prof. Rawlinson has been imprudent in trusting entirely to Kenrick. For instance, Movers made a perfectly convincing emendation of *sixteen* for *sixty* in Josephus, *Antiquitates*, ix. 14. 2, but Kenrick missed this; and accordingly Prof. Rawlinson has made mistaken observations on pp. 446, 447, in the belief that the number really was sixty. Such of the Greek and Latin sources as have been utilized, have not been properly sifted: the trustworthy and untrustworthy being cited with provoking impartiality. And many of them have not been utilized at all. There is no allusion, for example, to the so-called Treaty of Kallias: though the prosperity and foreign commerce of Phoenicia must have been profoundly affected by an agreement which secured the Aegean to the Greeks and the eastern waters round Cyprus to the Persians and their dependents the Phoenicians.

The material sources of information about Phoenicia have lately been discussed by MM. Perrot and Chipiez in the third volume of their work: and their results might have been subjected to judicious condensation. As it is, some things are noticed at length, while others of equal importance are dismissed in a few words or simply ignored. Thus, exactly one tenth of the whole space devoted to architecture and art and manufactures is occupied by a detailed description of a series of bowls: and this is mere description in the style of an auction catalogue, quite valueless apart from criticism. The illustrations, with hardly an exception, are taken from this volume of MM. Perrot and Chipiez. The obligation is generally acknowledged: but on p. ix. of the preface and in the list of illustrations it is stated that many of them are taken from various other books there mentioned. This is misleading: they were taken from those books by MM. Perrot and Chipiez. There are similarly misleading statements on pp. vii. and ix. to the effect that Prof. Rawlinson has drawn materials from Movers. He has them at second hand through Kenrick.

For Phoenician inscriptions Prof. Rawlinson has relied, in every case but one, upon the translations in Gesenius and in the early parts of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. But he quotes the inscription of Tabnith on p. 395 from his own book, *The Story of Phoenicia*. Had he referred to his real authority, M. Renan's translation in the

Revue Archéologique for July 1887, he would have seen that he has left out a line. On pp. 396, 397, he gives a rendering of *C.I.S.* No. 1: and says in a note that he has followed M. Renan's translation. Here is a portion of this translation:—'Omnis regia stirps et omnis homo qui addiderit facere opus super al[tare hoc et super] coelaturam auream hanc et super porticum hanc, [pono] ego Iehaumelecus, [rex Gebal, faciem meam adversus eum qui] fecerit opus hoc, et sive...sive...istum. Et quicumque... super locum hunc, [et quicumque..., aboleat] domina Baalat-Gebal hominem ipsum et semen ejus.' And here is the rendering of this:—'Every royal personage and every other man who shall make additions to this altar, or to this golden carving, or to this portico, I, Jehavmelek, king of Gebal, set my face against him who shall do so, and I pray my lady Beltis of Gebal to destroy that man, whoever he be, and his seed after him.' The rendering, *whoever he be*, is really admirable.

The slipshod reasoning on imperfect or inaccurate information, which is too characteristic of this book, cannot be fully exposed in a brief review. The opening statements of the book must serve here as specimens of its style throughout. Prof. Rawlinson begins by saying that the palm-tree 'formed a leading and striking characteristic' of Phoenicia: and hence the Greeks 'called the tract Phoenicia, or the Land of Palms; and the people who inhabited it the Phoenicians, or the Palm-tree people.' Now, it is true that *Φοινίξ* means a Phoenician and also means a palm-tree, and that *Φοινίκη* means Phoenicia. But the argument from mere identity of name goes just as well the other way:—the Greeks called the palm-tree the Phoenician because it was characteristic of Phoenicia. And then the meaning of the name must be considered. The Phoenicians may have got the name because they were themselves of ruddy countenance, or because they traded in the ruddy dye; but palm-trees are not strikingly ruddy. He then argues that the palm must anciently have been among the chief ornaments of the coast round Aradus, because 'the palm is the numismatic emblem of Aradus.' It is only on one small series of the coins of Aradus, from 244 to 183 B.C., that the palm occurs as an emblem. But the inference would be unwarrantable in any case, for such emblems were chosen quite capriciously.

SCHMIDT'S HANDBUCH DER LATEINISCHEN UND GRIECHISCHEN
SYNONYMIK.

Handbuch der Lateinischen und Griechischen Synonymik, von Prof. Dr. J. H. HEINRICH SCHMIDT. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. pp. 844. 12 Mk.

IN the Preface to the fourth volume of his *Synonymik der Griechischen Sprache* (four vols. 1876–1886) Prof. Schmidt promised a ‘hand-book’ of synonyms, which now appears in the form of this stout octavo. The reason for the delay in its appearance is somewhat amusing: the author has been plunging deep into natural science with the help of a ‘splendid microscope,’ and satisfying himself of the worthlessness of materialistic theories. He offers us some comments upon the usage of some 2400 Greek words, and about 1500 Latin words, arranged according to their meaning in 126 groups. But he does not deal with these by definitions or ‘Schlagwörter’; this would be unworthy of an honourable man, most definitions being incomplete and often untrue. He prefers to give, at greater length than some of his predecessors, illustrative quotations, not however sparing to give his own conceptions of their force. In Greek Dr. Schmidt has not merely abridged his larger work; he has added to it in some respects, though of course omitting much. In Latin he has been more dependent upon others, especially on Döderlein, from whom however he often differs. His own original contributions have been mainly drawn from natural science, but here he has been concerned rather to stimulate the reader than to exhaust the subject. Certainly Dr. Schmidt’s method gives much freshness to his style; and he is justly proud of having now published some 7000 pages without a footnote!

A work of this magnitude can hardly be reviewed satisfactorily, except after it has been in frequent use for months or years; but a few points of interest may be noted, which have presented themselves on a cursory inspection.

Distinguishing between *flavus* and *fulvus*, he finds the former to be a yellow, the latter a brown. But when we have the ‘brown beak’ of the nightingale (Ar. Av. 214 etc.) he bids us remember that the Greeks were fond of transferring words of colour to motion, and he would have us translate rather ‘quivering,’ just as Babrius applies ξουθός to the ‘steel-blue’ swallow, and Chaeremon even to the wind. *Fulvus* he

would allow to include the whole sphere of *flavus* (except pale yellow), and brown as well. *Luteus* is defined as a yellow passing into red, an orange red; and we are told that the strict meaning is determined by the fact that the yolk of an egg is called *lutum* (more correctly *luteum*); while *croceus* is a pure yellow not inclining to red. But what are we to make in that case of Virgil’s *croceo mutabit vellera luto*? If Ovid applies *luteus* to sulphur, this is put-down as an exaggeration: and Horace’s *luteus pallor* is pronounced ‘an intentional jest.’ Surely this is to attempt a precise limitation which the usage of the language does not permit. Elsewhere *ferrugo* is simply defined as ‘steel-blue,’ without any attempt to discuss the various uses of this most perplexing word. For χλωρός Dr. Schmidt will allow no literal meaning but ‘green’: when used of honey and cheese, he insists on the rendering ‘fresh,’ and the χλωρά ψάμαθος of Soph. Aj. 1064 is for him the ‘grass-grown’ sand. Few will agree with him that a poet could not have brought in such an ‘ugly’ picture as a corpse on ‘yellow’ sand. Here again there is an attempt at quite needless precision. The treatment of *unda* (κύμα) and *fluctus* (κλύδων) is much more satisfactory than Doederlein’s. Dr. Schmidt’s criticism of Doederlein’s comments on *emori* is convincing; εἶδεν and ὑπνοῦν are also well treated. He is less successful in his attack upon the accepted distinction between *potentia* and *potestas*; none of his examples debar us from confining the latter to lawfully conferred or at least natural authority, which of course may be unlimited in its character. The difference between *incipere* and *incohare* is brought out by illustrations which are none the less easy to remember because they are rather comical. On the whole the derivations are in accordance with modern science, herein contrasting very favourably with some current text-books; but it may well be doubted whether χορός is originally the dance in which all who took part in it clasped (root XEP) each other’s hands, and not rather the enclosed spot for dancing (cp. Homer’s λείναν δὲ χορόν). It would not be difficult to find other points of difference or of doubt; but the book is both a useful and an interesting one, and deserves to be welcomed accordingly.

A. S. WILKINS.

Homer's Odyssey. Books I.—IV. Edited on the basis of the Ameis-Hentze edition, by B. PERRIN, Professor in Adelbert College of Western Reserve University. Boston, U.S.A. Published by Ginn & Company, 1889. [College Series of Greek Authors edited under the supervision of JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE and THOMAS D. SEYMOUR.]

KARL FRIEDRICH AMEIS was no ordinary man. He laboured all his days in the Gymnasium, and his commentary on Homer is the only important work by which he is remembered. Of this commentary he only lived to complete the *Odyssey* and the early books of the *Iliad*. But his commentary differs from most other German commentaries in the degree to which the author's personal interest and personality reveal themselves in his work. Ameis had abundant erudition and he availed himself of all sources of knowledge within his reach, not least important among which was the co-operation of a large number of personal friends. He knew and loved his Homer, he makes Homer his own interpreter, and his loving acquaintance with the great poems yields to the readers of his notes ever fresh pleasure and fresh knowledge.

Ameis's edition, incomplete as regarded the *Iliad* at his death, was carried forward by Dr. Hentze of the Göttingen Gymnasium, an exact and learned scholar, and the Ameis-Hentze edition has been made the basis of this volume of the College Series of Greek Classics which it is my privilege to review.

This American book is the fruit of an unusual union of effort by different persons, each of the highest competence, and Professor Perrin will be glad that attention should be called to the fact that the preparation of a portion of the commentary (on α and a part of β) had been made by Professor Packard before his recent lamented death. It would not be easy to name a book, carried over from the German into English, in which so few traces of its German origin appear. This results not only from the abundant amount of fresh material which Professor Perrin has introduced, but from the skill and taste characteristic alike of Professors Perrin and Packard.

The best Homeric scholars will find the most pleasure in perusing this commentary. This volume has been prepared with reference to use in schools as well as in colleges. Few Greek classics are better adapted for use in the higher forms of classical schools than the *Odyssey*. It is an unequalled mirror of Greek life. Its narrative form attracts and allures the young scholar, while its simplicity of style places no difficulty in his path. Professor Merry's admirable editions of the *Odyssey* have richly deserved the success they have gained, but the present volume will be found to supply material not contained in Merry's commentary.

ROBERT P. KEEP.

Das Praesens der indogermanischen Grundsprache, von OTTO HOFFMANN. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht: S. 145.

DR. HOFFMANN'S treatise is a useful reminder that not everything written in German is to be implicitly followed by the trustful philologist, even though its preface bear the date 'mai 1889' and its formulae bristle with γ and η . If we may trust our present evidence, the author's principles were formed under the old school, though stress of circumstances compels him to use some modern terminology and to quote Brugmann with respect. But this sop to Cerberus is sufficient, and a notation conformed to Fick's *Wörterbuch* hints to the initiated that the mystic symbols of more recent invention must not be taken too seriously. Indeed a doubt has now and then insinuated itself whether certain dangerous neologisms have in all cases even been read, but then are we not told in the preface that references and polemic are necessarily excluded in a compendium? It is hardly needful to go into detail over so disappointing a performance, but a few criticisms may be offered to save us from dismissing a bookful of *ipse dixit* in one categorical statement of the same kind.

We may begin with some samples of the results which our author has, no doubt after mature reflection, ignored. Brugmann's paper in the *Morphologische Untersuchungen* on the Sanskrit verbs of the *yunájmi* type has not prevented '*ju-né-g-mi*' from appearing as a genuine I.E. form; nay, more, we have a new theory of the other non-thematic nasal classes built on this eminently sound foundation, which only needs the reversal of the principles of vowel-contraction to make a very pretty house of cards indeed. The 'aorist-present *azô*' (*sic*) keeps its place, but we are not told what is the weakness of Hübschmann's argument against it. The treatment of '*√es* (*sit*)' shows no trace of borrowing from Osthoff's *Perfekt*. Moreover, without being very exacting, we might have expected some reference to sundry important papers which came out in good time for use, especially Wackernagel on the first aorist passive ('*ēdōthes = ādithās*'), and Zimmer on the Italo-Keltic 'passive' *r*. A few sins of commission may be added to pair off with these specimens of omission. The sonants may become anything they please: τ is Gk. *ip* and *pu*, Lat. *ri* and *rā*, while η may be recognized in Gk. as *iv*. Metathesis is presumably responsible for the equation between Skt. *ācyati* and *ōpiw*. Prothesis is very freely used. In '*ā-ūw, a-īdōmai*,' etc., it is not true, but neither is it new; in 'Skt. *ārcāmi* = **rcāmi* mit prothetischem *a*' we may fairly congratulate Dr. Hoffmann on a new idea. Contraction brings *sim* out of *siem*, Vedic *jigat* out of **ji-gi-ṇt*, and *dānāmi* out of **ḍam-vé-a-mi*. The analogy of *χθες* and *ἐκτινος* proves that -*dhyāi* would become -*thai*, -*sthai* : μέσος is an analogy not allowed to count. We may close with a real discovery, adumbrated in the cipher '*κίδναται = κδ-ν-α-ραι*' (p. 136). A vocalic δ ! Here is indeed a treasure. Will Mr. Hoffmann send us a phonogram to indicate its pronunciation?

J. H. MOULTON.

NOTES.

NOTE ON THUCYDIDES, v. 68 *fin.*—ἐπὶ δὲ βάθος ἐτάξαντο μὲν οὐ πάντες ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ὡς λοχαγὸς ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο, ἐπὶ πάν δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ ὁκτώ. This statement is puzzling, and has been discussed at length by Grote and others. It may mean, as Pro-

fessor Jowett suggests, that in some cases one part of the line was deepened at the expense of another, and the rear rank of one *ἐνωμοτία* posted behind another. Or possibly the ranks behind the first did not invariably contain four men. Thus an arrangement of

4, 3, 4 etc. would give 9 rows amounting to 32 men in all. But we must remember that Thucydides is not so much discussing the order of the Spartan soldiers, as furnishing an estimate of their numbers. He 'could not do this exactly,' but he guarantees three things, the number of *ἐνωμοτία*, viz. 112; the number of men, 448, in the front rank; and the average (*ἐπὶ πᾶν*) depth, viz. 8. Now, if the number of men in each *ἐνωμοτία* was the same, we have not merely an approximate calculation, but an exact one, the very thing which Thucydides disclaims. May it not then have been the case that, in one or more of the *λόχοι*, the *ἐνωμοτία* consisted of a number more or less than the standard 32? This would be a part of the 'system of secrecy' (*τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτόν*); and if it was privately managed by the military authorities we can see at once how the total number was 'kept dark' (*ἡγνοεῖτο*). According to the text this arrangement was left to the respective *λοχαγοί*: but it may be that the clause *ἀλλ' ὡς λοχαγὸς ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο* is spurious, as Dobree suspected. The *ἐνωμοτία* or 'section,' which was the unit of the Spartan army, undoubtedly varied in size at different periods; and may possibly have varied in different *λόχοι* or 'regiments' at the same period. This explanation seems not unreasonable, for if Thucydides had been sure of the number of men in each *ἐνωμοτία*, why did he not state it, instead of only giving the number in the front rank?

C. E. GRAVES.

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CATULLIANUM.—*Attis* 62, 3.

Quod enim genus figuraest ego non quod obierim?
Ego mulier, ego adolescens, ego ephebus, ego puer,
Ego gymnasi fui flos, ego eram decus olei.

Many proposals have been made to emend *mulier*, as *ego puer*, Scaliger; *ego iuuenis*, Roseberg; *ego enim uir*, Postgate; but none which I have seen seems to me probable. I think that either *mulier* is sound, or *milcs* should be substituted for it. O has *muliecs*, but too much weight is not to be attached to this. *Miles* would denote the fact that Attis had just arrived at military age, that of early manhood, not necessarily older than eighteen.

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A. PALMER.

PROPERTIUS II. xxv. 19, 20.

ultra contemptus rogat et peccasse fatetur
laesus et inuitis ipse redit pedibus.

The editors find no difficulty in *inuitis...pedibus*, but the words seem to me to strike a false note. Of course, expressions of this kind are suitable enough when they are used of a man halting between two opinions or of an inward desire repressed by a strong mental effort. Thus, for instance, in *Ov. Rem. Am.* 218 *sed quanto minus ire uoles magis ire memento: perfer et inuitos currere coge pedes* we have described the lover's resolution to tear himself from the embrace of his mistress. But there is no room for a double purpose here: on the contrary, the coldness and fickleness of Cynthia are contrasted with the unwavering fidelity of Propertius. Whatever the exact meaning of l. 17, it is clear that the poet's love is declared to be less susceptible of change than iron or granite under the influence of rust or dripping water. Where then is the justification of *inuitis pedibus*? By substituting *inuisis* for *inuitis*, we obtain a perfect parallelism between *ultra rogat*, *peccasse fatetur*, and *ipse redit* on the one hand and *contemptus*, *laesus*, and *inuisis pedibus* on the other. It should be added

that F has *inuictis*, but the variation is unimportant: cf. I. ii. 1 *uicta*, F *uicta*; I. vii. 18 *aeternos*, F *eternos* and many others.

PROPERTIUS II. xx. 25.

ergo qui pactas in foedera ruperit aras.

So all Baehrens' MSS. although G has *actas* and P *fractas*. Hertzberg defends *pactas aras* in *foedera* 'altar pledges given in troth' by *Ov. Met.* ix. 722, but, if the context be examined, it will be found that *pactae taedae* means simply 'the marriage which had been agreed upon.' On the other hand, *tangere aram* is the regular phrase in these circumstances: *Juv.* xiii. 89 *quaecunque altaria tangunt*; *xiv.* 219 *Cereris tangens aramque pedemque*; *Liv.* xxi. 1 *Hannibalem...altaribus admotum tactis sacris*; *Verg. Aen.* xii. 201 *tango aras*. But for the harshness of *ruperit aras*, it would be easy to restore *tactas...aras* with most editions before Lachmann, who, while objecting to the use of *rumpere*, found less difficulty in the combination *pactas aras rumpere*. But it must first be shown that *pactas aras* is possible Latin. Perhaps we should read:—*ergo qui tacta sua foedera ruperit ara*: I find that *tacta sic...ara* has already been suggested by Mr. Housman. At the same time, it is difficult to affirm that *tactas aras rumpere* is impossible for Propertius: hardly less bold is *IV. xi. 3 cum semel infernas intrarunt funera leges*. Similarly, in place of the normal *παραβαίνειν νόμον*, ὕρκον κ.τ.λ., Herodotus has (vi. 12) *τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάτες τάδε ἀναπύμπλαμεν*;

A. C. PEARSON.

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ON MR. SEATON'S 'ITERATIVE USE OF *ἔν*, *Class. Rev.*, October, '89.—Omitting the reconciliation of the unreal or contrary-to-fact notion with the ideal or potential notion, I offer two remarks:

(1) The term 'condition' asserts the simple relation of antecedence and consequence—the latter being necessary. Whether this relation is always, sometimes, never, fulfilled, or whether the fulfilment is uncertain—these practical accidents have nothing to do with the theory of condition.

Moreover, the general—time, place, or term—is essentially conditional of its special applications: so the general statement, actually true as such, 'A drowning man catches at straws,' is conditionally true of any special 'drowning man.' Hence to substitute 'indefinite temporal' for 'conditional' in iterative sentences is only to take the species for the genus, and does not get rid of the conditional acknowledgment.

(2) There is no difference between the phenomena reported by the imperfect and the aorist, except 'in the mind of the narrator.' The aorist gives the simple *yea* or *nay* of occurrence, without taking account of the historical or spectacular incidents; but it does not deny the existence of these in ignoring them to get at the upshot. Hence, the aorist carries latent what the imperfect exposes: so that the use of both for iteration is not remarkable. Of course, the presence of *ἔν* only creates or emphasizes explicitness out of the implicit, since the gnomic aorist and the ordinary imperfect already involve iteration without *ἔν*. This explanation is distinctly opposed to Goodwin's (*Gk. Gr.*, § 205, 2, N. 1), which is indeed self-contradictory. 'One distinct case' consorts as badly with *πολλάκις* as with *οὐπώ*, as iteration for or against is inevitable. No doubt, the explanation is to be sought in Goodwin's conception of 'animated language.'

CASKIE HARRISON.

'To WILLIAM WORDSWORTH. Composed for the greater part on the same night after the finishing of his recitation of the poem in thirteen books, on the growth of his own mind' (*vide Knight's Life of Wordsworth*, ii. p. 184).

thy faithful hopes,
Thy hopes of me, dear friend! by me unfelt!
Were troublous to me almost as a voice,
Familiar once and more than musical:
As a dear woman's voice to one cast forth,
A wanderer with a worn-out heart forlorn,
'Mid strangers pining with untended wounds.
O friend! too well thou know'st of what sad
years
The long suppression had benumbed my soul,
That, even as life returns upon the drownded,
The usual joy awoke a throng of pain—
Keen pangs of Love, awakening, as a babe,
Turbulent with an outcry in the heart!
And fears self-willed, that shunn'd the eye
of hope,
And hope that scarce would know itself from
fear;
Sense of past youth and manhood come in
vain,
And genius given and knowledge won in
vain;
And all, which I had culled in wood-walks
wild,
And all, which patient toil had reared,
and all
Commune with THEE had open'd out—but
flowers
Strew'd on my corse, and borne upon my
bier,
In the same coffin, for the self-same grave.

S. T. COLERIDGE.

κεκαρτέρηται τὰ μᾶ.

Αἷς δ' ἐλπίσιν σὺ τοῦδ' ἀνελπίστου, φίλε,
πιστὴν ἐβόσκου καρδίαν καρπούμενος,
αἰδ' ἡρέθιζόν μ', ὥσπερ εἰ φθόγγον ποτὲ,
εὔγνωστον ὄντα πρόσθεν, ἡδίω λύρας,
5 φθόγγον γυναικὸς εἰ φιλουμένης, φυγὰς
κλύοι τις ἀξένοισιν ἐνσεισθεὶς ὁδοῖς,
ὅς ἀμβλὺς ἦδη τάνδον, οἰόφρων πλάνης,
φθίνει θυραῖος ἡπίας χειρὸς πόθῳ.
οὔτοι γὰρ ἔλαθόν σ', ὦ φίλ', ὡς πῆξάν μ' ἔχει
10 ἐτῶν δυσσοίστων τὸνυπικείμενον βάρος,
ὥσθ', οἷον ἀμπνέων τις ἐκσωθεὶς ἀλός,
τῆς ἄλλοτ' ἡλλαξ' ἡδονῆς κῶμον κακῶν
ἔρωσ διήλθε' μ', ὥσπερ ἐξ ὕπνου βρέφος
ἐγερτὶ δηξίθυμον αἰάζων βοήν,
15 εἴτ' εὐφρον' ἐκστὰς ἐλπίδ' αὐθάδης φόβος,
ἐλπίς τ' ἀνελπισ ἄφροβον οἰκόθεν φόβον
αὐτῆς καταγνοῦσ'· ἡσθόμην δ' ὁ δύσμορος
πάλα παρηβῶν, εἴτ' ἀπανδρωθεὶς μάτην,
καὶ πνεῦμα θεῖον διὰ φρενὸς μάτην πνεῶν,
20 μάτην τε σοφίαν εἰς ἄκραν ἀφιγμένος·
καὶ πάνθ', ὅσ' ἀβάτους ἡυρόμην ὕλας πατῶν,
καὶ πάνθ', ὅσ' αὐτὸς ἐξέθρεψα, πάντα τε
ταῖς σαῖς ὅσ' ἐξήνθησεν ἐν ξυνουσίαις,
φεῦ, λυγρὰ κείνα νῦν μ' ὀρώ λωτίσματα
25 νέκυν περιστέλλοντα καὶ λεχῶν ἐπι
ἐνὸς κύτους φόρημα πρὸς ταφήν μίαν.

W. T. LENDRUM.

OBITUARY.

HENRY S. FRIEZE, LL.D.

*Professor of the Latin Language and Literature in the University of Michigan,**Died 7th Dec. 1889.*

In the death of Professor Frieze, not only the University which he served with distinction for more than thirty years, but also the wider circle of classical scholars throughout this country has suffered a great loss.

He was born in Boston, Mass., Sept. 15th, 1817. In early youth his family removed to Rhode Island, and he was prepared for college in a private school at Newport. In 1841 he was graduated from Brown University at the head of his class. At once after

graduation he accepted a tutorship in the University, which position he held for three years, when he became one of the principals of the University Grammar School in Providence. In 1854 he was called to the chair of Latin in the University of Michigan. In connection with Dr. James R. Boise, who was then Professor of Greek, he placed classical studies upon such a broad and sure basis in the young University that, in spite of the *βαυαρία* spirit of our day and the strong trend toward scientific studies, the ancient classics have well maintained their position in the college curriculum.

Professor Frieze from the first gave to his teachings what may be called the flavour of a noble realism. As he used to say, he was more desirous that his pupils should be *Romans* than that they should be *Latinists*. It was his constant aim to imbue his students with an interest in the old Roman life and literature. Hence from the beginning he accompanied his reading of texts with lectures on Roman history and antiquities. This same spirit became evident in his editorial work. His first edition of the *Aeneid*, which appeared in 1860, was characterized by fine literary sense, keen insight into the life and thought of the period portrayed by the poet as well as of the Augustan age, and poetic appreciation of the author. It was one of the earliest text-books published in this country to give students the impression that the masterpieces of ancient literature were not written chiefly for the purpose of being the vehicle of grammatical learning; not that Professor Frieze ignored the drier details of linguistic study, but rather that he placed the emphasis upon the literary qualities and the subject-matter of the author in hand.

He had no taste for the pursuit of textual criticism, and was but little interested in the details of purely philological science. But he had rare good judgment and an almost intuitive perception in matters of style and interpretation.

In 1882 he revised his first edition of the *Aeneid*. The following year he edited the complete works of Vergil, with notes and dictionary, and a separate edition of the *Georgics*, *Bucolics*, and the first six books of

the *Aeneid*. The entire work was revised again in 1887, so as to get the benefit of the most recent studies in Vergil. In 1865 appeared the first edition of the 10th and 12th books of Quintilian, based upon the labours of Spalding, Zumpt, and Bonnell. This author had never before been regularly read in an American college, so far as we know, and his value as a field of discipline in literary criticism was first recognized in this country by Prof. Frieze. The edition was greatly improved by a revision made in 1888, which was the last editorial work of note he accomplished.

By years of study as well as by native endowment, Dr. Frieze was an enthusiastic lover of fine art and became a recognized authority in art criticism. A remarkably fine musician, a devoted student of architecture, sculpture and painting, art studies grew to be in his later years his most absorbing pursuit. For the last ten years he gave courses of lectures on the history of art. Under his fostering care there grew up large collections of casts, photographs, coins and engravings, and in 1886 he put forth a charming biography of Giovanni Dupré together with a translation of two dialogues on art from the Italian of Augusto Conti.

Professor Frieze was twice called to administer the affairs of the University as acting-president. He was the originator of many of the plans and innovations that have made it a leader in educational movements. Especially noteworthy are these: the establishing of the organic relation between the University and the High Schools, by which graduates from approved High Schools are admitted into the University without examination; the development of 'the elective system' and of graduate courses of study; the introduction of the scientific study of music into the regular curriculum.

In his personality Professor Frieze was one of the most delightful of men, 'a pure and beautiful soul' to know whom was a benediction. To the Greek ideal of the *ὁ καλὸς καγαθός* he added the Christian graces of charity and humility.

M. L. D'OOGHE.

Michigan University.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

ATHENA PARTHENOS.

It would be interesting to know on what principle the Athenians in the early part of

the fourth century B.C. employed as a device, representative of the city, at one time the archaic figure of Athena Polias, at another the late type of Athena Parthenos, created

by Pheidias. On the Panathenaic prize-vases of that date the Athena is of the archaic form, while on a series of contemporary reliefs in marble which served as the headings of treaties or alliances we have the Parthenos. In these reliefs Athens in the person of Athena takes the hand of some other state. Athena is not so much the goddess as a symbol of the power of Athens, easily recognizable from the identity of her form with that of the famous statue by Pheidias.

One would suppose that the Parthenos had been chosen for the device of the city on occasions when it was merely a question of some act of peace, as in these alliances or in the honorary decrees where she appears in much the same type. But an exception to this view of the matter is furnished by an engraved gem lately acquired by the British Museum. The gem is of sard and in the form of a scaraboid mounted on a silver ring. It was found in Cyprus, and from the style of the engraving it belongs to a date shortly after 400 B.C. The subject consists of a figure of Athena standing to the front, wearing her helmet and aegis. At her left side are the shield and spear, the shield resting on the ground. At her right side is the serpent associated with her worship on the Acropolis of Athens. So far she answers perfectly to the Parthenos of Pheidias, and indeed the engraver, to get the resemblance to the face of the Parthenos more distinct, has enlarged the head out of proportion to the rest of the figure. But whereas the Parthenos held out a figure of Victory in her right hand, the Athena on the gem holds out in her right hand the acrostolion or ornament on the stern of a ship, and this, as we know from ancient records, was the recognised emblem of a naval victory. It was not the only emblem of a naval victory, because Herodotus (viii. 122) tells us that the Aeginetans recorded their share in the battle of Salamis by setting up at Delphi a bronze mast with three golden stars at the top, ἐν τῇς γωνίᾳς, whatever that may precisely mean. But the usual emblem was an acrostolion or acroterion as it was also called. The Athena on the gem must therefore refer to some naval victory.

On a silver coin of Cyprus, bearing a Cypriote inscription which is supposed to refer to a king of Citium, Demonicos (B.C. 400-368), we see a figure of Athena very much of the same type as on our gem. But on the coin she sits on the prow of a ship, holding out the acrostolion in her right

hand. This coin is engraved as a vignette to Kekulé's *Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike*, and whether rightly or not assigned to Citium, it clearly commemorates a naval battle in which Athens had directly or indirectly aided one of the Cypriote towns, as in fact she was constantly doing in the beginning of the fourth century B.C., by sending such ships as she could spare. It is possible that our new gem belongs to this same category of memorials of a naval victory in which Athens had aided some one of the Cypriote towns, in which case the Athena would play the same rôle as on the reliefs of the alliances and honorary decrees. It may be objected, however, that this view of the matter gives too much importance to the fact of the gem having been found in Cyprus. So small an object could well have been imported from Athens, where it may have been engraved with reference to some purely Athenian victory at sea. These are possibilities. But the character of the art is against them. The gem, though extremely beautiful and attractive, shows on a close inspection that it owes much of its attractiveness to the original from which it has been copied. In itself it fails in several points where an Athenian engraver of the time would hardly have failed.

In his interesting paper on 'Personifications of Cities in Greek Art,' which appeared in the *Hellenic Journal* for 1888, Professor Gardner dealt briefly (p. 59) with certain instances in which a naval victory was commemorated by a figure holding out an acrostolion. There was the figure personifying Salamis which Panaenos painted on the barrier of the throne of Zeus at Olympia, and there was the colossal statue which the Greeks set up at Delphi in memory of that same battle. Herodotus (viii. 121) says that the Greeks sent to Delphi a quantity of the spoils, adding, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδρίας ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεός. Professor Gardner concludes that this statue was a personification of Salamis, just such as Panaenos afterwards painted at Olympia. But that explanation, though perfectly reasonable in itself, is not without a difficulty. Pausanias (x. 14, 3) says that the Greeks set up at Delphi a statue of Apollo to commemorate their deeds at Cape Artemision and at Salamis, ἀπὸ ἔργων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. It seems to me that this must be the statue of which Herodotus spoke, and if that is so, then between these two writers we ought to think of the statue as an Apollo holding out an acrostolion in one hand. That does not seem to me an

improbable conception. It would be a counterpart to the Athena on our gem.

A. S. MURRAY.

ARION.

Is the poet Arion of Methymna a real person? He has doubtless been frequently dissolved, but he has persistently recrystallized, for I find him cited in the most recent books as the inventor of the dithyramb. The only evidence for his existence which need be considered is that of Herodotus, who writes as follows: 'Periander was tyrant of Corinth. The most wonderful thing that the Corinthians tell about him is the story of how Arion of Methymna, the first *κιθαροδός* of his time, and as far as is known the inventor and namer of the dithyramb which he produced in Corinth, was carried to Taenarus on a dolphin's back. (The Lesbians confirm this).' Such seems to me to be the sense of the passage. It is improbable that Herodotus wishes us to understand that the Lesbians are also his authorities for the statement that Arion produced the first dithyramb in *Corinth*. He then goes on to tell the well-known tale, how Arion undertook a tour in Italy and Sicily, the America of his time, with the object of making money, how on his return he took passage in a Corinthian ship at Tarentum, and the rest. At the end he again states that the story is so told both in Lesbos and at Corinth, and then he adds: 'There is at Taenarus a little bronze offering made by Arion, a man riding on a dolphin.' That the identical story with all its poetry and all its Corinthian touches was told as a *Völksmärchen* both at Corinth and in Lesbos is impossible. All we can get from Herodotus is: 'This is what the Corinthians narrate and the same story is told in Lesbos.' He gives us the whole in equal good faith, but it has been tacitly or overtly resolved into a historical and mythical portion: historical, Arion of Methymna the dithyrambic poet at Periander's court; mythical, his shipwreck and ride on the dolphin. I believe that this division is unjustifiable and that Arion is just as mythical, or in fact the same, as his namesake the gifted horse.

That Arion was a local divinity, at or near Taenarus, not unconnected with horses, is established by the evidence of an old Spartan inscription (*I.G.A.* No. 79), from which we learn that there was in Laconia a goddess

called 'Αριοντία in whose 'temenos' hippic contests were held. 'Αριοντία is unquestionably derived from 'Αρίων. Röhl (*ad loc.*) conjectures that she may be the same as the 'Αρροδίτη 'Αρεία of Sparta, but I have little hesitation in pronouncing her to be a Demeter corresponding very closely to the Demeter Erinys of Thelpusa, the mother of the horse Arion, and to the analogous Demeter Melaina of Phigaleia, whose horse-headed idol held a dolphin in its hand. The statuette at Taenarus, apparently inscribed with the name of Arion, represented, not a horse, but a man riding on a dolphin, and very probably (although Herodotus does not say so) holding a lyre like the Phalanthus on the coins of Brentesium.¹ We should have called it a statuette of Apollo Delphinios. The very close connection of Apollo Delphinios with Poseidon Hippios and his horse-children can be so widely illustrated, that its complete demonstration is impossible here. The conclusions to which I have been led are these:—

The oldest oracles in Greece were water-oracles and belonged to Poseidon.

The horse and dolphin were manifestations of Poseidon *especially* in his oracular character.

Apollo when he succeeded to Poseidon as an oracle-god inherited these emblems.

It may be well, as we are here concerned with Taenarus, to give some facts concerning it which illustrate these propositions; although the legends of Delphi and other places are more conclusive. There is at Taenarus a trace of a disused Poseidonian oracle, a magic well in which people saw, not indeed the future, but the ships and the harbour (Paus. III. 25). Associated with Taenarus (see Müller, *Orchomenos*, p. 309) is Euphemus the son of Poseidon and Europa (another form of Demeter Erinys), whose mantic character is indicated by his genealogy, by his name, and by the story in Pindar's fourth Pythian that he received from the Triton Eurypylos² the prophetic clod. Apollo Delphinios in the Homeric hymn comes to Taenarus in his progress to Delphi, a progress which consists of a pilgrimage to, and annexation of, various Poseidonian sanctuaries, and we find

¹ Phalanthus also appears in hand-books as a historical person, but he has been recently disposed of by Studniczka (*Kyrene*, Appendix I.) May there be something horsey in his name and may he be connected with the *κατὰ πρύμναν ἦρας* of *Phaleron*?

² Eurypylos himself is a son of Poseidon and Celaeno—an oracular Poseidon who like so many others has found his ultimate home in the sea.

Apollo's rights here sanctioned by the old distich :—

Ἴσόν τοι Δῆλόν τε Καλαίρειάν τε νέμεσθαι
Πυθὸν τ' ἡγαθέην καὶ Ταϊνάρων ἡνεμοόσσαν
(Paus. II. 33).

So far the association of Arion of Methymna with the Arion of Taenarus is to some extent accounted for. What makes me doubt the historical character of the former is that at Methymna we find the Apollo-Delphinios legend, and we find it there in two forms which, taken together, admirably illustrate the connection of Apollo Delphinios with Poseidon Hippios. The local name of the god or hero is here Enalus. According to the story told by Plutarch (*Scip. Conv.* vii. 20) he was in love with the daughter of Smintheus (Apollo Smintheus, probably an oracle god). When she was cast into the sea he followed her, but was saved by a dolphin and brought to land, where he was worshipped. Anticleides (cf. *Athen.* XI. 466) does not speak of the dolphin, but relates how Enalus was drowned and how many years afterwards he appeared from the sea and told that he shepherded the horses of Poseidon. Here then, if we suppose Herodotus' testimony to imply that the dolphin story was told in Lesbos about a person called Arion of Methymna, we have good reasons for not dissociating this Arion from the horse Arion.

It may be the result of chance that we know of no other mythical Arion at Methymna. At Miletus, with its neighbouring spring oracle of Branchidae and with its dolphin-rider Coeranus, the name is found as that of an old king connected by legend with Hesione, whose story is similar to that of the daughter of Smintheus.

The dithyramb (whatever it was) may or may not have been invented at Corinth. I think from the preceding considerations that it is dangerous to state as a historical fact that it was first produced there by a native of Methymna called Arion.

W. R. PATON.

ACQUISITIONS OF BRITISH MUSEUM.

1. A chisel, axe and knife in bronze, from a small island Suria (probably the ancient Nisyros), north of Carpathos.

2. Three vases from primitive ('island') graves in Antiparos. Two are of terracotta, roughly made without the wheel, and decorated with vertical bands of herringbone pattern incised: the one is in the form of a pyxis 4 in. high, with holes pierced in the lid for fastening to two corresponding loops pinched out in the sides: the other is like a small lebes upon a foot, narrowing at the neck. The third vase is of marble (lychnites), and is a goblet of simple form, almost cylindrical, but narrowing towards the foot: on

opposite sides are two slight projections, pierced as if for attachment, possibly of a lid now missing.

3. A series of objects excavated in 1889 by Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent in the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf—a description of this island was given by Mr. Bent in the *Classical Review* ante vol. iii. p. 420. They consist of :—

(i.) Fragments of ivory, including one piece carved with the hoof of a bull and others incised with rude patterns.

(ii.) Fragments of ostrich eggs which seem to have been decorated with colour and incised designs.

(iii.) Fragments of bronze and pottery.

A fuller account of the expedition and its results is printed in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, January 1890.

4. A series of marbles which were brought to this country in the beginning of the present century by Lord Spencer (see Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles*, p. 716) who then resided at Wimbledon Park. They consist of :—

(i.) Marble vase cylindrical in form, sculptured with eight female figures in relief, and inscribed with a dedication as follows : Ζώνυρος Ζωνάρου τὸν οἶκον Ἑστία καὶ τῷ Δάμῳ in letters of a late period : see Michaelis *ibid.*

(ii.) Marble drum of a fluted column—Michaelis thought that the drum and sculpture combined might have belonged to a columna caelata—this is impossible on the score of size.

(iii.) Square block of granite.

5. Four vases of lychnites and four of terracotta hand-made and roughly baked: from primitive (island) graves in Antiparos.

6. Three objects from the collection of the Earl of Carlisle ;

(i.) The krater signed by Python, described in Klein *Meisters*,² p. 210, see also Michaelis in *Hellenic Journal* 1885, p. 40. These publications render a detailed description unnecessary here: it is sufficient to state that the obverse side represents the apotheosis of Alkmene: she sits on an altar (?) at the back of a burning pyre, in an attitude of appeal to Zeus who is half seen in an upper plane on the left. The pyre is being lighted with torches on either side by Amphitryon and Antenor. Above Alkmene is the arch of the sky represented like a rainbow, within which the entire space is painted with white dots representing mist (?). From the upper part of this arch two Hyades half seen pour water upon the pyre from their hydriae—and Zeus has launched two thunderbolts which lie on either side of the pyre. The figure of Zeus is balanced by that of Eos (Αἶϋ) half seen. Each of the figures in the design has the name incised above the head.

On the reverse is Dionysos (youthful); moving between two dancing maenads. Above him is half seen a figure like himself: and on either side in this upper plane a Satyr and a curious type of the goat-legged Pan, half seen, with uplifted arms.

The obverse does not seem to have been retouched as much as Michaelis suggests: the altar (?) on the obverse has been restored as a sarcophagus with pillars, and the pyre and thunderbolts seem retouched, but this is all. The name of Amphitryon terminates in an H instead of an N: and Python's name has Ⓞ instead of Θ as Klein gives it.

(ii.) and (iii.) Two large *phalerae* of chalcedony in excellent condition. The one (4 in. high.) represents the upper half of a Roman boy. The other (3 in. high) is smaller, but the boy has a topknot and carries a bunch of grapes resting against his chest.

Cecil Smith.

THE ETHNOLOGIC AFFINITIES OF THE ANCIENT ETRUSCANS.—In Mr. Brinton's paper read before the American Philosophical Society we are invited to a fresh argument on the much disputed subject of the origin of the ancient Etruscans. We are asked by him to consider the possibility of their early home having been in the north of Africa, in a portion of the province of Algiers, known as 'La Grande Kabylie,' and inhabited by the Kabyles, 'the most direct descendants of the ancient Libyans.'¹

His general conclusions may be briefly summarized as follows:—

1. *Geographical Position.* In common with the general belief, he holds that they were intruders on Italian soil, and that the unanimous testimony of antiquity points to their having come from the south. By tradition and religious custom, the city of Tarquinii, the modern Corneto, a few miles north of Civita Vecchia, has been generally fixed upon as their earliest permanent settlement. Here it was that the priests and soothsayers resorted to perfect themselves in the 'Etruscan discipline,' and here also their hero god Tages, who taught them the art of divination and the nobler possibilities of life, came into being.

2. *Physical Traits.* The notion of their having been short in stature, thick-set and dark is, in his opinion, partly taken from representations on cinerary urns and partly from the writings of two late Roman poets—Virgil and Catullus. He, however, draws attention to the fact that actual measurements, made by Italian anatomists, of many skeletons show them to have been an unusually tall race, the average being nearly five feet nine inches. This is but slightly above the average height of the Kabyles. He further points out that cranial measurements show almost identically the same result, and that the skulls in both instances are of the long type—dolicocephalic.

3. *Culture Elements.* That the ancient Etruscans came from a distance he considers evidenced by their not having apparently possessed, originally, the higher arts of life, and by the fact that their alphabet appears to have been derived directly from the Greek: also by their having possessed characteristics (such, for example, as the position of social equality assigned to women which still prevails amongst the Kabyles, notwithstanding their connection with Mohammedanism) not pertaining to the nations in the midst of which they settled. He also shows that the main feature of their political institutions, confederation, differed from that of their neighbours, and was in common with that prevailing in North Libya, as evidenced by the very meaning of the word Kabyle—the Arabic q'bail—confederation.

4. *Language.* The author, in instituting a comparison between the Etruscan and Libyan or Kabyle languages, points out that difficulties are occasioned by an insufficient knowledge of the Libyan tongues, ancient and modern, and by the fact that the principal remains of the Etruscan language consist of short sepulchral inscriptions. He agrees with two of the best authorities in assigning a masculine and feminine form to the nouns—in this resembling the Libyan. Also that, although conjugations and declensions have not been finally defined, a terminal *s* added to words is believed to be a sign of the genitive or possessive case, and in the Libyan dialect the terminal *s* is found with the same possessive signification. Many words in the two languages are

compared, but want of space prevents more than one or two being given.

'*Aesar*, a god, may be derived from the Libyan *asr*, light; *esan*, lightning. Lightning is the constant accompaniment of the chief Etruscan deity.'

Ath, man; *ara*, descendants; *atar*, family. These words frequently recur on sepulchral inscriptions and constitute one of the strongest points of evidence, for in all Libyan tribes the syllable *at*, *ar*, *ath*, or *ait* is the sign of tribal kinship.

'*Ἀφροδίτη ὀπλισμένη*.—In the first part of the 'Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias' of MM. Imhoof-Blumer and Percy Gardner (*J.H.S.* vol. VI. p. 75) we find as many as seven autotypes of coins (Æ.) of Corinth bearing types of an Aphrodite which are manifestly derived from the same original and, as more than one coin indicates, from a temple statue and from a temple in Acro-Corinthus. One is marked autonomous, but all the others belong to Hadrian and later emperors. An Eros is in attendance on most, in other cases a second appears (cf. Pindar's Corinthian Scholion, *ματέρ' ἐρώτων οὐρανίαν*). We cannot doubt that these coins reproduce the type better or worse of the statue of Aphrodite which Pausanias saw on ascending Acro-corinthus. *Ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ναὸς ἔστιν Ἀφροδίτης, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῇ τε ὀπλισμένη καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἔρως ἔχων τόξον*, xi, 5, 1.

The epithet here given to Aphrodite misled Lenormant into regarding the helmeted head on the early autonomous coins of Corinth as that of the armed Aphrodite; this statue was evidently not helmeted, and there is no record to appeal to beyond the passage of Pausanias. But it is as well to observe further that the coins are proof of the sense in which Pausanias used *ὀπλισμένη*, being simply 'equipped with a shield,' not armed generally. See Liddell and Scott for the later limitation of *ὄπλον* to the shield alone, exclusively not only of offensive weapons, but even of cuirass, helmet, &c. Aphrodite stands undraped to the hips and holding up a shield—that of Ares of course—as a mirror. It is rather adventurous to lay down that 'this is a motive natural to Roman rather than to Greek art, and we may be almost sure that the statue does not date from an earlier period than Julius Caesar: indeed to his time it would be peculiarly appropriate, considering his descent and pretensions.' We are scarcely entitled to limit the range of motives in Greek art of the best time. The Scholion of Pindar warns us that the worship of the goddess at Corinth was at its height before Rome was heard of. The figure on the coin represents, in pose of limbs and turn of body, the identical type of the Venus of Melos and the bronze Victory of Brescia: only that the artist—so to call him—evaded the difficulty of showing the shield resting on the mid-thigh by calling on the goddess—more absurdly than audaciously—to sustain it freely without a rest.

As the Brescian Victory is not contemplating her reflection but inscribing names of warriors on the shield, it is quite appropriately that she has the additional drapery of a tunic.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

Römische Mittheilungen. 1889, part 1. Rome.

¹ The suggestion made by Dr. Brinton of the Libyan origin of the Etruscans is not new, although he seems to regard it as such. *Vide* Dennis' *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, introduction vol. i., page xxxix., third edition.

1. Mau; excavations in Pompeii 1886–88; a detailed description of the houses in insula ix. 7, consisting principally of shops, taverns etc.: plan. 2. Wolters: notes on Greek portrait sculpture: (i) Seleukos Nikator and (ii) Ptolemy Soter: (i) a bronze bust from the villa at Herculaneum, Comparetti *La*

Villa Eric. Taf. 10, I p. 264, 19: (ii.) marble bust in the Louvre no 457: two plates, two cuts. 3. Hülsen: antiquities of the Monte Citorio; (i) the Colonna del Divo Pio: (ii) ancient building excavated in 1703 under the casa della missione (from a MS. with several cuts in text). 4. Petersen: the Hera of Alkamenēs: Overbeck *Kunstm.* iii. p. 461 has collected the copies in statuary of this type: reproductions of it are found in reliefs of about B.C. 400: three cuts. Reports of meetings with summaries of some papers read: esp. (see p. 84) Petersen on an archaic statue of an Amazon shooting and on Athena among the nine Muses on the frieze of the forum of Nerva (with three cuts).

C. S.

The same. 1889, part 2. Rome.

1. Gamurrini: the matrimonium Italicum; publishing an early Etruscan relief from a tomb at Chiusi representing this rite: plate. 2. Mau: excavations in Pompeii 1886—88 (continued). 3. Winnefeld: antiquities of Alatri (anc. Aletrium, a city of the Hernici with pre-Roman fortifications), excavated in this year: (i) the architectural remains, (ii) the temple, (iii) a Roman inscription of the time of the Gracchi, recording the public works carried out by L. Betilienus: seventeen cuts, two plates. 4. Schneider: on the Attic vase-painters; publishing the Glaukytes cup in B.M. (B 364.), the Anakles (?) cup (Klein *Meisters.* p. 76, no. 3) and the cup (Klein, *ibid.* p. 75 note) which he reads as by Tleson: plate, two cuts. 5. Wernicke: bronzes of Epidauros, belonging to Count Tyskiewicz: specially interesting is a statuette inscribed Ῥβϕλρας ἐπὶ ὧν Fe; four cuts. 6. Mommsen: miscellanea epigraphica. 7. Hülsen: the cestus of ancient boxers: four cuts. 8. Dessau: epigraphical notes. Reports of meetings: two cuts.

C. S.

Arch.-Epig. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich. 1888, part 2. Vienna.

1. Klein: studies in the history of Greek Painting (continued): II, the Hellenic and Asiatic schools: a long article, full of important suggestions and emendations. 2. Weinberger: on the honorary decree from Tomi (see *ante*, vol. xi. p. 41, no. 55): emendations and suggested restoration of the whole. 3. v. Premerstein: on the inscription *C.I.L.* iii. 4037. 4. The same: note on *ante*, xi. p. 240. 5. v. Domaszewski: bronze plate with bronze figures attached, found in the Siebenbürgen; forming the decoration of a Roman horse trapping: plate. 6. Hauser: report of excavations in Carnuntum: with 7. Schmidel: the find in the amphitheatre there; and 8. Bormann the inscriptions: four plates, and three cuts. 9. Hülsen: a Roman street in Servia. 10. Kubitschek: the so-called 'Roman sarcophagus' in Gumpoldskirchen: this trough, the only evidence of Roman conquest in this neighbourhood, has two inscriptions which are not ancient: the trough is not ancient either. 11. Bormann: the ancient inscriptions at Wodena (Edessa).

C. S.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik (Berlin), Bd. xvii. Heft 1. 1890.

A. Loebbecke. 'Griechische Münzen aus meiner Sammlung. iv.' (Plates I. II). Among these may be noticed:—*Arnae in Macedonia*. The coins attributed to this place by Millingen and Head would seem rather to be of some Italian city. Loebbecke obtained six specimens from Naples together with a number of coins of Italy. *Dicaea* (Thrace). Archaic tetradrachm with head of Herakles; a new denomination. *Sicyon*. Rare gold coins of the fourth century B.C. with types of Apollo and Dove. Loebbecke suggests some good reasons for believing in their genuineness. *Phaestus*. An interesting variety of the staters representing Talos the winged guardian of Crete, accompanied by his dog. *Dardanus*. Electrum stater, type, 'cock with mussel in mouth.' The 'mussel' however is more like a fish's head such as appears on electrum coins of Cyzicus. *Cerelape* (Phrygia). Coin of Caracalla with his name Bassianus. *Siocharax* (Phrygia). A coin of Geta with the name of the town Siocharax, a place apparently identical with Hierocharax.—Otto Seeck. 'Die Münzpolitik Diocletians und seiner Nachfolger.'

WARWICK WROTH.

Numismatische Zeitschrift (Vienna). vol. xxi. January—June 1889.

W. Drexler. 'Der Isis- und Sarapis-cultus in Kleinasien.' A collection of inscriptions, and other monuments, especially coins, relating to the worship of Isis and Sarapis in Asia Minor (exclusive of the adjacent islands). The paper contains much useful material, but a summary of results and the curtailment of some of the numismatic descriptions and references would have rendered it more convenient for consultation.—A. Markl. 'Gewicht und Silbergehalt der Antoniniane von Claudius II. Gothicus.'

W. W.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part iv. 1889.

E. Thurston. 'On a recent discovery of Roman coins in Southern India.' A find of fifteen Roman Aurei at Vinukonda (Madras Presidency). They are coins, in good preservation, of Tiberius, Vespasian, Domitian, Hadrian, Ant. Pius, Faustina I., M. Aurelius, Commodus and Caracalla.—G. M. Arnold. 'The Roman stater of Vagniacae.' Southfleet, not Maidstone, is Vagniacae. Remarks on coins found at Southfleet.—F. Latchmore. 'On a find of Roman coins near Cambridge.' A hoard of about 2,500 coins discovered early in 1889 'near Cambridge' in two Roman jars; the coins range in date from Gordian III. (A.D. 238) to Aurelian (A.D. 270). There were 858 of Tetricus I. and II., 634 of Victorinus, and 411 of Postumus.—Miscellanea. C. Oman. Coin with the name and bust of Maximianus Herculeus struck at Colchester.

W. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Journal of Philology. Vol. xviii. No. 36.

THIS number contains several important articles on textual criticism. W. Leaf points out the grave defects in La Roche's apparatus criticus on the *Iliad*, and suggests certain criteria for determining the com-

parative value of the MSS. By the use of these he establishes the 'overwhelming importance' of the Leipzig group of MSS., as preserving an extremely ancient tradition unknown to any of our other MSS. E. G. Hardy gives an account of a Bodleian MS. of

Jerome's Eusebian Chronicle, which strangely enough seems to have been entirely neglected, till attention was called to it by a German visitor about two years ago. Yet it is at least a hundred years older than any other MS., having been written by an intelligent and accurate scribe within a century of Jerome's death. A new edition based on this MS. is being prepared by Dr. A. Schoene. J. Armitage Robinson argues against Dr. Koetschau, that V (the Vatican Gr. 386) is the original of all our MSS. of Origen against Celsus. Robinson Ellis gives an account of the Codex Moreti, a 12th century MS. of Ovid used by Heinsius. Of the other papers the most interesting are those by H. Nettleship on literary criticism in Latin Antiquity, and by C. Taylor on the relation between the Shepherd of Hermas and the Didaché. A. Platt propounds a theory as to the origin of the Iambic Trimeter; J. P. Postgate writes on *ne* prohibitive with the second person of the present subjunctive in classical Latin; R. Ellis has two emendations on Lucretius and notes on some epigrams of the Greek anthology; and H. Nettleship closes with a note on *Georg.* I. 263.

Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society, Vol. III. P. ii.

Notes on the Spiritus Asper. H. D. Darbishire.—The object of this paper is to show that the phenomena of the rough breathing in Greek are much more regular than is usually supposed. After premising that the rough breathing is the independent development of each I. E. language in which it is found and varies in its phonetic value, the writer states and illustrates the ordinary rules that in Greek it represents original *s*, *v*, *sv*, *z*, *sz* initial. In the text-books a number of exceptions are recognised. These are to be explained as the result of analogy *e.g.* ἄδων on the model of ἀνδάνω, or dissimilation *e.g.* ἔδαφος for ἔδαφος (σεδαφος) according to Grassmann's law. But where the breathing cannot be so explained and a rule is broken we must regard the received etymology as mistaken. For instance ἔρεος must not be referred to *satya* because of the smooth breathing, but must be regarded as a verbal of ἡμί and compared with Lat. *verus*; ἄσμενος again is not to be connected with ἡδομαι, but referred to a root *van*, cf. Lat. *Venus*; ἄλτο must be severed from ἄλλομαι and placed beside ἀλείς. There are many cases where the presence or absence of aspiration is not persistent. These must be explained either by misplacement of the aspirate, a doubtful principle, or by assimilation to connected words *e.g.* ὄρηξ on the analogy of ἄρηξ, or thirdly the confusion is due to the intermixture of different roots. Thus from the root *sel* we have aspirated words ἔλίσσω, &c.; from the root *vel* unaspirated εἴλω, &c. This leads to confusion, *e.g.* ἔλνω, εἴλω, &c. Again the variation of ἄνω, ἄνω is to be referred to the roots *san* and *van*; similarly εἶργω and εἶργω imply two roots, and ἱέρως (*iapós*), Sk. *isiras*, has been assimilated to ἱρός from the root *vi*. We now come to the question of initial *F*. Why is this sometimes represented by the rough, sometimes by the smooth breathing? This is to be explained by the help of Armenian. It is generally recognised that the initial *z* can be distinguished from initial spirant *y* *e.g.* *zagh* appears in Gk. *ἡπαρ* but *yug*- in Gk. *ζυγόν*. Hitherto no distinction has been made between *z* and the spirant *v*. Mr. Darbishire shows that Armenian has sometimes *g* and sometimes *v*, where Latin and Sanskrit have *v*. Now in Greek where initial *F* answers to Armenian *g* we have the smooth breathing, where it answers to Armenian *v*, *v*, we find the rough breathing. Upon this ground then we are to assume an original distinction between *z* and *v* and can explain the variation of the breathing in Greek. Thus

from the root *ves* comes *φαστυ ἄστυ*, but from the root *ves* *φεννυμι ἔννυμι*. It will be seen that the chief points of interest in the paper are the explanation of variations of breathing by the assumption of different roots, and the distinction of original *z* and *v*, which is the most important and ingenious. Many will hardly be robust enough to separate some of the words which we have all been taught to regard as cognates. Thus *ἔως* and *αἶω* (*āws*), and *ἡμαρ* and *ἡμέρα* are to be divorced. But even supposing that some of the writer's etymologies are not altogether convincing the paper is a valuable and suggestive attempt to bring under phonetic laws what has hitherto been left unexplained. The representation of original *z* by Greek *z* he has himself to leave unaccounted for. J. E. K.

Meeting of the Cambridge Philological Society.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Society, on Jan. 30, 1890, the President, Dr. Feile, read a paper in which he called attention to a modification in the latest editions of Paul's *Principien*, pp. 58—60, and Brugmann's Greek Grammar, p. 11 (in Müller's *Handbuch*, &c.), of the doctrine of the invariability of phonetic sequence. Paul distinguishes from the examples of regular substitution of one sound for another, others not regular which he describes as interchange in certain definite cases. These are (1) metathesis, *e.g.* wasp=A.S. *wæps*, *ψε=σφε*, where the sounds are consecutive, or O.H.G. *ezzih* (now *essig*)=acetum, where they are not consecutive, (2) assimilation of two sounds not consecutive, as *quinque* for *Idg. penqe*, (3) dissimilation, as *pelegrinus* for *peregrinus*; or *δρύφακτος* for **δρυφρακτος*, where *r* is lost, or *semestris* for *semimestris*, where a syllable nearly the same as the following syllable falls out. In like manner Brugmann distinguishes gradual and progressive substitutions of sound from metatheses which take place by sudden transition. The writer of the paper gave reasons for inferring that Brugmann, though he only specifies metatheses, yet may be supposed to include the other changes given by Paul, as cases where strict uniformity was not to be expected; and he pointed out that Brugmann gave a reason for this invariability (which Paul had not), viz., that the changes were sudden. It was then suggested that if regularity was not to be expected in assimilation of nonconsecutive sounds, on the ground that such assimilation was sudden, there might be no reason to expect it when the sounds were consecutive, because it might be plausibly maintained that such assimilations were also sudden. It is notorious that in Latin numerous variations from the ordinary law are found in these assimilations: *e.g.* we find *quondam* for **quomdam* with change of *m* to *n*, but *quamde* with none; *cena* for *cesna*, but *nera* for **nesna*; *collis* for **colnis* but *uolus*, where *lu* remains; *porrum* for **porsum* but *dorsum*; and many like ones: even if we allow that some such variations have been plausibly explained, yet many remain for which no explanation has ever been offered. The writer suggested that thoroughgoing adherents of the dogma of unvarying phonetic sequence might find comfort in this explanation of variations which in fact are found, viz. that when change was sudden, regularity was not to be expected. But he pointed out there was a preliminary point to be settled. The most distinguished phoneticians are not agreed whether there is such a thing as 'sudden' change. Sievers (*Grundzüge*, p. 226, ed.³) holds that there is, and gives as an instance labialism in Greek, Umbrian and Oscan. Sweet on the other hand seems at least (*H.E.S.*² § 42) to deny it. With the view of testing this point, and so furnishing a basis for the view described

above, the writer gave a full list of the different kinds of sound-change and classified them tentatively as sudden or gradual. Upon this classification he invited discussion; and a long discussion followed.

Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1888. Vol. XIX. Boston, 1889.

THE *Lex Curiata de Imperio*, W. F. Allen. Against Mommsen's view (*Römisches Staatsrecht*, i. 52) that this law was merely a formal recognition of a power already vested in a magistrate, the writer holds it to have been a substantial grant of power by a body different from that which elected (*cf.* modern bicameral legislatures). An emergency prior to its enactment would be met in some practical way, as in the case of a provincial army deprived of its leader, or (as military power was vested in the consuls) through the formula *videant consules*, etc., though this special exercise of the *imperium* can scarcely have included holding the *comitia centuriata*. Mommsen cites as examples to prove his interpretation the consul Flaminius B.C. 217, the consuls of B.C. 49, and Appius Claudius, consul B.C. 54; but other explanations are offered. Moreover the importance of the law is strongly stated by Livy (v. 52, 15), by Cicero (*leg. agr.* ii. 11 and 12) and by Dio Cassius (39, 19).—On the *Impersonal Verbs*, Julius Goebel. A discussion of the various theories (1) that a subject is contained in the impersonals (Ueberweg, Lotze, Wundt, etc.), (2) that there is no subject (Herbart, Trendelenburg, Grimm, Benfey, etc.) and (3) that of Paul and others who hold an intermediate position, distinguishing between the logical and psychological subject. The writer supplements Sigwart's discussion (*Die Impersonalisation; eine logische Untersuchung*) made from the standpoint of logic, by considerations drawn from linguistics.—On the *Authorship of the Cynicus of Lucian*, J. Bridge. An endeavour to show that Fritzsche is wrong in stating (II. 2, p. 235f.) that the same man could not have written the *Fugitivi* and the *Cynicus*, and to prove Lucian to be the author of the latter. The same man could inveigh against the Cynics of the time (to him, false Cynics) as in the *Fugitivi*, and defend Cynicism as in the *Cynicus*. Du Soul's argument that the words *κόμην ἔχειν* are not Lucian's since Cynics in his day were *ἐν χρῶ κεκαμμένοι* is unfounded; for in his time the Cynics wore long hair and beards, *cf.* Tatian, *Ad. Græcos* c. 25; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 72; Lucian, *Peregrinus* 15. The only exception Cantharus (*Fugitivi* 15) had in part adopted Stoic dress. The peculiar repetition of the first word in a clause may have been in imitation of Dio Chrysostom (*cf.* *Or.* 72 with the *Cynicus*).—The other papers are out of our department.

In the Report of the Annual Session are summaries of the following papers: *The Changes in the Roman Constitution proposed by Cicero* (*Legg.* iii. 3, 6—5, 12), W. A. Merrill.—*The Legacy of the Syrian Scribes* (the President's address), J. H. Hall, showing the importance of a knowledge of Syriac literature in the study of the transmission of the Bible, the Greek and Latin classics, the Greek fathers, etc., especially in matters which the ordinary Hellenist little suspects.—*The Cure Inscriptions from Epidaurus*, J. R. Wheeler.—*Goethe's Homeric Studies*, G. M. Richardson.—*Volapük and the law of Least Effort*, F. A. March.—*Theories of English Verse*, J. C. Parsons.—*A Consideration of the Method employed in Lighting the Vestal Fire*, M. H. Morgan.—*Peculiarities of Affix in Latin and Greek*, C. S. Halsey.—On the term 'Contamination' used in reference to the *Latin Comedy*, F. D. Allen. *Contaminare* means not, as is usually held after Grauert, 'to stick' or 'weld together,' but 'to

spoil;' and in Terence, refers to the Greek originals and not to Latin plays. A Greek play from which a single scene was taken, was 'spoiled' for future use.—*The Tripods of Hephaestus*, T. D. Seymour. *τρίπους* in Hom. *Σ.* 373 is not a 'mixing bowl' or 'kettle,' but a table (*cf.* Xen. *An.* VII. 3, 21).—*Date of the Episode of Cylon in Athenian History*, J. H. Wright, setting it nearer 640 B.C. than 612 B.C., the usually accepted date.—*A new word, Arbātus*, F. P. Brewer.—*On the Identity of words and the misapplication of the term 'Cognate' to words which are identical*, L. S. Potwin.—*The Locality of the Saltus Teutoburgiensis*, W. F. Allen.—*Observations on the Fourth Eclogue of Vergil*, W. S. Scarborough.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. i. 1890.

1. J. B. Greenough, *The Fauces of the Roman House*. The word *fauces* means the passage leading from the front door to the *atrium*. (1) *Fauces* naturally means *entrance*, as is shown by the careful examination of the passages where it occurs. (2) Vitruvius's description can refer to nothing except the front passage, as this is always open while the others are always closed and so cannot form a part of the architectural feature of the interior. (3) The actual houses show the front passage agreeing with his description, while the other is often wanting and, when present, never corresponds to Vitruvius's description. The article is illustrated with a cut.

2. M. H. Morgan, *Commentatio de ignis eliciendi modis apud antiquos*. In this long article are considered the various means of kindling fire known to the ancients. In connection therewith are cited (with comment and explanation wherever necessary) all the passages in Greek and Roman authors, from Homer to Suidas, which throw light on the subject. As an introduction are considered the means of keeping fire alight in the house under the ashes, in the public buildings, and in campaigns by the *πυρφόρος*. There were four principal methods of kindling fire: (1) by the rubbing or boring of wood; (2) by the friction of two stones; (3) by friction of stone and iron; (4) from the sun's rays. Under (1) there is a full consideration of the *πυρῆλον*. It provided the commonest means of lighting fire in the classical period, although Nos. 2 and 3 were quicker. It was a very ancient Indo-European method, and the instrument developed into a wooden bow-drill, *τρίπανον*, which bored into the *ἑσχάρα*. The various woods used are mentioned and the different parts of the drill are fully considered. The troublesome and rare word *στορεῖς* is treated at length. (2) The use of stones, especially *pyrites* and *silex*, is quite a common way. In *Soph. Phil.* 35 the word *πυρεῖα*, as elsewhere often, refers to this method, and the commentators and L. and S. are wrong here; *cf.* 295. (3) Stone and iron are rarely mentioned, only in Lucretius, Pliny Elder, and Isidore. Before considering the fourth way the writer inquires into the different kinds of kindlings and tinder, also the use of matches, with special discussion of the words *ῥακα*, *ῥακα*, *ῥακα*, on which Codd., Edd., and Lexx. are very confusing. (4) Lighting from the sun. This entailed a consideration of what was known about reflexion, refraction, and plane, convex and concave mirrors; also the history of the words for crystal and glass and the use of those materials. The different sorts of burning glasses and lenses from Aristoph. to Isidore are considered. Then follows a consideration of the story of Archimedes burning the Roman fleet. Finally the method of lighting the Vestal fire is discussed. This was probably kindled every year, March 1. The writers have left us no information

about the method. As a pure flame was wanted, it could not be got from any other fire, but in one of the four ways mentioned above. It was probably the same as that employed when the fire went out by accident, and this, Festus tells us, was by boring, and his statement is doubtless credible. On the other hand the method described in Plut. *Vit. Num.* 9, is in itself incredible, because the lighting of fire from the sun's rays was a comparatively modern invention. The passage may also be deemed an interpolation. A passage in Julian deserves no greater confidence. The article is illustrated with five cuts, representing πυρρεία and Plutarch's method of lighting fire from the sun.

3. W. W. Goodwin, *On the origin of the construction of οὐ μή with the subjunctive and the future indicative.* The expression of denial οὐ μή γένηται or γενήσεται is generally explained as involving an ellipsis of the idea of fearing: thus οὐ δέος ἐστὶ μή κ.τ.λ. The prohibition οὐ μή καταβῇ, do not come down, is generally explained as interrogative *will you not not come down?* and the subjunctives which occur have commonly been changed into futures. But not all the prohibitions can be interrogative, nor can all the subjunctives be changed to futures without doing violence to the text. Nor are all cases of the 2 pers. of the subjunctive or future with οὐ μή prohibitions. One theory should explain all cases. If οὐ in οὐ μή γένηται is an independent negative, as it should be, the negative force of μή must be in abeyance. Note Plato's favourite subjunctive as a form of cautious assertion, as in μή φάσθαι, which originally meant *may it not prove bad (as I fear it may)*, but became softened into *I suspect it may prove bad*, and then *I think it will prove bad, or it will probably prove bad.* The negative οὐ μή φάσθαι ᾗ would be *it will not prove to be bad.* The independent subjunctive with μή occurs in Homer in expressions of apprehension combined with a desire to avert the object of fear. Between Homer and Plato there are only eight instances of this subjunctive, which however show the transition from apprehension to cautious assertion. In Plato it also expresses honest apprehension. The dramatists use it in both senses and οὐ μή λάβωσί σε might mean *I am not afraid that they will seize you*, being the negative of *I fear they may seize you*, or *they shall not seize you*, the negative of *I suspect they will seize you*. The denial of an apprehension could easily change to the denial of a suspicion and then the need of an ellipsis is avoided. Attic Greek came naturally to use the future for the subjunctive. Then later the second person singular probably began to be used as a prohibition.

4. W. W. Goodwin, *On some disputed points in the construction of εἰδεῖ, χρῆν etc. with the infinitive.* With certain imperfects denoting obligation, propriety or possibility, εἰδεῖ, χρῆν, etc. the infinitive is used, and the whole expression becomes a form of potential indicative, referring to past or present time, and generally implying the opposite of the infinitive. Thus εἰδεῖ σε ἐλθεῖν, *you ought to have gone (but you did not go).* These imperfects may also be used with no potential force, thus εἰδεῖ μένειν, *he had to stay.* The first of these is 'equivalent to the verb of the infinitive in the potential indicative (with ἔν), qualified by an adverb or other expression denoting obligation, propriety, or possibility, which expression would stand in the relation of an unreal condition to the verb with ἔν.' 'It is generally laid down as an absolute rule that in this idiom the opposite of the infinitive is *always* implied.' But a large number of examples show that when these potential expressions without ἔν stand alone they always imply the opposite of the infinitive, but when one of them is made

the apodosis of an unreal condition external to itself it may be so modified by the new condition as no longer to imply the opposite of the infinitive. In regard to the distinction between εἰδεῖ &c. with the infinitive and εἰδεῖ ἄν &c. with the infinitive the following rules hold good: '1. The form without ἄν is used when the infinitive is the principal word, on which the chief force of the expression falls, while the leading verb is an auxiliary which we can express by *ought, might, could, or by an adverb.* 2. On the other hand, when the chief force falls on the necessity, propriety, or possibility of the act, and not on the act itself, the leading verb has ἄν, like any other imperfect in a similar apodosis.' Many illustrative examples are discussed.

5. G. M. Lane, *Notes on Quintilian.* 1. Shall we say *divōm* or *divōm* in the genitive plural? (1) There is evidence of long ō in coins before the first Punic War; also of long ū in the Nuceria inscription, certainly as late as 63 B.C. (2) There is evidence that the long ō or long ū had disappeared about 100 A.D. Therefore, originally, *divōm*, then *divōm*, *divūm*, *deūm*.—2. In Quint. 1, 4, 27 correct *lectum* to *lectum*, because *lectum* as a participle is not nominative and has short ē.—3. In Quint. 1, 4, 16 read *nutrix* instead of *notrix*, because of MS. authority and because Quintilian himself indicates that it is a Greek word. Then write *Culcidis* for *Culcides*.

6. J. B. Greenough, *Some Latin Etymologies.* 1. *Reciprocus* is a compound of *trēcus* and *procus*.—2. *Improbis*. *Probus*, is *pro+bus* and was a mercantile word meaning A 1 or *first-class*. *Improbis* meant properly *not first-class* and became from its mercantile use a slang word of disapproval like *horrid*, *mean*, *awful* &c.—3. *Rudimentum* means *foil-practice*, the practice of the raw recruit, hence the first essays in war. It is from a (real or supposed) verb *rudio*, which is from *rudis* foil and would mean *to fence with the foil*. 4. *Desidero* ought to be formed from an adjective **desides* (or-er), which would be compounded from *de* and *sidus*. Or it may come through the phrase *de sidere*. The original meaning of *sidus* was probably *position, place*, *desidero* would mean *find or mark out of place*.—5. *Elementum*. Illustrations are given supporting the old view from *el em en*.—6. *Praemium* is *prae+emium* (*emo* to take), the special part of the spoil taken out beforehand.—7. *Deliciae*, *delicatus*. Analogy would lead to an adjective *delicis*, *de+licus*, from which would come *deliciae* and *delicio* participle *delicatus*. In Varro *delicus* means a pig weaned by its mother. *Delico* would naturally mean *to pet, delicatus tender and deliciae delight*.—8. *Provincia* is from **provincius* meaning 'engaged in advancing conquest,' and *provincia* would be the state or condition of a person who is *provincius*.

7. C. L. Smith, *On egrégium publicum* (Tac. *Ann.* III. 70. 4). He would read *egregium publice locum*.

8. A. A. Howard, *On the use of the perfect infinitive in Latin with the force of the present.* From a full discussion of passages the following results are obtained. 'In early Latin the perfect infinitive with its proper significance was used to depend on the verb *nolo* or *uolo* in prohibitions; but since the verb of wishing contained the idea of futurity, the whole clause acquired the force of a future perfect expression. Later writers, and especially the poets, transferred this use to negative clauses, not prohibitive, containing verbs of wishing, and secondly to clauses containing verbs like *laboro*, *amo*, and *timeo*, 'Verba der Willensrichting.' Since these verbs contain the idea of futurity, the present infinitive joined with them has the force of a future, the perfect infinitive

the force of a future-perfect. The tendency of the Latin writers to use the future-perfect for the future, through an overstrained desire to be exact, led them in these clauses to use the perfect infinitive instead of the present. The poets, and especially the elegiac poets, took advantage of the opportunity thus offered and transferred the use to other constructions which did not contain a verb of wishing. The reasons for this were two: first, the present infinitive of a large number of verbs, which they wished to use, on account of metrical difficulties could not be used in their verse, or could only be used under certain restrictions; second, the perfect infinitive of these verbs were peculiarly adapted to the necessities of the last half of pentameter verse. The infinitive in this use seemed to have the force of an aorist infinitive in Greek, and in course of time came to be used by the poets even where the metre admitted the use of the present infinitive.

9. H. N. Fowler, *Plutarch's περί εὐθυμίας*. A detailed examination of passages shows that 'only in a few instances has it been possible to find any indication of the origin of Plutarch's words and doctrines.' It would appear, however, that for his introduction and his last chapter he adapted the corresponding parts of Democritus's *περί εὐθυμίας*, that for his quotations and anecdotes collections of such matters were used and that even for his ethical doctrines similar sources were employed.

10. G. M. Richardson, *Vitruviana*. This contains some anomalies of syntax and style, mainly vulgar and colloquial expressions, noted in Vitruvius; the limitative use of *a, ab*; descriptive use of *cum* with a noun having the force of an adjective or adverb; *aliter* having a distributive force, with *atque* as the connective; copulative *neque* strengthened by a following negative; *oppido*, followed by *quam*; the 118 instances of the favourite word *quemadmodum* are given in groups; *si* (in *sic*) in apodosis as well as protasis, a survival of parataxis; *ut* with the subjunctive in wishes, exhortations, and commands, showing the origin of its use in *final* clauses, which were originally paratactic; the survival in indirect questions of the indicative which was originally used; an uncommon use of the infinitive as predicate after *esse*: *putare* in the sense of 'intend.'

11. H. W. Hailey, *The social and domestic position of women in Aristophanes*. The object of the article is to collect the passages in Aristophanes bearing upon this subject and some of the inferences which may be drawn from them. It shows that the women's estimate of themselves was depreciatory, and the men's was low, from which we may infer that the popular estimate of the time was similar; that husbands usually exercised authority over their wives, that there was lack of confidence between husband and wife and also of conjugal affection. Unmarried women were closely confined to the gynaeconitis and seldom appeared in public except on religious occasions. Married women did not usually go out of their houses without some imperative reason for doing so, though they attended and took part in numerous festivals. There is considerable evidence that Athenian women sometimes attended the theatre, but it seems to be against the supposition that they were present when comedies were performed. There was a considerable degree of freedom in connection with the ceremonies of marriage and burial and also in the case of those who were poor. Women of all classes associated freely with other women. The wife was mistress and stewardess of the house, though she did not generally cook, caring for the children, preparing the wool, spinning, weaving, working in flax, embroidering. Most women had a knowledge of sing-

ing and dancing, and some instruction in τὰ γράμματα, but they were ignorant of public life.

Notes. F. D. Allen. ψαῦος in Aleman (Bergk, *P.L.G.* III¹ p. 77) amended to φαῦος (=φάος).—*C.I.L.* I. 199 *proxima faeniticeæ* graver's blunder for *faeniticiae*, abl. of a **faeniticiae* (cf. *faeniticia*).—Schol. Ar. Ran. 13, for φορτικευόμενον read φορτακευόμενον (cf. φόρταξ, porter): likewise in Suid. s.v. Λύκας, read ἐφορτακευετο. The verb φορτικεύομαι should disappear from our Lexx.—ἀρτίως in Heracl. Tab. I. 105 refers to partnership.—In Ar. Ran. 180 ff. the order of verses should be 181, 182, 183, 180 (with ὥπ, παραβαλοῦ assigned to Xanthias).—In Hdt. VI. 57 expunge τρίτην δὲ τῶν ἐωτῶν. J. B. G[reenough]. In Mart. vi. 78. 31, 32 *quam* is interrog. G. M. L[ane]. *ellum* (three examples: Plaut. Bacch. 939, Ter. And. 855, Ad. 260) from *em illum*.

General Index.—Index of Citations.

Deutsche Litteraturzeitung. 1889.

No. 36. Lippelt, *Quaestiones biographicae*. A careful discussion of the beginnings of Greek biographical literature and of the authenticity of Xenophon's Agesilaos.—Schwarz, *De M. Terentii Varronis apud sanctos patres vestigis capita* II. A valuable contribution to a future collection of Varro's fragments, although Schwarz's arguments are by no means always conclusive.

No. 37. Dümmler, *Akademika: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Socraticen Schulen*. A collection of essays to lead to 'emancipation from Plato as historical source.' D.'s careful investigations lead to many valuable results.—Krebs, *Zur Rection der Casus in der späteren historischen Gräcität*. II. Discusses the use of the accusative after verbs like ἀπογινώσκω, etc. The author sometimes overlooks the fact that certain constructions can be traced back to a considerably earlier period.—Bilfinger, *Der bürgerliche Tag*. Against Ideler's view, which, as B. shows, is based only on Roman authorities, the author endeavours to prove that the Greek day began with the dawn, while the Roman day began officially at midnight.—Ehrenberg, *Die Inselgruppe von Milos*. A good geological and geographical description.

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The Classical Review

APRIL 1890.

THE GAME OF 'HARPASTUM' OR 'PHENINDA.'

So many learned writers, especially in Germany, have treated of Greek and Roman games that some apology may be needed for opening the subject at all; but authoritative as is their interpretation of most things, the games at ball are precisely what we have still left for doubt and conjecture. Krause, Bec de Fouquières, Marquardt, and even Grasberger in his admirable *Erziehung und Unterricht*, while they supply a storehouse of references, do not seem to have considered enough the practical question—what a player would be likely or able to do with a ball, or what manner of rules could or could not make a match between two sets of players. Greek and Roman games are loosely spoken of as somewhat like tennis, or are even compared to golf¹, although there is no trace of any implement such as a bat or racquet being used for any game by a Greek or Roman until a late period—none, as far as I know, earlier than the game identical with polo which Cinnamus (vi. 5) describes as played at Byzantium in the reign of Manuel Comnenus. Strangest perhaps as a failure to see essential differences in games is the suggestion of Grasberger (*op. cit.* p. 95) that harpastum may perhaps be the same as this Byzantine game, though the one is played on horseback with a long curved stick, the other on foot with nothing but the hand to propel the ball.

It will probably never be possible to lay down with certainty all the rules of any Greek and Roman game at ball, except those of οἰπανία, which is simply a game of 'catch';

and of all the games harpastum is on the whole the hardest to determine. But a comparison of ancient authorities will limit considerably the field of discussion and will, I believe, exclude many suggestions which have been made.

The passages which form our authorities for this game are Martial, iv. 19, vii. 32, xiv. 48; Athenaeus, i. p. 15; Eustathius on *Od.* ix. 376; Pollux, ix. 32; Sidonius, v. 17, and especially the treatise of Galen *περὶ τῆς μικρᾶς σφαίρας*. On this last an elaborate treatise has been written by Johann Marquardt (*Gustroviae* 1879), whose authority is accepted and quoted by Joachim Marquardt in his *Privatleben der Römer*. But I cannot help thinking that Johann Marquardt has started altogether on a wrong path from supposing that Galen speaks of three different games, and then trying by a forced interpretation to fit in ἐπίσκυρος, φαινίδα and ἄρπαστον as the three in question. This idea may have originated in the use of the plural by Galen (pp. 899, 900), τὰ διὰ τῆς μικρᾶς σφαίρας γυμνάσια, coupled with the mention of different degrees of exertion suitable for different constitutions. In reality however the wording of the treatise, as well as its most natural interpretation, should lead us to conclude that one game is described. Its title is *περὶ τοῦ διὰ τῆς μικρᾶς σφαίρας γυμνασίου*, and the plurals are used in speaking of the different effects on various parts of the body caused by different phases of the game: e.g. on page 902 he says that he knows no other game so well calculated to exercise all the limbs, either severely or moderately as is requisite, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον τὸ διὰ τῆς μικρᾶς σφαίρας δξύτατον ἐν

¹ Such I conceive to be the meaning of Bec de Fouquières's statement (*Jeux des Anciens*, p. 203) that the game of ἐπίσκυρος is 'still played in Scotland.'

μέρει καὶ βραδύτατον γινόμενον, σφοδρότατον καὶ πρότατον ὡς ἂν αὐτός τε βουληθῇς καὶ τὸ σῶμα φαίνεται δεόμενον. Surely this passage alone would exclude Marquardt's interpretation of three different games suited for three different ages or strengths. Have we never heard in the modern game of football of a man playing 'goals' because accident or age has made him a less active runner than he once was?¹ Briefly summarised Galen's argument in favour of the game is that it not only exercises all parts of the body and practises the eye, but also stimulates the mind by a spirit of emulation. Of this last he, as a physician, makes a great point, and his remarks are valuable for our question as showing that he is speaking of a real game to be won or lost, and not of medico-gymnastics. He proceeds to prove that this game suits all ages and constitutions, because each player can select that post or duty in it which best suits his capacity: and here again the forms of expression show that he is describing one particular game, and not three different games. The player may take ὅσον ἐν αὐτῷ σφοδρότατον, or he may choose the posts involving less exertion, οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω πρᾶον, εἰ πρῶτος αὐτῷ μεταχειρίζοιο: he may for instance take up a position far from the centre, where he will have chiefly to exercise his arms in throwing, or he may have a great deal of running and few long throws: or again he may take that part which involves little rapid motion but a great deal of grappling and wrestling.

It will be seen that I have taken the game which Galen calls that of the *σικκρά σφαῖρα* to be harpastum. This can, I think, be proved beyond a doubt. As the well-known games at ball in which several players are divided into two opposing sides (defined as games κατὰ πλῆθην or *sphaeromachiae*) we gather only two from Eustathius, Pollux and Athenaeus, namely *ἐπίσκυρος* and *ἀρπαστὸν* or *φενίνδα*. Galen's game

¹ I have mentioned football as a familiar instance where players differing in activity and strength can find suitable places in one and the same game; but it may be well to guard against the idea that football of any sort was played in ancient Greece and Rome. Johann Marquardt (among others) speaks of the ball being kicked in *harpastum* as well as thrown, and cites as his authority Bec de Fouquières, who certainly makes the statement but cites no authority at all. I know of no passage in Greek or Latin literature which gives ground for this idea, which seems to have arisen from the mention of jugglers, such as Ursus Togatus (Orelli 2591), who caught and tossed balls with their feet. Galen speaks of the exercise to the arms in throwing: had kicking been allowed, he would have mentioned that as exercising the legs, but he assigns to them the exercise of running only.

is certainly not *ἐπίσκυρος*, the rules of which are laid down by the first two writers with remarkable precision, and, as we can hardly suppose that the game which Galen selects as the most complete and interesting would be passed over by these writers, it is necessary to identify it with harpastum: and this Pollux does, when, speaking of *φενίνδα*, he says *εἰκάζοιτο δ' ἂν εἶναι ἢ διὰ τοῦ μικροῦ σφαιρίον ὃ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρπάζειν ὠνόμασται*. It will be seen also that what little can be gathered from Martial about harpastum is in agreement with this view: the ball with which it was played must have been the smallest and hardest of the four balls mentioned in the *Apophoreta*, since the *paganica* (the ball stuffed with feathers) is said to come between the *pila par excellence* (i.e. the *trigon*) and the *follis* as regards size and hardness, and, as the *follis* was certainly the largest, it follows that the harpastum was the smallest. I have spoken above of the *pheninda* as merely a synonym of harpastum. It is difficult to understand how modern writers can venture to treat these two as separate games in face of the distinct statement of Athenaeus, 'τὸ δὲ καλούμενον διὰ τῆς σφαίρας ἀρπαστὸν φαινίνδα ἐκαλεῖτο.' As he adds that it was his favourite game, the flat contradiction of his statement in the 19th century seems all the more presumptuous; and there is no conflict of authorities to justify it; for no ancient writer mentions them as distinct. Pollux alone in the passage cited above goes so far as to say that they might be different, though he conjectures that they are the same. His note of uncertainty might suggest that he was more of a student than an athlete, but it must be remembered also that the name *pheninda* was, as Athenaeus tells us, generally superseded by the word harpastum, though it was still retained in some places, and is the only name applied to this game by Eustathius and Clement of Alexandria. The latter writer (*Paed.* iii. 10) in the words *σφαῖρα τῇ μικρᾷ παίζοντων τὴν φενίνδα* affords additional proof that *pheninda* and harpastum were synonyms, if the foregoing remarks upon Galen are correct: on the other hand, if it is admitted that *pheninda* = harpastum, the words of Clement will confirm the interpretation of Galen. As to the correct spelling of the word, *φενίνδα* rather than *φαινίνδα*, there can be little doubt that Meineke (whom Marquardt follows) is right in *Hermes*, iii. p. 455. Its connection in the sense of *misleading* with *φενακίζω* (see *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *φενίς* and Phot. Lex.) will be understood from the description of the game.

That there was absolutely no alteration or development in the rules of the game between the time of Antiphanes and that of Athenaeus—an interval about as long as from the battle of Bannockburn to the present day—is unlikely, but the main features of the game must have remained and justified the various names. The most characteristic feature was the player who intercepted (ἡρπαζε) the ball and who feigned a throw (ἐφενάκιζε). This player is ὁ μεταξὺ of Galen and the *medicurrens* of Sidonius, who is obviously describing the same game as Galen. To sum up the foregoing arguments: Athenaeus asserts that pheninda is the same as harpastum: Pollux thinks it is the game with the μικρὰ σφαῖρα, which = ἄρπαστόν: Clement of Alexandria says that it is played with μικρὰ σφαῖρα. Taking these together it appears clear that pheninda was the old name for what was afterwards generally called harpastum, and the older term still lingered in some places when Clement wrote; and, further, that this game was so much identified with the μικρὰ σφαῖρα that the name of the ball expresses the game itself.

It must be admitted that a reconstruction of the rules is in great measure guess-work, but it seems to me that the following account will explain and harmonize the fragmentary descriptions in Greek and Latin writers, and at the same time will not militate against common sense or the usual habits of balls. The players were divided into two sides, and each side had a base line, for without this we cannot explain what Galen says about στρατηγία and positions won and lost. We must suppose then a large rectangular ground with base lines at each end, divided into two equal camps by a line in the middle, which the ‘trames’ of Sidonius must express.¹ So far the ground resembles that of the ἐπίσκυρος, but the resemblance seems to stop here. A special feature of the game was, as has been said, the ‘middle player,’ ὁ μεταξὺ or *medicurrens*, who is probably described by ‘vagus’ in Martial vii. 22. One would indeed prefer to imagine two middle players, so that each side might have one, but the use of the singular in the authorities both Latin and Greek seems to preclude this and to render necessary some such explanation as is here attempted. How the ‘innings’ of the *medicurrens* terminated is not stated, but it may be suggested that he gave up his place to one of his opponents, whenever a point was

scored against his own side. The main object must have been to throw the ball so that it should drop finally beyond the enemy’s base line, thereby scoring a point; and we may suppose that it was started from one or other base line and thrown from one player to another, the opposite side thwarting whenever they got an opportunity, and throwing it back in the contrary direction. The duty of the *medicurrens* was to catch it as it went past (‘*praetervolantem aut superjectam*,’ Sidon.), which would give him a better opportunity of throwing it over the enemy’s line, or into some unguarded spot in their camp, where it might fall ‘dead’ and be started again, or of passing it on to one of his own side who was advantageously posted forward. Here would come in the manœuvres from which the names of the game arose: his intercepting the ball is expressed by ἄρπαστόν, the *feint* of throwing in order to make his opponents rush in a wrong direction suggested the name φεινίδα. One among the essential points of difference between this game and some others (e.g. trigon) was that the ball might be taken at the first bound as well as at the volley and only dropped ‘dead’ when it fell a second time, whereas at trigon the stroke was complete as soon as the ball once touched the ground (Petron. 27). This accounts for the epithet *pulverulenta* (Mart. iv. 19), and the alternative name of the ball *arenaria*, since it was naturally more often on the ground: hence also the expression ‘*rapit velox in pulvere*’ (Mart. xiv. 48).

The duties of the other players may be gathered from Galen and Sidonius. Some of them (and naturally those who were less active in running) stood near their own base line, the ‘*stantum locus*,’ and only made long throws towards the centre when they got hold of the ball: others played nearer the centre in what Sidonius calls the ‘*area pilae praetervolantis et superjectae*,’ and ran to whatever part of their camp the ball was or seemed to be approaching, or ran forward, so as to be ready to pass on the ball from the *medicurrens* towards the enemy’s base: in the event of the ball approaching their own base there would be a rush back to the rescue; and this explains the words φηγή, καταστροφή, *catastrophā*, which we find in Eustathius, Antiphanes and Sidonius. Lastly some of the forward players, presumably the strongest in muscle, were often engaged in grappling with the *medicurrens* or with one another in the endeavour to stop him from catching and throwing the ball, or to prevent his being stopped by others, as is

¹ I strongly suspect that for ‘*nec intercideret tramitem nec caveret*’ we should read *et intercideret &c.*

described by Galen 'ὅταν συνιστάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποκωλύοντες ὑφαρπάσαι τὸν μεταξύ.' Hence the use of all the wrestling terms, such as ἄμμα, ἀντίληψις, τραχηλισμός, which may suggest some phases of the 'Rugby game': and this grappling by the neck explains the otherwise obscure description of the harpastum-player in Martial '*grandia qui vano colla labore facit*,' and the line of Antiphanes 'οἱμοὶ κακόδαμον τὸν τράχληρον ὡς ἔχω.' Such an exposition of the game will I think harmonize with the words of Galen, which seem to me out of all harmony with the conceptions of recent writers on the subject. 'You can,' he says in effect, 'exercise *all* your muscles, legs and arms and chest, in throwing, running and wrestling, and your eye at the same time in judging the ball [*i.e.* if you are the medicurrens], or you may take wrestling alone [as those who thwart him], or running without much throwing [as in the *καταστροφή*], and generally in 'forward' play], or throwing without much running [as those who play on the line, the 'stantes']. We can I think also find here the explanation of the well-known lines of Antiphanes, cited by Athenaeus (i. p. 15) as descriptive of pheninda—

σφαῖραν λαβὼν
τῷ μὲν διδοὺς ἔχαιρε, τὸν δ' ἔφευγ' ἄμα,
τὸν δ' ἐξέκρουσε, τὸν δ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν
κλαγκταῖσι [*al.* πλαγκταῖσι] φωναῖς.
ἔξω, μακράν, παρ' αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν κάτω
ἄνω βραχείαν ἀπόδος, ἐγκαταστρέφου—

if we suppose the passage to describe part only of the game, the action namely of the medicurrens—having caught the ball he throws it (δίδωσι) to A, one of his own side, while he avoids B who tries to grapple with him, and misleads (ἐκκροῖει) C by a feint of throwing it in some other direction, and then, as the game goes on, he shouts again to one of his own side to throw the ball, high, low, &c., as may be needed to dodge the opponent (παρ' αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτόν), or lastly to run back (ἐγκαταστρέφεισθαι) to guard his own base. Or we may take the interpretation of the last two lines (which follow Meineke's reading) to represent the shouts of those opposing the medicurrens and urging others to throw past him &c. The reading *πλαγκταῖσι* (which however does not seem necessary) would imply a feint, like ἐξέκρουσε.

The passage in Sidonius (*Ep.* v. 17) is not only the best description of the game after Galen, but also gives an amusing picture of what may still sometimes be seen, an

elderly player in difficulties. 'Hic vir illustris Philematius, ut est illud Mantuani poetae, "Ausus et ipse manu juvenum tentare laborem," sphaeristarum se turmalibus constanter immiscuit: perbene enim hoc fecerat, sed quum adhuc essent anni minores.'—The end of it is that, having first stationed himself '*loco stantum*' (which I take to be the line of back players, described by Galen as only throwing ἐκ διαστήματος πολλοῦ, and not running), he is next whirled by the hurrying medicurrens into the middle area, stumbles over the centre line (marked perhaps, like the σκύρος or λατίπη, with small stones), is knocked down by a backward rush of players (*catastrophæ*), picks himself up at last and retires heated and out of breath, which is bluntly expressed by '*suspiriosus extis calescentibus*.' He is more fortunate than the slave-boy in *Dig.* 9, 2, 52, § 4, who was knocked down in much the same way, and broke his leg.

As to the passages from Antyllus (*ap.* Oribas. i. p. 529) which complicate the question in Bec de Fouquières, Marquardt and others, it is to me perfectly clear that they have nothing to do with this game, or any other game properly so called; but describe a course of medico-gymnastical exercises wholly distinct from the contest between sides which Galen gives us: in some of these exercises the ball does not even leave the hand but acts as a sort of dumb-bell in extension motions.

It may be well to say a word in conclusion about the argument at the end of Johann Marquardt's excursus as to *three* games, drawn from the expressions '*datatim, expulsim, raptim* ludere.' It is, I think, a primary cause of error in many writers (though Joachim Marquardt in the main takes these words rightly) that they have confused *methods* of playing with *games*. 1. *Datatim ludere* means simply to play by catching the ball; throwing the ball for a catch being *dare, mittere* or *jactare*, throwing it back after a catch *reddere, remittere*: 2. *expulsim ludere* on the contrary means to play by striking the ball with the hand *without holding it*, the stroke used in our game of 'fives'; and the words *expellere, expulsare, repercutere, ἀπόρραϊς* all apply to this stroke; it could be used equally by those playing together in a game, or in solitary practice against a floor or wall, as in Varro (*ap.* Non. 104, 27) '*videbis in foro ante lanienas pueros pila expulsim ludere*': 3. *raptim ludere* describes the play when the ball is *intercepted* by a third person as it flies between two others. These methods then are not *games*, but

strokes, which might be employed in various games. In *trigon*, for instance, the play might be either *datatim* or *expulsim* but not

raptim; in *harpastum* possibly all three, but usually *datatim* and *raptim*.

G. E. MARINDIN.

ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOME ECHOED PHRASES IN EURIPIDES' *HIPPOLYTUS*.

THE *Hippolytus* opens with the speech of Aphrodite in which she reveals to the audience her grudge against the son of Theseus, and her intended vengeance. He comes in with his followers singing the praises of Artemis: and the audience feels the irony of the situation when they know and he does not know what danger overhangs him. In the remonstrances addressed to him by his servant (107), *τιμαῖσιν, ὦ παῖ, δαιμόνων χρησθαι χρεών*—a door of escape seems to open. But Hippolytus in his blindness rejects his opportunity, and this in striking words (113), *τὴν σὴν δὲ Κύπριν πόλλ' ἐγὼ χαίρειν λέγω*. He has formulated his sin, he has consciously proclaimed that he adheres to it, and he leaves the stage. Without doubt those last words lingered in the mind of the audience, as the summing-up of Hippolytus' offence, and the knell of his approaching doom.

But Hippolytus is not the only sinner in the play nor the only object of divine vengeance. Before the drama ends, Theseus has played a part almost analogous to that of his son.

Primâ facie Theseus acts naturally in believing the charges against Hippolytus found in the hand of his dead wife. But when without further inquiry he invokes on his son a curse and banishes him from the land, his action is over-hasty and insolent. Again a way of escape is opened. In the words of Hippolytus (1051–1055):—

οὐδὲ μὲν νῦν χρόνον
δέξει καθ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ μ' ἐξελάς χθονός;

οὐδ' ὄρκον οὐδὲ πίστιν οὐδὲ μαντέων
φήμας ἐλέγξας, ἄκριτον ἐκβαλεῖς με γῆς;

The gods have not left us without light. Will you not use it? But as Hippolytus did before, so Theseus now snaps his fingers at the Divine power:—

ἡ δέλτος ἦδε κλῆρον οὐ δεδεγμένη
κατηγορεῖ σου πιστά: τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ κᾶρα
φοιτῶντας ὄρνεις πόλλ' ἐγὼ χαίρειν λέγω.

These words contain and formulate *the sin*

of *Theseus*, as is shown clearly when Artemis comes and denounces him.

1321. ὅς οὔτε πίστιν οὔτε μαντέων ὅπα
ἔμεινας, οὐκ ἤλεγξας, οὐ χρόνον μακρῶ
σκέψιν παρέσχες, ἀλλὰ θάσσον ἢ σ'
ἐχρῆν
ἄρᾳς ἐφῆκας παιδὶ καὶ κατέκτανες.

If I am right so far, if l. 113 sums up for the poet and for the audience the sin of Hippolytus,

τὴν σὴν δὲ Κύπριν πόλλ' ἐγὼ χαίρειν λέγω,

and ll. 1058–9,

τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ κᾶρα
φοιτῶντας ὄρνεις πόλλ' ἐγὼ χαίρειν λέγω,

similarly sums up the sin of Theseus, can it be doubted that Euripides purposely echoed his own phrase in order to bring home to his audience the recurrence of an old situation; can it be doubted that the audience recognised the significance of the echo, and saw in it what the poet intended they should see?

It seems however to have escaped the editors (Dindorf, Monk, Paley, Mahaffy, Hadley) that we have here anything beyond a mere verbal parallelism.

But there is another equally striking instance in the same play where Euripides seems to have again marked the similarity of two situations by the use in each case of the same phrase.

When the Nurse, under the pretext of going for some drugs, is about to leave the stage in order to acquaint Hippolytus with Phaedra's passion, Phaedra suspects her intention and expresses the fear (520) *μὴ μοί τι Θεσέως τῶνδε μηνύσης τόκῳ*. The Nurse answers *ἔασον, ὦ παῖ, ταῦτ' ἐγὼ θήσω καλῶς*. To the audience anticipating the story, the irony of those words could hardly fail to be striking. After an 'aside' only three lines long, the Nurse leaves the stage and at once works the irremediable mischief which is the source of all the tragic events that follow.

The secret has come out, and Phaedra and

the Nurse have to some extent exchanged positions. Now it is Phaedra meditating an act of tremendous consequences, an act which shall wreck the happiness of Hippolytus and of Theseus—the act of suicide—now it is the Nurse who would fain avert the evil.

705 ἀλλ' ἔστι κακ τῶνδ' ὥστε σωθῆναι, τέκνον.

Phaedra replies:—

παῖσαι λέγουσα· καὶ τὰ πρὶν γὰρ οὐ καλῶς
παρήνεσάς μοι κάπεχείρησας κακά.
ἀλλ' ἐκποδὼν ἄπελθε καὶ σαύτης πέρι
φρόντιζ'. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν θήσομαι καλῶς.

The change to the middle is intelligible, otherwise the phrase is the same, and I cannot doubt that it was so chosen intentionally by the poet and that it touched a chord in the hearts of the audience.

Yet I notice that Miss A. M. F. Robinson in her translation of the play completely drops even the verbal resemblance between the two passages. The editors also are again silent.

I have argued that the echoed phrase in each case was not accidental, but was intended by the poet and recognised by his audience.

A further question arises:—Was the repetition intentional not only on the part of the poet, but also on the part of the *dramatis personae*, of Theseus and of Phaedra? Are we to consider them as consciously quoting words used before, or as unconsciously uttering what is nothing to them, but full of significance to the spectators of the drama?

We may at once dismiss the former supposition in the earlier of the two cases. Theseus had not heard the words of Hippolytus which

he reproduced: his repetition of them is obviously a case of tragic irony.

The other case is more doubtful. When Phaedra says (709)

ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν θήσομαι καλῶς,

she has just been referring to that very conduct of the Nurse which followed the Nurse's words ταῦτ' ἐγὼ θήσω καλῶς (521). Moreover these words had been spoken to herself. It would seem very natural in her therefore now to remember them and to apply them to her own case. In a modern play we should hardly hesitate to take this view of Phaedra's words.

But in a Greek play we must apply other canons of interpretation, and when we remember to what an extent dramatic interest was made by the Greeks to depend on Irony, the contrast, that is, between knowledge on the part of the spectators and blind unconsciousness on the part of the *dramatis personae*, we may be inclined to consider Phaedra's words in this light. It would follow from such a conclusion that this case is analogous with the former: that Phaedra no less than Theseus unconsciously echoed words used earlier in the play, but that this repetition was intended by the poet and recognised by his audience as suggesting a parallel in each case between two similar situations.

It seems to me clear that in both instances the repetition is more than accidental. If in the second instance we attribute to Phaedra a *conscious* use of the Nurse's words, the first instance must stand on its own merits as a case of the character described above. Can other instances of the same kind be found in Euripides or the other dramatists?

G. C. M. SMITH.

MR. WHITELAW ON 2 COR. vi. 11—vii. 1.

AN interesting question is raised by Mr. Whitelaw in the February number of the *Classical Review* p. 12 as to this paragraph. He supposes it to be the fragment of a lost letter of St Paul to the Church of Corinth, to which the Apostle alludes in 1 Cor. v. 9. I wish briefly to inquire whether Mr. Whitelaw's solution of the problem satisfies the conditions; and secondly whether there is a problem to need solution.

(1) Against Mr. Whitelaw's suggestion ob-

jection may be taken on the side of *textual criticism*. There is no external evidence against this paragraph. The probability that copies of the Pauline letters were multiplied from the very first (comp. Col. iv. 16 and the case of the Ignatian letters, *Ep. Polyc.* xiii.) and the remembrance of the critical questions connected with Rom. xv. xvi. and Eph. i. 1 make it difficult to suppose that the alleged insertion could have been made without some trace remaining in our extant authorities,

while the very perplexity of modern critics forbids the assumption that early readers or copyists placed the paragraph where it at present stands. Again, *internal evidence* does not tend to confirm the hypothesis. There were in operation, it seems, in the Corinthian Church two exactly opposite tendencies. On *the one side* the new converts showed a dangerous readiness to acquiesce and share in heathen customs (comp. 1 Cor. viii. 10 *σὲ τὸν ἔχοντα γινώσκιν ἐν εἰδωλῷ κατακείμενον* : x. 20 *οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι*). On this matter in the First Epistle the Apostle, uncertain of his ground with the Corinthians, speaks with caution and reserve, implying more than he actually says. On *the other hand* there are indications of a revolt, partial and temporary no doubt, in the direction of an extreme Puritanism (comp. 1 Cor. v. 9 ff. : vii. 1 ff.). As to the former tendency the Apostle counsels abstention from associations properly heathen ; as to the latter he deprecates a withdrawal from human society. Now in the passage in question, to whatever letter it belongs, St. Paul is dealing with the former danger and that in terms sufficiently explicit, *e.g.* *τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος ; τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαρ, ἢ τίς μέρις πιστῷ μετὰ ἀπίστου ; τίς δὲ συγκατάθεσις ναυῶ θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδώλων* ; It is of course possible that the Corinthians read into these words such a definite misunderstanding of St. Paul's teaching as he alludes to in 1 Cor. v. 9 ; but the gloss there implied seems to postulate an Apostolic direction which would more immediately suggest it. It is a natural, if not a necessary, conclusion from St. Paul's language in 1 Cor. v. 9 ff. that he is there referring to the exact phrase which he had used in the lost letter—*μὴ συναναμίγνησθε πόρνοις*.

(2) But the more important question is whether there is any problem here to need solution. Is the position from which Mr. Whitelaw starts—'The passage, where it stands, is without connexion before or after'—a tenable one? In answering this question it is important to notice the character of St. Paul's second letter to Corinth. Probably there is no literary work in which the cross-currents of feeling are so violent and so frequent. Again and again they sweep the Apostle far away from his intended course of thought and grammar. He struggles back again, only to be once more hurried away in yet another direction. Or, to change the metaphor, we see a thought bubbling up from the ground of the argument fresh and vigorous. But at once it

passes beneath the sudden rising-ground of some new idea ; at length it appears again tinged with the soil through which it has flowed. Thus ii. 17 *πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἱκανός* ;—but the question is at once buried beneath the thought of the contrast between St. Paul and others ; when it emerges once more in iii. 5 it is in an altered and an apologetic form. Again, in iv. 1 St. Paul writes *οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν ἀλλὰ*—we expect *ἀνδριζόμεθα* or *θαρροῦμεν* to express the proper contrast. But there flashes into St. Paul's mind the remembrance of cruel accusations. So breaking through the strict sequence of thought, he continues *ἀπειπάμεθα τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης*. The original idea and phrase reappear in iv. 16 *οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν ἀλλὰ.....* ; but the intervening context (*e.g.* *ὁ θάνατος ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργεῖται*) influences the words which follow, 'though our outward man is decaying, yet our inward man is renewed day by day.' But here again the Apostle is carried away by the thought of the contrast between the weakness of the present and the glory of the future. Once more the contrast to *ἐγκακοῦμεν* appears in the *θαρροῦντες* of v. 6 and, the grammar meantime having suffered shipwreck, in the *θαρροῦμεν* of v. 8 and the *φιλοτιμώμεθα* of v. 9.

Remembering this characteristic of the Epistle we turn to vi. 11—14...*ἡ καρδιά ἡμῶν πεπλάτνυται* (cf. Ps. cxviii. 32 *ὅταν ἐπλάτυνας τὴν καρδίαν μου*)...*πλατύνθητε καὶ ὑμεῖς*. At this point the Apostle recalls the condition of the Corinthian Church and their danger of a false *πλατυσμός*. He must emphatically and abruptly guard his words : *μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγούμενοι ἀπίστοις* (comp. Lev. xix. 19 *τὰ κτήνη σου οὐ κατοχεύσεις ἑτεροζύγῳ*). That this is the connexion of ideas becomes, I venture to think, almost certain when we compare another passage of the Law : *πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ μὴ πλατυνθῇ ἡ καρδιά σου καὶ παραβῇτε καὶ λατρεύσητε θεοῖς ἑτέροις καὶ προσκυνήσητε αὐτοῖς* (Deut. xi. 16).

But what of the connexion of the paragraph in question with the succeeding context? The Apostle resumes no doubt his earnest pleading for sympathy. But a shadow has passed over his enthusiasm. Above he had written, *ὡς τέκνοις λέγω*. Now he writes, *οὐδένα ἡδίκησαμεν, οὐδένα ἐφθείραμεν, οὐδένα ἐπλεονεκτήσαμεν*. The language he had used just above (v. 1) *καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος*, calls to his mind the charges made by some of the Corinthian partisans against himself—the charge of corrupt motives and the charge, which seems to be lurking in the background of some passages, of antinomian-

ism (iv. 2 τὰ κρυπτά τῆς αἰσχύνης. Comp. 1 Thess. ii. 3 ἡ γὰρ παράκλησις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐκ πλάνης οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀκαθαρσίας οὐδὲ ἐν δόλῳ). Thus the connexion of thought at the beginning and at the end of the paragraph is clear and natural.

If the character of the Epistle be remem-

bered, its deep emotion and its consequent abruptness of thought and expression, the reasons for believing that the paragraph is part of the original letter seem to me valid and convincing.

F. H. CHASE.

STUDIES IN CAESAR I.

THE majority of classical students are wont to underestimate or neglect this writer. His 'Gallic War' to the average student has been chiefly a Latin primer and a collection of examples to illustrate oratio obliqua or the various functions of the ablative absolute. With a feeling akin to condescension the mature student—unless he himself be a teacher of boys—will take up this author as a man would take up a pair of dumb-bells which once had done him service. The present writer distinctly recalls the earnest admonition on this matter uttered many years ago (1873) by one who is a master in this department, Prof. Emil Hübner of Berlin. This distinguished Latinist urged the professional classical students to return to Caesar with their *matured* powers, if they wished to do him justice.

In Germany and France indeed, more than in England and in the United States, very many distinguished scholars have devoted themselves to this writer. It might indeed appear presumptuous to attempt anything in this field after *Drumann*, *Merivale*, and *Mommsen*, or even to supplement the work of *Schneider* (whose acute observation has furnished a great deal of *Long's* edition), *Nipperdey*, *Rüstow*, *Herzog*, *Kraner*, *Doberenz*, *Dinter*, *Köchly*, and *Holder*, whose edition of 1882, while probably not displacing the fearfully expensive edition of *Nipperdey*, is distinguished by its index verborum, and thereby probably suggested the preparation of the special lexica by *Merguet*, *Meusel*, etc., all of which began to appear after 1882. Of those who combined the study of the subject-matter with that of the text, no one deserves a higher place than *H. T. Heller* of Berlin. For his exhaustive analysis of Caesar's syntax and the application of the results gained to the tasks of writing Latin, etc., *Heynacher* deserves more than passing notice. The topographical and antiquarian studies of *Napoleon III.* and *Goeler* have been

worthily continued by *v. Kampen* of Gotha, whose special wall-map of Gaul deserves a place in every Latin school-room. Apart from various notices in *Polybius*, Caesar is the first of national historiographers to the consciousness of educated Frenchmen, and eminently so in the eyes of French antiquarians.

A long line of investigations in the *Revue Archéologique*, particularly within the last twenty-five years, attest the earnest devotion of French students, by whom the coins, weapons, inscriptions, burial-places, social customs and ethnology of Gaul have been accurately studied. Pre-eminent among these scholars is *Alexandre Bertrand*, the indefatigable curator of the Musée de St. Germain. *Dieffenbach's* *Celtica* and *Lindenschmit's* (Mainz) *Studies of Roman, Gallic and German arms*, etc., must also be mentioned here.

I.

In the case of Caesar's book (called commentarii with a simplicity which was probably designed) the *why* and the *when* would seem to the student to be closely connected. For the benefit of those who may wish to take up the subject, I name a few of the most competent writers dealing with *design* and *time* of composition. *H. Köchly*, *Caesar und die Gallier*, Berlin 1871, pp. 31–32; *Kraner*, *Praefatio* of his *Tauchnitz* edition, 1861, pp. xvii. *sqq.*; *Mommsen*, *R. G.* iii. (ed. 6), pp. 615 *sqq.* (Students in search of a complete bibliography had better turn to *Teuffel*, or Prof. Hübner's *Grundriss d. Röm. Literaturgeschichte*, or to a special treatise by Major Max Jähn's 'Caesar's Commentarien und ihre literarische und kriegswissenschaftliche Fortwirkung,' Berlin, 1883: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn.) *Mommsen* presents his view in the categorical and compact way peculiar to himself. *Merivale* does not seem to have attempted to solve the particular

question as to the occasion and design of the composition of the Commentaries.

In looking for the motives of Caesar's book, we may at once reject the theory of mere literary ambition or of the pure pleasure of composition—motives such as did animate a Cicero, whose restless and facile pen was ever seeking new fields, and whose semi-morbid consciousness was ever on the alert as to the figure he was cutting in the world. Nor can Xenophon be compared when—probably in the calm repose of his squire's life at Skillus—he set down the narrative of events *quorum et ipse pars magna fuit*, and indulged in his peculiar hero-worship. Caesar was not vain, apart from sensitiveness about his baldness. He was too penetrating for such a weakness, although he was no doubt conscious of the permanence which his work was destined to enjoy: *e.g.* when inserting the account of the grim valour of some Gallic patriots, as in vii. 25, 1, 'Accidit suspectantibus nobis quod dignum memoria visum praetereundum non existimavimus (compare on the other hand Bell. Civ. iii. 17, 1, Quibus rebus neque tum Caesar respondendum existimavit neque nunc ut memoriae prodantur, satis causae putamus). Caesar was eminently versatile. A political manipulator on an enormous scale, he became a great captain after his fortieth year from political necessity. But during the seven years from 58-51 (apart from short periods of enforced leisure, in one of which, viz. when returning¹ to Gaul from his cisalpine province, Suet. 56, he is said to have composed his treatise *De Analogia*), his enormously varied occupations would have prevented him from gratifying mere literary ambition. His correspondence with his political henchmen in or near the capital, variously but palpably enough reflected and suggested in Cicero's letters, must, in itself alone, have been tremendous.

Let us now turn to the passage which may to-day be considered as the accepted starting-point for the whole question, Hirtius, B. G. 8, 1: 'Ceteri enim quam bene et emendate, nos etiam quam facile atque celeriter eos perfecit scimus.' This is generally taken as meaning that Caesar wrote the entire seven books in one uninterrupted effort (Nipperdey, praef. 2 sqq.). And indeed Caesar had strong motives at that particular time (51 B.C.) to set himself right in public opinion. Faithful as his political agents at Rome were—and he had spent millions in securing some

of them, *e.g.* Curio—the senatorial party in 51 and 50 was striving, with all the machinery of the home government except the tribunate and the comitia at its command, to reduce Caesar to the ranks of a private citizen.²

A few years earlier, before the death of Julia and the estrangement from Pompey, the machinery of the government had run smoothly enough for Caesar's interest. This status is well shown in Cicero's speech of 56 B.C. *de Provinciis Consularibus*, when Caesar's *imperium* was extended by five years. But still, if prominent members of the senatorial party as early as 58 B.C. intimated to Ariovistus, the German invader of Alsace, that they would be delighted if he were to kill Caesar (B. G. i. 44), we may well *a fortiori* infer that in 51, when the desperate hatred of the Optimates against Caesar had reached a much higher pitch, when the triumvirate had been disrupted—Crassus dead at Carrhae, Pompey flattered back to the leadership of the Optimates—we may infer, I say, that at this stage Caesar's acts of his seven years' *imperium* were in the ruling circles at Rome not only not estimated fairly, but distorted, interpreted unfavourably, and in every way represented to his discredit. This view of partisan condemnation, however met by partisan commendation on the other side, found vent not only in motions such as the familiar one of Cato's, to surrender Caesar to the survivors of the foully and treacherously massacred Usipetes and Teneteri (55 B.C.), but must have also been reflected in the political pamphlets of the day. The present writer shares with other students of this subject the impression that the general judgment of Suetonius about Caesar's proconsulate was drawn from such sources (rather than from Asinius Pollio, as some have surmised). There are it is true judgments in Suetonius, though probably not of Suetonius, which reflect a *later* standpoint, *e.g.* Div. Iul. 22, 'ex omni provinciarum copia Gallias potissimum elegit cuius emolumento et opportunitate sit materia triumphorum.' In the same chapter we read also: 'et initio quidem Galliam Cisalpinam Illyrico adjecto lege Vatinia accepit, mox per senatum Comatam quoque, veritis patribus ne si ipsi negassent, populus et hanc daret. Quo gaudio elatus non temperavit quin paucos post dies frequenti curia iactaret invititis et gementibus adversariis adeptum se quae concupisset, proinde ex eo insultaturum omnium capitibus,' with further

¹ Cf. the practice of Cicero in his Cilician proconsulate, ad. Att. v. 17, 1: 'hanc epistolam dictavi sedens in caeda, cum in castra proficiscerer.'

² Cf. particularly the reports which Caelius sent to Cicero in Cilicia in 51 B.C., Cicero ad. Fam. viii. 8, 9.

unsavoury allusion to the intrigue with Nico- medes.

This in the senate—before the cat-and-dog performances of Cato and Clodius and the Milonian era had done so much to lower the *gravitas* of that body. The passage last quoted (or its source) smacks of vindictive partisanship. The narrative of Suetonius continues in the same spirit (24): ‘*Nec deinde ulla belli occasione ne iniusti quidem ac periculosi abstinuit, tam foederatis quam infestis ac feris gentibus ultro lacessitis, adeo ut senatus quondam legatos ad explorandum statum Galliarum mittendos decreverit ac nonnulli (Cato and his followers) dedendum eum hostibus censuerint.*’ The animus here is palpable enough. To this we may add (*ib.* 54), ‘*in Gallia fana templaque deum donis referta expilavit, urbes diruit saepius ob praedam quam ob delictum.*’

Let us now turn to Caesar’s own writing about his proconsulate, taking up a number of passages in which, particularly if they be taken together, the apologetic and semi-controversial character of the commentaries becomes probable, if not evident.

The Helvetii, having failed in their effort to pass the Rhone below Geneva and thus enter the province, had passed through the defiles of the Jura, crossed the Saone, with heavy losses, not much to the north of Lyon, and were marching away from the provincia. But their ultimate destination was Saintonge, north of the Gironde, and the

success of their attempt, says Caesar, would threaten the provincia of which they would become ‘*neighbours*’ (*Santonum fines . . . qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in provincia* I. 10, 1). *Non longe* indeed!—about 200 miles, though Caesar is right in noting the absence of all natural barriers.

Another motive for his Helvetian campaign was the earnest petitions¹ of the Aedui to save them from the Helvetian locusts (I. 11, 3–4). These things, he intimates, and not his own ambition determined him to pursue the Helvetii (I. 11, 6). The insolence and arrogance of the Helvetian chief Divico, who represented the memory of a Roman humiliation, is cleverly introduced by Caesar in such a way that the latter appears as the avenger of national honour and restorer of Roman prestige. Caesar’s solemn reference, in the Herodotean vein, to the custom of the immortal gods to be indulgent to overweening pride with designed patience in order to make the ultimate catastrophe the more telling—all this is a trifle forced, although no doubt flattering to Roman pride.

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¹ As to their intensity and sincerity we have but Caesar’s statement. It is curious that the movement of the Helvetii should have had the active co-operation and sympathy of that party among the Aedui who followed the leadership of the most powerful of their barons, Dumnorix.

(*To be continued.*)

HORATIANA.

IN venturing a few emendations of the text of Horace, I do not think it worth while to support them by any express appeal to palaeography. Such an appeal implies a knowledge, or at least a theory, of epochs in the tradition, whereas we can fix no dates in the ancestry of our Horatian MSS. All our oldest copies are written in minuscules: all come from Northern Europe: all are about 900 years later than Horace’s time and nearly all are incomplete. Again, at almost every difficulty, we find either that our MSS. are agreed or that they vary, in a haphazard way, between (substantially) only two readings, both of which usually make some sense. The facts in general suggest an incorrect

and blurred archetype and two restorations of it: but the details¹ suggest further that there was a separate archetype of the *Lyrics*, of the *Satires* and of the *Epistles*. Our MSS. seem to be composite in two ways: firstly, the separate works were taken from distinct sources; and, secondly, in each work the scribe had variants before him, between which he selected. The date of these variants is the difficulty, for those which seem to be late (such as *pardus* for *pagus* in *C.* iii. 18. 12, or *comptus* for *coronatus* in *C.* ii. 7. 7) are just as well supported as those

¹ For instance with one exception, *res sponsore* for *responsore* in *Ep.* i. 16. 43, all the striking readings of the oldest Blandinian are in the *Satires*.

which seem to be early. Where the history of a text is so vague, it is useless to be talking of capitals and uncials and half-uncials and the like or of peculiarities in the writing of any particular MS. : an emendation is plausible only if it improves the sense and suggests an error possible in almost any style of writing.

Carm. iii. 5. 34—37

Et Marte Poenos proteret altero

qui lora restrictis lacertis

sensit iners timuitque mortem

hic unde uitam sumeret inscius (aptius)

pacem duello miscuit. O pudor! etc.

The MSS. all have *hic* in 37, and most have *inscius*, but several *aptius*. Bentley, objecting to an abrupt stop at *mortem* (cf. iv. 9. 50) and also thinking that *hic* should rather be *ille* (as in l. 32), proposed ‘timuitque mortem *hinc* u. u. s. *aptius* pacem et duello m.’ The reading of Haupt and many others ‘*hic—anxius*’ does not touch Bentley’s objections. The only other suggestion is Mr. Housman’s ‘*hinc* unde uitam *sumere iustus pacemque bello miscuit.*’ The sense which Bentley and Housman assign to *hinc*, viz. ‘a pugna, ferro, manu,’ seems to me too vague for the occasion. The sword from which the soldier should fear death is the enemy’s : the sword with which he should win life is his own. I would propose, therefore, ‘timuitque mortem *hinc* unde uitam *sumere turpius.*’ *Hinc* unde means ‘from the enemy from whom’ it is disgraceful to take life (cf. *Carm.* iii. 11. 38, *unde non times: Sat.* i. 4. 6, *hinc omnis pendet*). The soldier is convicted of a real confusion of thought, which is put epigrammatically in ‘pacem duello miscuit.’ In peace, as Ruskin insists, it is brave to save your life : in war it is brave to lose it. For *miscere* in the sense of ‘to make no difference between’ cf. *Ep.* i. 16. 54 *miscebis sacra profanis*.

Carm. iii. 14. 10—12

uos, o pueri et puellae,

iam uirum expertae, male ominatis

parcite uerbis.

In 11, three good MSS. have *experte*: the scholl. and many MSS. have *male ominatis*, but most of the latter have *male nominatis*, an unparalleled use. I propose

‘iam uirum *expectate*. *male ominatis*’ etc., where *uirum* means, as often, ‘the pattern man’ and *parcite* is addressed to the whole throng of sightseers. The abruptness is similar to ‘faute linguīs’ in *C.* iii. 1. 2 and elsewhere. The rhythm is in Horace’s later style, but the ode is late (B.C. 24), like

i. 12, which begins ‘Quem uirum aut heroa.’

Carm. iv. 2. 49

teque dum procedis io triumphe! etc.

All MSS. and scholiasts have *teque*, a famous crux. I propose ‘*ioque*,’ *io* being a monosyllable as in Catullus lxi. on which see a long note of Munro’s in *Critic. and Eluc.* pp. 136—138.

Sat. i. 1. 108, 109

illuc unde abii redeo nemon’ ut auarus

se probet ac potius laudet diuersa sequentes.

All existing MSS. have *nemon’ ut* or *ne non ut*: the Blandinius antiquissimus alone had *qui nemo ut auarus*, which can be explained only by Mr. Palmer’s desperate expedient of supposing an ellipse of ‘fiat’ (*sc.* qui fiat ut nemo auarus etc.). I would suggest

‘*nemone suam rem* (suā rē)

Sed probet’ etc.

Orelli, Holder and others read ‘*nemo ut auarus*,’ but the exclamation, rather than the question, seems to me in place at the end of a satire which shows the folly of discontent, and I feel to want ‘*sed*’ or nothing. For ‘*probo*’ and ‘*laudo*’ used together L. and S. give several examples under the former word. A somewhat similar corruption appears in *Ep.* ii. 1. 226, where for *eo rem* many MSS. have *item fore*.

Sat. ii. 2. 9—14.

*leporum sectatus equoque
lassus ab indomito, uel si Romana fatigat
militia assuetum graecari, seu pila uelox
molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,
[seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aera disco,]
cum labor extuderit, etc.*

‘Totus hic locus uidetur claudicare’ says Lambinus, and all other editors agree. The remedy is to omit l. 13 : then *Romana milita* and *pila uelox* are alternative modes of tiring yourself, and *fatigat* goes with both. The unusual form *si—seu*, which is due to the preceding *uel*, caused the interpolation.

Sat. ii. 3. 208, 209

qui species alias ueri scelerisque tumultu

permixtas capiet, commotus habebitur etc.

Holder’s note is ‘*ueri sceleris* αἴνῃ EDLv *ueris celeris* F(φψ)λ(λ) *ueris sceleris* g.’ Porphyrio seems to have had *ueris celeri*. I would propose

‘*alias ueris cerebrique tumultu
permixtas.*’

For *alius* with the abl. of comparison cf. *Ep.* i. 16. 20 (*aliū sapiente*). *Cerebrum* in

the same sense occurs in l. 75 of this satire; *tumultus mentis* in *Carm.* ii. 16. 10: *permixtus* in the sense of 'interchanged' is in *Lucr.* iii. 749. Cf. also *miscere* above.

Ep. i. 2. 29—31 (*Alcinoi iuventus*)

Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies et ad strepitum citharae cessatum ducere curam.

All MSS. have *cessatum*, and most have *curam*, but several (incl. *Bland. antiq.*) have *somnum*. This seems a clear case of damage to the archetype and a heroic remedy is therefore not inadmissible. I think the original reading may have been

cessare et ludere et ungui.

The same words occur again in *Ep.* ii. 2. 183, and the same jingle (*cessare et quaerere et uti*) in *Ep.* i. 7. 57. It seems in Horace's manner to repeat these jingles, as *libertino patre natum* in *Sat.* i. 6. 6, 45, 46 and something like it in 21: also *laevo suspensi* etc. in *Sat.* i. 6. 74 and *Ep.* i. 1. 56, where Orelli gives five more examples of repeated lines. Here in particular the string 'cessare et ludere et ungui' is the more appropriate because Horace is thinking of Homer's

αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαῖς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε χοροὶ τε
εἶματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοστρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί.

in *θ.* 248, 249.

J. Gow.

THE ORIGIN OF 'OMENTUM.'

'FOLDS passing from one viscus to the other...are called omenta from their historical connection with extispicious augury,' says Professor Macalister in his great work on *Anatomy* just published (p. 391).

Modern philologists have passed over such a derivation with the silence of contempt, but seeing from the statement quoted above that this view is not, as might have been thought, altogether defunct, I have undertaken the present article in the hope of showing that, however dubious the origin of *Omentum* may be, the word has no connection with omen.

Bochart in his *Hieroicoicon* (1796) hesitatingly mentions the derivation from omen, as the view of others, not his own: 'Ex omenti statu et situ haruspices multa conieciabant, proinde Lucanus ubi de inauspicato Aruntis sacrificio, lib. I. vers. 624, "Cor iacet, et saniem per hiantes viscera rimas Emittunt produntque suas omenta latebras." Et in Oedipo Senecae Manto extis inspectis Tiresiae patri tum caeco inter caetera dicit,— "non molli ambitu Omenta pingues viscerum obtundunt sinus." Itaque Omentum ab omine quidam deducunt. Quod etsi praestare nolum, tamen puto verisimilius quam quod plerique statuunt, Omentum ab omaso dici; quia in omaso prima est brevis' (*Lib. III.*). Even omasum itself is credited with the same origin by Joannes Janua (*Du Gange, Glossarium*, Vol. VI.), 'Omasus (*sic*) i. tripa vel ventriculus qui continet alia viscera quia in ipso rerum eventus inspiciebant.'

Now, if *Omentum* be derived from omen, it would surely be because the *Omentum* was the part *par excellence*, from which omens were drawn.

But so far from this being the case, it is difficult to prove that the omenta were ever the source of omens, and it is practically certain that, if ever so used, they were merely a minor source.

It will be observed that in the two passages quoted by Bochart there is no mention of omens being taken from the omenta; in both, they are simply named as parts seen when the viscera are exposed.

If references to the extispicium be compared, it will be seen that the liver and the nobler organs were themselves the chief objects of inspection, *e.g.* 'Nam non placet Stoicis, singulis iecorum fissis aut avium cantibus interesse Deum' (*Cic. de Div.* I. 52): and again (*ibid.*), describing an ominous victim, 'in extis bovis opimi cor non fuit': and again, 'postero die caput in iecore non fuit': cf. also 'Quid enim habet haruspex cur pulmo incisus etiam in bovis extis dirimat tempus?' (*Cic. de Div.* I. 39), and similar passages in *Plin. H.N.* XI. 71 and *Val. Max.* I. 6, 13, etc.

Later writers on the subject have noted this order of importance, *e.g.* Caspar Peucer (1593) in a passage too long to quote, but I give the marginal headings, (1) 'victimis explorandis cur epar primo consideratur': (2) 'Cordis consideratio in extispicina': (3) 'Viscerum minus principalium consideratio': the last section beginning thus, 'Corde explorato ad fellis, lienis, pulmonum, et membranarum viscera ambientium considerationem se vertebant' (*Comment. de praecipuis Divinationum generibus*, p. 361), and M. Johannes Praetorius (1677) in a pamphlet published with others on kindred subjects, 'Aruspicium, cum ex inspectis avium aut

aliorum animalium sacrificatorum extis prae-
cipue iecore (unde ἡπατοσκοπία dicta) colli-
guntur futura.'

The very name extispex occurring at least
as early as Cicero, and the use of 'exta' by
him, not 'viscera,' would seem to show that
it was the nobler organs (exta), not the
whole entrails (viscera), from which divina-
tions were chiefly made. The word Omentum
was certainly in use before Cicero's time
(Catullus B.C. 50), yet in the whole of the
De Divinatione, though referring frequently
to the extispicium, he never once uses the
word. Is it possible, if the Omentum were
an important source of omens, as it surely
must have been, if derived from omen, that
Cicero in such a treatise should never once
mention it?

Further, if Omentum played such an im-
portant part, we should expect to find the
equivalent ἐπίπλοον used in Greek divination,
but I cannot find a single passage in which
it is so used; the word is σπλάγχνα with the
same distinction as in the Latin, σπλάγχνα
(the nobler organs), not ἔντερα or κοιλία (the
whole entrails).

Again, if the derivation from omen be
correct we should expect some traces of the
connection in the earliest writers using the
word. It occurs as early as Catullus, 'Natus
ut accepto veneretur carmine divos, Omen-
tum in flamma pingue liquefaciens,' then in
Celsus Lib. IV. cap. 1, al., who, though he is
usually careful to explain the origin of
anatomical terms, has nothing to say on
Omentum. Other passages in chronological
order are, Pers. VI. 74 'Ast illi tremat
omento popa venter,' id. II. 47 'Tot tibi cum
in flammis iuniceum omenta liquescant':
Plin. N.H. XI. 37, 80 'Ventriculus atque
intestina pingui ac tenui omento integuntur'
(it is noteworthy that just above he has been
speaking of prodigies, yet mentions no con-
nection with omentum): Juv. XIII. 117 'In
carbone tuo charta pia tura soluta Ponimus
et sectum vituli iecur albaque porci Omenta.'
Later, Macrobius uses it of periosteum, 'Ut
os secetur, omentum quod impositum est ossi
cruciatum, dum sectionem patitur, importat
(Sat VII. 9), and of the Meninges, 'cerebrum
...non suo sensu, sed vestitus sui, id est
omenti, hunc importat dolorem (*ibid.*).'

In none of these passages is there the
slightest hint of connection with omen; nor
even in Varro, who is not slow to connect
similarity of sound with similarity of origin;
'Indidem (ab ore) Omen, Ornamentum;
alterum quod ex ore primum elatum est
Osmen dictum, alterum nunc cum praeposi-
tione dicitur volgo Ornamentum, quod sicut

olim Ornamentum scenici plerique dicunt.
Hinc Oscines dicuntur apud augures quae
ore faciunt auspicium' (*De L. Lat.* VI. 76).

The derivation from omen seems to me by
the above arguments sufficiently disproved:
but there remains the difficult task of
assigning a satisfactory origin to Omentum.

By modern etymologists several sugges-
tions have been made: (1) = augmentum *i.e.*
fat: (2) contracted from ovimentum, as if
originally confused with the ovary: (3) con-
tracted from operimentum (Scaliger, 1619,
on Aristot. *H.A.* I. 136 says 'Omentum,
valde concisa voce, fuit enim operimentum'):
so Scarabelli, who also suggests (4) akin to
Celtic 'om' = in, on, whence idea of 'inward
parts.' 'Omentum dal celt. "om," lo stesso
che 'am,' sopra, intorno, tutto all' intorno,
se pur non è sincope di operimentum, coper-
tura': (5) derived from same root as ὑμήν.

This last view has found many supporters;
Vaniček with Bauchfell and others would
refer these words to a root √au = to clothe,
or cover, seen in induo, exuviae; while Byrne
in his *Origin of Greek and Latin and Gothic
Roots* (1888), tracing language to its primitive
phonetic origin, says that the sound 'u'
conveys the idea of an enclosure, and a like
idea is conveyed by 'm': thus we get on the
one hand ὑμήν, o-mentum; on the other
μήνιξ, mem-brana, o-men-tum. In any case
supporters of this view attribute to Omen-
tum the primary meaning 'veil' or 'cover.'
In favour of this is to be said that Aristotle
several times actually uses ὑμήν in the de-
scription of Omentum, *e.g.* ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν
ἐπίπλοον ὑμήν τοῖς μὲν στέαρ ἔχουσι στεατώδης
τοῖς δὲ πιμελὴν πιμελώδης (*P.A.* IV. 3. 1),
ἔστι δὲ (τὸ ἐπίπλοον) τὴν φύσιν ὑμήν (*H.A.I.*
136), ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπίπλοον ὑμήν (*H.A.* III.
174), cf. Athenaeus p. 107 ὁ ἐπίπλους εἴρηται
ἐπὶ τοῦ λίπους καὶ τοῦ ὑμένο.

The Omentum does present exactly the
appearance of a curtain or veil concealing
most of the small intestine when the ab-
domen is opened; and this sense of 'covering'
would account for the later use of the word
= periosteum, and meninges.

The choice, I think, lies between this last
√au or √u, and a root √op, seen in ὀπός,
and possibly in ops, probably closely allied
with the root of πίων, opimus, etc.

It is evident that in most of the places
where it occurs, especially in descriptions of
sacrifices, the main idea of the passage is
'fat,' *e.g.* in those quoted above, 'Omentum
in flamma pingue liquefaciens' (Catull.), 'Tot
tibi cum in flammis iuniceum omenta liques-
cant' (Persius), 'tremat omento popa venter'
(Persius), 'Omenta pingues viscerum obtend-

unt sinus' (Seneca), 'ventriculus atque intestina pingui ac tenui omento integuntur' (Plin.). The corresponding Greek word ἐπίπλοον is constantly associated with words meaning 'fat,' e.g. in Aristotle quoted above (*P.A.* IV. 3. 1) and elsewhere; so the κνίσσα of the Homeric sacrifice is explained by scholiasts as ἐπίπλοον, e.g. κατὰ τε κνίσσῃ ἐκάλυψαν Δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, whereon scholiast, Δίπλωσαντες τὴν κνίσσαν, ἣν δὲ λέγει τὸν ἐπίπλοον, and Hesychius, δίπτυχα, δύο ἐπιβολὰς ἔχοντα ἢ διπλοῦν, ὥστε τῷ μὲν ὑπεστρώσθαι τὸν ἐπίπλοον τῷ δὲ ἐπιβεβλήσθαι.

Further, the Semitic representatives of Omentum, e.g. Arabic and Syriac 'Tharb' and 'Tharba,' are said to mean 'fat,' and

indeed this latter sense is the only one that survived in the form 'Zirbo,' used in Sardinia.

Lastly, perhaps the most obvious characteristic of the gastrocolic fold of the peritoneum, the Omentum, is the quantity of adipose tissue present. Quain speaks of it as sometimes 'loaded with fat.' On the whole, therefore, I am in favour of the root √op, to which perhaps should also be referred omasum (said however by Philoxenus, *Gloss.*, to be Gallic), and the very late word ominada, = 'bosse, tumeur, abcès' (Maigne and Migne, *Lex.*).

GEO. F. STILL.

HADLEY'S HIPPOLYTUS.

Hippolytus. With Introduction and Notes by W. S. HADLEY. 12mo, pp. 146. Cambridge University Press. 2s.

THIS excellent edition of the *Hippolytus* begins with a refreshing protest against the 'ravages' committed upon ancient texts by critics whose 'vastness of learning' is not 'directed by infallibility of taste.' 'The authority of the MSS.,' this editor thinks, 'is surely of some weight.' He remarks (p. 124) that the *Hippolytus* has suffered especially, in the way of wholesale excision and alteration, from 'the will-o'-the-wisp-like influence' exercised on the ingenuity of editors by the first edition (the Ἰππ. καλυπτόμενος). Accordingly, we have here a text, by no means unduly conservative, of which every page gives proof of care, judgment, and taste. The well and even brilliantly written introduction contains some admirable remarks upon 'Euripides in relation to his times,' and a comparison of the treatment of the subject by Euripides, Seneca, and Racine: and there is a good excursus on Orphism. The notes are full, not too full: there is enough, and not too much, of the views of other editors, and in their treatment no carping but no lack of independence: the style is clear and vigorous: the scholarship, the critical acumen, the literary appreciation leave nothing to be desired. Difficulties—of which there are many in the *Hippolytus*—are never avoided. The accuracy of the printing, too, deserves praise. One mistake is worth noticing, πῑθοῦ Soph. *Tr.* 387 (in note on 491) for πείθοι. (The

quotation does not seem apposite.)—Lines 29—33 are a well-known crux. Mr. Hadley, retaining the rest, rejects 32, 33, which indeed seem indefensible; for, to say nothing of the identification of the temple with the Ἰπολύτειον, Phaedra could never have so proclaimed her love: and he accounts ingeniously for their insertion, though it may be doubted whether the interpolator intended τὸ λοιπὸν to mean 'posterity' and to be the subject of ὀνόμαζεν.—43. 'public' and 'private' should be dropped: πολέμιος is a declared foe, ἐχθρὸς an enemy in feeling who may or may not be πολέμιος. 78. The justification of 'the bold figure of Αἰδώς tending and keeping ever fresh the beauty of the meadow, as a maiden's purity is ever reflected in her face,' is excellent. For εἰληχεν 'has taken them for her own,' Pind. *Ol.* 1, 53, ἀκέρδεια λέλογχε κακαγάρως might have been quoted. 87. 'round the goal' is not satisfactory. κάμπτειν with τέλος, and the like, seems to have acquired a secondary meaning, to 'run home' along the second limb of the δίαυλος. It is well explained by Mr. Bayfield on *Ion*, 82. 88. The point of the γὰρ clause lies, perhaps, less in the antithesis of ἀναξ and δεσπότης than in its serving as an apology for the offer of advice in the next line. 93, 99. The fault of the logic is more apparent than real. 'We all hate σεμνότης (pride): and so do gods. Do not with your pride affront the proud goddess Aphrodite: leave pride to her.' 104—7. Is the transposition necessary? The same doubt arises on 330, 332, and on 1045—8. 135—8. 'The pure form of bread' can hardly be right. If Orphic

language is admissible here at all, fasting might very well be described as 'keeping the body pure from bread.' And *κατ' ἀμ-βροσίον στόματος* may be defended, if *Δάμ. ἀκτᾶς δέμας ἄγνόν ἴσχει* is regarded as the opposite of *σίτον δέχσθαι*: on the principle laid down by Wickham on *Hor. Od. 1, 35, 28, 'ferre iugum pariter dolosi,'* that '*ferre* depends not on the whole idea of *dolosi*, but on the positive attribute denied in it,' 141 *sq.* Mr. Hadley reads with Wecklein *οὐ γάρ*, and in 145 *ἡ οὐκ* (where Wecklein *οὐδ'.*) finding a trace of this in the end of *φοιταλέον*, a variant for *φοιτᾶς* in the previous line. He rests his interpretation ('you are not frenzied: are you not rather wasting away because of Dictynna?') on a not very obvious antithesis between *φοιτᾶς* and *πρίχαι*. It seems better to read *ἡ οὐκ* and *οὐ γάρ...* *ὀρέας* as a question: *οὐ* = *nonne* in both cases. 'Are you not frenzied by Pan, etc.? or are you not plagued by Dictynna?' 169. Mr. Hadley reads *σὺν θεοῖς ἐφοῖτα* for MSS. *σὺν θεοῖσι φοιτᾶ*: a great improvement. 290. The editor deals tenderly with the apparent confusion in a former edition of *εἰπόμην* with *εἶπον*. 306. '*μή* not *οὐ* μεθ., as putting a contingency.' Rather, because of the imperative *ἴσθι*. A note might have been added on *ἴσθι προδοῖσα* 'know that you will have been betrayed': as if *θανομένη* were understood, 'know that you will die having betrayed.' 322. *γάρ* with a question is surely conjunctive, asking for an explanation of what has been said. 375. *ἄλλων* for *ἄλλως* seems unnecessary, and does not go well with *θνητῶν*. *ἄλλως ἐφρόντισ'* is very suitable for the 'old trains of vague thought,' when her own conduct was not yet in question. 383 *sq.* Mr. Hadley rejects 384-7, and transposes 388-390. 'The *pannus*,' he says, 'is not even *purpureus*.' But is it therefore not Euripidean? The *λεσχαὶ καὶ σχολή*, which are among the distracting pleasures of life, seem to be 'prating and philosophy' in lieu of action, making cowards of men: and there is an *αἰδῶς* which restrains from decisive action when decisive action is needed—the temper of Hamlet—a scrupulousness akin to that which restrains from crime, virtuous perhaps or at least amiable in its origin, but its indulgence is one of the forms of *ἡδονή* and its results are ruinous. 388. The suggestion that the quasi-auxiliary use of *πυγχάνω* is in its origin 'ironical' is ingenious: a simpler suggestion is that it arose from the desire to express *coincidence* of this and that. 441. MSS. *οὔτ' (or οὐκ) ἄρα γ' οὐ δέι τοῖς ἐρῶσι τῶν πέλας*. Valckenaer *οὐ τᾶρα λύνει*. Mr. Hadley conj. *οὐκ ἄρ' ἄγων δὴ τοῖς ἐρῶσι νῦν μέγας, | ὅσοι τε*

μέλλονσ', εἰ θανεῖν αὐτοὺς χρεών; but the line has a patched look, and the meaning required is 'so much the worse for lovers'; whereas *ἄγων μέγας* 'the issue is a great one' is used of a critical decision still pending, or a critical situation on which much depends, and the point of the phrase lies in the uncertainty—e.g. *Hipp. 496 νῦν δ' ἄγων μέγας, σῶσαι βίον σόν* ('it is touch-and-go with your life'): *Med. 235 κὰν τῶδ' ἄγων μέγιστος, ἡ κακὸν λαβεῖν ἢ χρηστόν* ('to get a bad or a good one, all turns on that'): *Republ. 608 B μέγας ὁ ἄγων...τὸ χρηστόν ἢ κακὸν γενέσθαι*: cf. *Bacch. 975, Rhés. 195*. If Valckenaer's reading is adopted, *τοῖς ἐρῶσι τῶν πέλας* must mean 'your neighbours who are in love,' not 'those who are in love with their neighbours' (to which Mr. Hadley justly objects). 467. Mr. Hadley retains *ἀκριβώσιαν*, but prefers *ἀκριβώσαις ἅν.* 491. He conjectures *ὥς τάχος δὲ πειστέον*. But *διωστέον* seems satisfactory: 'we must know one way or the other, whether he will or he won't.' Certainly the stop after *τάνδρὸς* is right. The 'coarseness,' objected to by Weil, is of the essence of the speech. 504. The objection to "my heart has been well prepared by love," *i.e.* is already prone to yield' is that it takes no account of *μὲν* and *δέ*. Bothe's *οὐ* for *εὔ* may be right: this gives antithesis: but if not, the dat. *ἐρωσι* is difficult, because ambiguous—possible however, as a dat. of reference (which the antithesis seems to require), not of agent. 'Love finds my soul prepared' (or 'finds me mistress of my soul': whichever meaning of the verb is preferred). Or we might say that the idea of preparedness (or self-mastery) implies resistance. 'Now I am proof against passion; but, if you gloze the shame, all my good resolutions will be swept away by the tide.' 506. *ἀναλωθήσομαι εἰς* may very well be a refinement upon the colloquial *φθείρεσθαι εἰς*, as the Schol. explains it: *διαφθαρῆσομαι καὶ ἐμπέσω (πεσοῖμαι) εἰς ὃ φεύγω*, 'I shall be swept, with a loss of all that I prize and all that I believe, along the tide of passion.' 507. *εἰ τοι δοκεῖ σοι*, 'If that is your way of looking at it.' Rather 'If you will have it so.' The nurse pretends to give way, deceiving Phaedra. At first (477) she talks of *ἐπῳδαί*: 'you are in for the malady: trust to me, and I will bring you safely through it'; meaning to persuade Hippolytus. When Phaedra protests, she says plainly, 'We must tell Hippolytus the truth' (490-7). Phaedra still protesting—'Proceed no further in this matter'—now she says, 'Well, if it must be so—a pity that you went wrong, but we will do what we can' [*δευ-*

τέρα γὰρ ἡ χάρις, viz. of what I shall now propose: 'this is the next best thing I can do for you:' not, as Mr. Hadley, 'gratitude is a secondary consideration'] ; 'you shall be cured by charms: there shall be no disgrace—and the charms (don't be afraid of them) will not upset your reason. But the remedy requires that I should procure some word or token from Hippolytus, to make it effectual.' 'How am I to take it?' asks Phaedra. To which the only answer is, 'Leave all to me.' 'I am afraid you will tell him.' And again, 'Leave all to me.' Certainly Phaedra is weak, and neither trusts nor restrains the nurse. But it is too much to say that she 'suggests, under guise of warning, the very course the nurse has resolved upon.' She says (weakly enough no doubt), 'I am afraid you will do after all what just now you threatened.'—This analysis agrees with Mr. Hadley's view, except that it is rather more favourable to Phaedra, and that it retains 513–5, which Mr. Hadley rejects, not quite consistently with the claim that his reading of the scene 'involves no surgery.' 670, 1. Mr. Hadley's ψόγον for λόγον is an improvement: otherwise he follows the MSS. 678. βίω ('at the expense of life') for βίον is questionable: βίον seems to require δυσεκπέρατον. 715, 6. These lines have been much rewritten. Mr. Hadley retains 716 (with δὴ τι) unaltered: but in 715 conjectures and prints ἐν δὲ πρόσθ' εἰποῦσ' ἐρῶ, which surely is weak. But προστρέπουσ' (which the Schol. explains ζητοῦσα καὶ ἐξερευνῶσα) can hardly stand. Perhaps ἐπιστραφεῖσ' ('upon reflection'), or even ἐπιστρέφουσ': conceivably προσστρέφουσ'. Cf. the use of προσβάλλειν (τὸν νοῦν), Soph. Tr. 580, 844. 724. Mr. Hadley explains, 'Do you at any rate (unlike the nurse) give me good advice.' But the καί, and the repeated εἶ, link the words ironically with the speech of the Chorus, εὐφίμος ἴσθι. 'Yes, and don't spare your good advice: but I must die.' 921, 2. Mr. Hadley thinks that these lines refer to Socrates, 'who then, in the streets of Athens, was trying to convince men of ignorance, hoping by conviction to

drive them into virtue.' 983. He adopts Herwerden's conjecture ξύντασις, remarking that ἐξότασις would rather mean 'sullenness.' 988. ἔχει μοῖραν, not exactly 'has a due share of influence,' but *numerum aliquem habet*, 'is of some account,' 'claims some consideration' (lit. 'fills some room,' cf. ἐν μεγάλῃ, οὐδεμιᾷ μοῖρα, etc.): 'this also (to please the select audience) is of some value: for it is just what the other sort cannot do' (it is those who *cannot* please the wise who please the crowd). 1186. As to 'potential optative without ἄν,' in *Prom.* 291 ὅτῳ is interrog. (see A. Sidgwick, *Agamemnon*, appendix on 'Remote Deliberative'); and in *Bacch.* 747 one MS. has σὲ ξυνάψαι and the other (*pr. man.*) σὺ ξυνάψαι. But with this θάσσον ἢ λέγοι τις cf. *Agam.* 552 τὰ μὲν τις εὖ λέξειεν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν (where however Sidgwick argues for ἄν λέξειεν): *Aves.* 880 ὥσπερ εἴποι τις τόπος: *Androm.* 929 ὡς εἴποι τις: *Iph. A.* 1210 οὐδεὶς πρὸς τὰδ' ἀντείποι βροτῶν. 1297. 'Yet will I not make thy path easy.' Rather, as Paley, 'I shall gain nothing by it (towards restoring the dead to life).' 1349. χρησμοῖς well explained 'the answer of heaven to the curse of his father': the god bestowed (ἐχρησε) what Theseus unjustly asked. 1416. 'Let be, for otherwise it will be the worse for you': ἄτιμοι 'unhonoured, i.e. without effect': i.e. Cypris will pursue you, not vainly, with her hatred even when you are dead. But δέμας will not bear this meaning: see Mr. Hadley's own note on 131. Artemis says 'let be: for even when you are dead Cypris shall not wreak her rage upon you unpunished': meaning, 'when you are dead she shall be punished for having wreaked her rage upon you.' For ἄτιμοι = ἀτιμώρητοι see L. and S. It is echoed by τιμωρήσομαι (1422), and τιμὰς (1424). Then 1419 (which is not very like 1454) may remain. 1441. More readers will agree with Mr. Hadley, who thinks this 'the most beautiful line in a most beautiful scene,' than with Prof. Mahaffy, to whom it seems 'impossible, from such an artist as Euripides.'

R. WHITE LAW.

FLAGG'S *IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS*.

Euripides' Iphigenia among the Taurians.
Edited by ISAAC FLAGG. Ginn & Co.
1889. Square 8vo. Pp. 197. 4s. The
Text separately, 10d.

WE have already in this country a very good school edition of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*;

but Prof. Flagg's book is also a good one and will be found useful even here, designed as it is for younger students than Mr. England's, students who have hitherto read no Greek verse but Homer and are brought to a standstill by each fresh crisis or Doricism. There is therefore none of that

critical matter which occupies Mr. England's footnotes, but only an incomplete list of deviations from MS. authority at the end of the volume. Mr. Flagg has constructed his text with common sense, but yet I think that for boys Mr. England's is the better. For scholars of course neither of the two is satisfactory, inasmuch as both are full of conjectures which have no probability at all; but for boys the matter stands otherwise. We cannot always give them what Euripides wrote, for the simple reason that we have it not: the next best thing then is to give them what he might have written, grammar and good sense; and this is what Mr. England's freely amended text attempts to do. Mr. Flagg's more conservative recension no doubt comes quite as near as Mr. England's to what Euripides wrote, but it contains much more which Euripides not only did not write but could not; and the learner's conception of Greek is impaired accordingly. The notes, if we set those aside which explain the various inexplicable things retained in the text, suit their purpose well: they are terse yet not niggardly: especially admirable is the way in which they keep the reader's eye on the progress of the action, and bring to his notice those strokes of art which a schoolboy intent on construing is sure to miss. Here and there the taste of an islander is offended by a style which breathes the ampler ether and diviner air of America, but otherwise it is only details that challenge demur. 250. 'τοῦ ξυζύγου τοῦ ξένου: *of the stranger who was his mate*. The constr. seems to be like ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἀγαθός, treating ξένου as an adjective.' But the translation treats ξένου as a substantive, and requires for παράλλελ ὁ ἀγαθὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ. 266. ἀκροῖσι δακτύλοισι πορθμένων ἵχνος, 'ferrying his track on tiptoe.' 300. ὥσθ' αἵματιπρὸν πέλαγος ἐξανθεῖν ἄλός, 'so that the briny deep bloomed forth with gore': we need not encourage boys to translate in this style. 740. Amusing notes have been written on this passage, but none so amusing as Mr. Flagg's. Iphigenia wishes Pylades to swear that he will carry her letter to Argos; Orestes absurdly stipulates that she on her part shall take oath to send Pylades safely out of the Chersonese, to which she very naturally replies, 'Why, how could he carry my letter unless I did?' Other commentators have remarked on the ineptitude of Orestes; Mr. Flagg on the contrary admires the noteworthy cleverness of Iphigenia, and lest we should think that such acumen transcends probability he explains it by the fact that she had not learnt to

read and write. 790. 'ἐμπεδῶσομεν: *will make good*; cf. ἔμπεδον, v. 758.' The student who does compare v. 758 and finds that ἔμπεδον is there translated *binding* will be puzzled to reconcile the two notes. 902. Priestess and victim have been revealed to one another as sister and brother, and forget their peril in transports of emotion; Pylades now interposes to remind them where they stand. Mr. Flagg hits off the situation with Columbian vivacity by saying that Pylades 'calls time.' 1152. 'The text,' says Mr. Flagg, 'is a more than Terpsichorean maze.' It may be, but he should not therefore adopt from J. H. H. Schmidt an emendation which, after violently altering the MSS., produces gibberish. When it comes to introducing an οὐκέτι of which the text has no vestige, and then translating this οὐκέτι as if it were οὐπω, one prefers Terpsichore. 1415. The text gives one punctuation, the note assumes another. 1418. φόνον τὸν Αἰλίδι ἀμνημόνεντον θεᾷ προδοῦσ' ἀλίσκεται: supposing that this meant anything, by what imaginable jugglery could it be made to mean, 'is found guilty of betraying the goddess' trust in that forgotten murderous deed at Aulis'?

The introduction, which covers fifty pages, is a full and interesting account of the legend, plot, artistic structure, and metres of the play. Mr. Flagg calls this 'negatively considered, the most faultless of Euripides' extant tragedies,' and thinks that 'there remains not another one that is marred by so few of those grave lapses from dramatic propriety and universal good taste to which the poet's mind was subject.' Even negatively considered I should have thought the *Hippolytus* by far the most faultless tragedy of Euripides, if not indeed the most faultless of all tragedies except the *Antigone* alone: what lapses mar it, apart from a certain artificiality in the alteration of Theseus with the hero, I do not know; assuredly none to compare with the see-saw of divine intervention in the *ξέσδος* of our play. Mr. Flagg defends this machinery as the only way to rescue the chorus, which is one of those excuses which Aristotle calls ridiculous; the poet, as he says, should take care from the outset not to construct his play in such a manner. And when Mr. Flagg says that 'the modern reader cannot adequately reproduce the feelings stirred by this final scene in the Athenian spectator's breast,' this is to arraign Euripides, not to defend him. It means that he wrote for an age and not for all time; he defaced his drama that he might gladden the eyes of the vulgar with the resplendent stage-pro-

perties of their beloved goddess: a trap to catch applause which does not differ in kind from the traditional sentiment, always welcome to the gallery of our own theatres, that the man who lays his hand upon a woman, save in the way of kindness, is unworthy of the name of a British sailor. On p. 36, where Mr. Flagg speaks of the increased employment of a resolved arsis in Euripides' later plays, the terms, 'less care in the finishing,' 'deterioration,' 'laxity,' 'degeneracy,' 'looseness,' give a wrong im-

pression. We are free to prefer the earlier practice; but the change proceeds from no negligence or failure in craftsmanship. The *Bacchæ*, but for the injuries of time, is hardly less exquisite in finish than the *Medea* itself; only it is written on other principles.

The text is printed clearly and, so far as I have observed, accurately, except for the common mistake $\chi\acute{\alpha}$, $\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, $\chi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$, $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\nu$, rough breathing for coronis; $\theta\omicron\delta\mu\acute{o}\phi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$ however is given correctly.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ULLRICH'S STUDIA TIBULLIANA.

Studia Tibulliana, de libri secundi editione, scripsit RICHARD ULLRICH. (Berolini, R. Weber. 1889. pp. 86.) 1 Mk. 80.

THE author deals principally with the vexed questions of the chronology of Tibullus' poems. Ov. Tr. ii. 463, 464 'legiturque Tibullus et placet et iam te principe notus erat' is to be interpreted to mean that Tibullus published the first book in 27 B.C. (nine months after Octavian had the title of Augustus conferred upon him). The second book, in spite of its brevity, is complete and was published by Tibullus himself between 27 and 23, probably 24. This is shown by Ovid's elegy on Tibullus (*Am.* iii. 9) where Nemesis (= Lib. II.) and Delia (Lib. I) are mentioned after the Iliad and Odyssey. Ovid's picture of Nemesis and Delia being present at Tibullus' funeral is pure poetic fiction and nowise proves that the Nemesis attachment continued to the end of T.'s life. The Glycera elegies mentioned by Horace (*Od.* i. 33, 1—4 (in spite of Baehrens' arguments, Ullrich identifies the Albius of Horace with Tibullus) were written after the publication of the second book but not later than 23. Ovid either did not know of them or did not mention them as they were not pub-

lished, and he does not picture Glycera as present at the funeral because 'certaminis Deliae et Nemeseos vigori noceretur tertia puella adiecta' (so Gruppe). Zingerle is right in assigning the Sulpicia cycle—iv. (of the ordinary numbering) 2—7—to Tibullus, though we cannot tell why it got amongst the spurious poems. Books III and IV were not added to the genuine poems till after the time of Martial (or perhaps Quintilian). The tract concludes with a discussion of Martial xiv. 193 (*Tibullus*) and the distribution of the adjacent epigrams into those for poor men's presents and those for rich men's (see epigr. 1, 5). Ullrich criticises Friedländer and Birt and holds that 183 (*Homeri Batrachomyomachia*) is a poor man's gift, so 185 (*Vergili Culex*), 187, 189 (*Monobiblos Properti*), 191; 184 (*Homerus in pugillaribus membranis*), 186, 188, 190 (*T. Livius in membranis*), 192 are rich men's. But 193 (*Tibullus*) and 195 (*Catullus*) are rich men's: 194, (*Lucan*) 196 (*Calvus on the use of iced water*) are poor men's. The tract shows sober and independent judgment, but the results are by no means all certain. The Latin is easy but poor.

J. P. P.

URBINI'S LA PATRIA DI PROPERZIO.

La Patria di Properzio—Studi e polemiche di GIULIO URBINI. (Ermanno Loescher. Roma, Torino, Firenze. 1889.) pp. 210. lire 3 50.

THIS book is interesting, not merely in itself but for the light it throws upon the present

state of classical studies in Italy. With a very few exceptions, the Italian scholars are both in knowledge and method half-a-century behind their northern neighbours. In no other country would it be necessary (as no doubt the author himself would admit, cf. p. 210) to spend seventy pages on 'polemiche'

against the pretensions of various towns to the honour of having produced Propertius, or even two pages in proving that *axis* cannot mean 'a hill' (29-30). In Italy this question of the birth-place seems to be one of municipal importance; and a candidate in Spello, Bevagna, Assisi, etc. (see the list in pp. 51 foll.) would have little chance unless he were 'sound' on the birth-place of Propertius. The disproportionate interest which the subject excites is shown by the writer's peroration to the *Studi* (p. 100), which may serve also as a specimen of his style: 'E per vero, senza essere nè uno Champollion, che con la sola iscrizione trilingue (*Pietra di Rosetta*) del *British Museum* arrivò a decifrare i geroglifici egiziani, nè un Cuvier che da un sola ossicino si vantava di ricostruire la forma di tutto un megaterio scomparso, e tanto meno un di quegli savi dell' Egitto che da un sandalo rapito da un' aquila (attenti gli archeologi!) argomentarono, si dice, tutta la bellezza del corpo di Rodope, io credo di aver proprio colto il pensiero del Poeta che, meno forse pel capriccio di lui, che per le bizzarre ipotesi di molti esegeti e commentatori pareva impenetrabilmente ascoso—direbbero l' Alighieri—

Sotto 'l velame degli versi strani.'

Urbini defends the claims of Spello (*Hispellum*) against those of Assisi. His chief arguments may be briefly stated thus. The claims of Assisi must be rejected because it was a place of no note, which does not agree with the *noti Penates* (Prop. iv. 1, 121), a phrase which must refer to a town. Its

position on the side of the hill does not suit *scandentes arces* (ib. 65; cf. 125) nor with i. 22, 9 which implies contiguity with Etruria, whereas the inhabitants of Asisium never had a foot of land in the plains of Angeli and Bastia, nor with the reference to Mevania (iv. 1, 125), as the whole territory of Spello lay between Bevagna and Assisi. The *Lacus Vmber* or *Vber* (ib. 124) is not the river Clitumnus; but is to be sought round Bastia which was once an island and is called *insula* in eleventh and twelfth century documents (p. 43). To a criticism of Prof. C. Braggio—that there are plenty of islands in Italy where there is no vestige of a lake, it is replied that lakes have disappeared from all parts of Italy without leaving a trace, as Lake Trasimene and three in Umbria itself. The required conditions are satisfied by the Roman colony Hispellum. The MS. reading in iv. 1, 125 '*scandentisque Asis consurgit vertice murus*' is accordingly to be retained, Asis being the present Monte Subasio (originally Asis) on which both Assisi and Spello stand. Urbini adds a bibliographical appendix, which is useful, though by no means complete. According to him the best Italian translation of Propertius is Casella's (opere edite e postume, Firenze, Barbèra, 1864, vol. 2). The French translations he condemns, and, if he is right in thinking the best to be that of De la Roche-Aymon (Quantin, 1885), with justice. Scholars who make a special study of Propertius will find Urbini's book worth purchasing.

J. P. P.

THE NEW EDITION OF REISIG'S *VORLESUNGEN*.

Reisig's Vorlesungen über Lat. Sprachwissenschaft, mit den Anmerkungen von F. HAASE. Erster Theil: Syntax. Neubearbeitet von J. H. SCHMALZ und Dr. G. LANDGRAF. Pp. 888. Berlin, 1888.

To those who are interested in tracing out the Darwinian development of grammatical theories this book ought to be most useful and interesting; but to others with only a limited amount of patience who wish to use it as a practical grammar it may prove misleading and disappointing. The avowed design is to adhere religiously and affectionately to Reisig's original text and Haase's additions, without altering the original character of the book (Haase's

edition came out in 1839). Consequently we have in the main text and in larger print numbers of exploded errors, with condensed *resumés* in smaller type of later views, out of which the student has to pick the most plausible. The carrying out of this plan necessarily involves also frequent repetitions of subject-matter and quotations (cp. pp. 40, 46, 781), adding considerably to the bulk of the volume, which contains 888 pages. The net result is a collection of suggestive materials for forming views on grammar but no sound system worked out in any part; a number of useful rules and observations, but frequently based on childish or fanciful theories. We find e.g. on p. 9, without comment, the venerable rule that the masc. is more

worthy than the fem., and the fem. than the neuter, to account for *Ptolemaeum et Cleopatrum venturos*. But in these and other cases, such as are quoted on p. 10, the construction really follows according to the idea most prominent in the speaker's mind; e.g. *uxorem et pecora salvam nuntiavit; loca et nationes minus frequentata; amici et multa praesidia paranda*; differences of gender being merged in the masculine or neuter when the mere plurality of persons or things is thought of.

Similarly we are told on p. 41 that the 1st person is preferred to the 2nd and the 2nd to the 3rd; but in *ego meique vescimur* or *vescor: tu, tui, tua omnia curae sunt*, etc., one and the same rule prevails, that the idea most prominent to the mind at the moment when the verb comes dictates the construction.

Old-fashioned attempts to confine the flexibility of thought by rigid rules such as these, with a view to teaching in a mechanical way, only result in a mechanical unintelligent rote-learning and in a code of arbitrary perplexing *formulae* discredited by the number of exceptions that they necessarily entail.

'Gender' and 'number' are followed by 'pronouns' (100 pp.) and 'adjectives and adverbs' (34 pp.); and these by 'conjunctions and particles' (130 pp.). A short summary of the chapter on negatives must suffice for this part: it will give a fair idea of the general treatment throughout. Reisig (in 2—3 full pages) says: 'negatives are (1) direct or (2) indirect. Direct (1) are A. categorical (*non* and *ne* used) or B. dubitative (*haud* only used). Two negatives in same clause in all languages destroy each other, but not if the clause is virtually distinct or repeated. (2) Indirect negatives are (a) conditional clauses, e.g. *si unquam* or (b) rhetorical questions.' On this subject we have notes almost double in length: esp. on *haud*, e.g. Hand makes *haud* 'modal,' 'nearly = $\mu\eta$ ' 'stronger than *non*': Stürenburg makes it 'a weaker negative' and 'dubitative,' 'derived from a privative and Lat. *ut*!' Haase makes it neither, but varying with what it negatives, and 'subjective': others make it a courteous negative (= $\omicron\upsilon\kappa \tilde{\alpha}\nu$). 'As subjective, it negatives words and not clauses: so is never used with infinitive, conditionals, &c.' The notes also contain references to some thirty treatises, besides Latin quotations. The subject will not seem to readers of Draeger or Kühner either practically or exhaustively treated.

Some amusing derivations come in this part, pp. 187, 281, 300, e.g. Corssen's deriva-

tion of *haud* [h(='this') -au (= 'not') -d or t='that']; *donec*, *donicum*=*dum ne cum*, Reisig [Corssen *dio* (time), *nī, cum*: Ribbeck *do-neque-cum*]; '*num* from $\mu\omega\nu$ reversed' R. and Voss—and this in spite of the form *etiamnum*, and the analogy of the Greek $\nu\omega\nu$ temporal and $\nu\upsilon\nu$ enclitic! However the strangest notions were and are still entertained about interrogatives, based on the almost inconceivable theory that some one at some time invented words to express mere interrogation, instead of the fact that they used weakened temporal or negative or inferential particles, to introduce interrogative as well as other clauses, when they thought fit, the idea of interrogation being given originally not by the particle but by the tone of voice.

The moods and tenses take about 70 pp. of general and 120 pp. of special explanations. Here too there is much waste of time to both writer and reader in expounding and establishing at great length theories that are exploded with a few short remarks at the end of a long note. The moods are treated on the logical basis of Kant, followed by Hermann, that modality has three forms—*actuality, possibility, necessity*. The tense-origin and temporal meaning of the moods is practically ignored. A few specimens of details in this part must suffice: e.g. (i) (pp. 390 sqq.) '*antequam* and *prius quam* are followed by subj. if main clause is negative, otherwise by indicative'; 'in *antequam dicam...exponam, dicam* is future indic.'! (ii) consecutive clauses are (i) ideal (i.e. final) or (ii) 'real'; the subjunctive with the real result is explained as due to the fact that only when viewed from the stand-point of the present (not from that of cause) can an occurrence appear real. *Ut* with verbs = how is used to describe something; hence *id erat tempus ut frumentum haberent*; so *addit, accedit, verisimile est ut...* In '*tantum abest ut...* *ut...* the first *ut* "describes" viz. the point of distance, the second the degree of distance.' By starting with a confusion of final and consecutive (which are distinct, though often combined, ideas), R. fails to see that the first *ut* is strictly final (though it serves as a subject to *abest*): the second is consecutive, defining *tantum*.

But the most unsatisfactory results of the plan adopted may be seen in the treatment of the cases of the noun, pp. 507–688, where we find it stated in the main text that (i) the nominative [not the accusative] is the case which expresses simply the bare idea of the noun, pp. 512, 514; (ii) the case forms generally (p. 508) express ideal relations

(esp. *e.g.* predicate and object); (iii) the accusative expresses general relation; (iv) the genitive is that 'woran ein Objekt sich als Prädikat befindet'; (v) the ablative that 'woher eine Wirkung kommt.' In accordance with these principles, and by way of illustration, we have ἀκίῃ ἔσαν explained as = 'they stood in a certain relation to silence.' [The use of the accusative only in Greek with verbs of seeing, not the genitive also as with other *verba sentiendi*, is amusingly explained as due to the *freedom* of sight, because one can shut one's eyes, but one cannot shut one's ears, nose, etc., p. 515.] The handling of the accusative however is happily free from the taint of the local theory; and difficult questions, like the use of prepositions after verbs of motion with names of countries and not with names of towns, are treated fairly and suggestively (though fancifully, *e.g.* the omission of prepositions with towns is said to be due to the curtness and precision of Romans in fixing the daily limits of military marches, as they would do in the case of towns not countries). But the treatment of the other cases is much more startling.

Of the dative we read, p. 539, that before the ablative was invented the dative, as in Greek, was used in an ablative sense, *e.g.* *sum ruri*: so *Tiburi, Anxuri, Karthagini*. Cf. also p. 265. On this principle the dative in *occumbere morti* is explained as instrumental; in *dependent lateri*, as local.

The primary meaning of the genitive being with convenient vagueness defined as that about which anything is predicated, we find that *dives opum, dubius animi, dignus est huius rei*, etc., are all readily and indiscriminately to be referred to this central idea. *Refert and interest* (p. 559) with genitives of persons offered more difficulty (it is hard to see why on this theory); but these too are eventually so classed.

On pp. 570—1 we are told to consider the genitive as partitive not only after *memini, potior, adipiscor*, but after *aestimare, facere, pendere*, etc., and in *aequi, boni consulere, magni interest*, etc.; so *parvi ducere* = 'to hold for a part of what is small': *unius assis aestimare*, to reckon as worth only a part of one *as*! On page 576 we find a genitive of 'cause' and 'means' set up: to this head are referred *damnare, accusare furti*, etc.: 'the crime is the cause of condemnation etc.; hence the genitive.' But 'the genitive after *emere, vendere*, etc., is the "means,"' In *voti damnatus* however *voti* is the cause = 'because you have wished' p. 582. On p. 589 we find a genitive of time

set up on the support of *crastini die, postridie*, etc., *a castris aberam bidui*!

The secondary meanings of the ablative are boldly derived from a supposed primary one of source of action; *e.g.* the ablative of place (*Athenis habitat*) is a 'cause,' for 'were there no Athens a man could not live there'; so with time, if a thing happens in a certain year it is *through* this year, by its completion, that the result is reached! p. 520. So too in *Balbus doctior Caio* we are to see an ablative of cause, *i.e.* Balbus is more learned through Caius (being unlearned) and *vixit annis xxx* means he completed his life by the completion of thirty years; and in *quatriduo quo haec gesta sunt* we are to see also an ablative of 'means' to mark the time or the distance of time.

It is hard to see what is gained either in the way of doing honour to a distinguished scholar or in the way of practical utility by reprinting such views, unless indeed it be to show as a warning how easily the most distinguished scholars can be led on into absurdities in support of some pet and plausible conjectures or theories, through which they see grammatical facts coloured so that the theoretically possible becomes a practical certainty. Of course these errors are generally corrected in the notes, or rather supplemented by later errors of others, and these in turn by the latest views; but in the absence of paragraphs it is not easy to eliminate from a long continuous note the right view or to distinguish readily which are the views of Haase and others and which those of the editors; and the process of passing through the various stages of belief, only to find one plausible creed after another upset, may be good mental exercise, but may also lead to a graceless state of absolute scepticism about all grammar.

However it must be admitted that the principle adopted, though carried to excess, is infinitely preferable to the arbitrary dogmatism of older grammarians. We can learn even from errors; and it is easier to distinguish between right and wrong views by contrasting them. The notes and their copious references to grammatical treatises are very valuable. Reisig himself, though repeatedly if not generally wrong, is original and suggestive, and, considering the time when he wrote, far more sound and sensible than might have been expected.

There are many interesting points that deserve fuller and more special notice, but these must be reserved for another article.

J. E. NIXON.

HOGUE'S IRREGULAR VERBS OF ATTIC PROSE.

The Irregular Verbs of Attic Prose, their forms, prominent meanings, and important compounds; together with lists of related words and English derivatives. By ADDISON HOGUE, Professor of Greek in the University of Mississippi. Ginn and Co., 1889. 6s.

THIS curious book, the author of which lays no claim to originality, consists of a preface (pp. i-ix), a first part on regular verbs (pp. 3-17), a second part on irregular verbs (pp. 21-213), and five excellent indexes (pp. 217-260). It is somewhat surprising to learn (p. viii) that '*the New Phrynichus*' only came into Professor Hogue's hands several weeks before he had finished his work; and that he should have thought himself qualified to write on the Attic verb before he had consulted the most important English treatise on the subject. The Professor calls '*the New Phrynichus*' a valuable book; yet he has only modified his statements 'in two or three places' in consequence of Mr. Rutherford's teaching; Professor Hogue cannot be aware that '*the New Phrynichus*' was reviewed by Professor Gildersleeve in the *American Journal of Philology* Vol. III, or he would not have devoted a page to reslaying the slain by discussing Mr. Rutherford's erroneous statement about the moods of εἶμι. Every one knows now that the moods of εἶμι may be future in *Oratio Obliqua* or after words of thinking, and that there are a few other cases not of this kind. Yet, to prove once more that ἰέναι may be future, Professor Hogue quotes from Thucydides and Xenophon and says that Mr. Rutherford's theory is built on Lys. 22, 11 (ἐλεύσεσθαι). No doubt he is also unaware that Professor Gildersleeve gave this sorely tried ἐλεύσεσθαι the *coup de grace* in 1882.

The following forms are the mere blunders of copyists, and should not have been given as Attic Prose forms: ἐδεδίσαν (p. 65), εὐεργέτουν &c. as alternatives for εὐηργέτουν &c. (p. 7), διεζωσμένοι as alternative for διεζωμένοι (p. 102), the uncontracted forms of λούω, κέκλεισμαι from κλείω (*sic*) (p. 123), νήησμαι from -νω (p. 148), σέσωσμαι as alternative for σέσωμαι (p. 179), κέκρονσμαι as alternative for κέκρονμαι (p. 127), κέχρισμαι for κέχρισμαι (p. 211). The future of νέω appears as νευσοῦμαι (?) and of πνέω as πνεύσμαι or -οῦμαι, as though it could be doubted that νέσμαι and πνεύσμαι are the true forms. From ὀννυμι the false forms ὀμομοσ-

μένος and ὀμομόκη are given, and for the intrans. pluperf. of ἀπόλλυμι the false ἀπολώλη is preferred to the true ἀπωλώλη. As perf. pass of ὀρύττω, ὀρυγμαι 'is occasionally found': ἤδειν is an alternative for ἤδη. The forms of τίνω are given as τίσω &c., and ἔκτισις survives in place of ἔκτεισις. φθάσω is merely 'the less common' form of φθήσμαι, and the student is positively informed (p. 212) that διωθοῦντο is found in Thuc. 2, 84, nothing being said about Cobet and Classen, who rightly read διεωθοῦντο; and similarly that the augment of ὠνέομαι is 'very rarely omitted,' whereas Andoc. 1 §134 where ἀντονούμην appears in the MSS. just after ὠνούντο is by itself fatal to this supposition. In spite of what Cobet has written (*Var. Lect.* p. 444), εὐπραξία is admitted as an alternative for εὐπραγία (p. 166). These are some examples—they are not all—which go to prove that the works of Cobet have not yet come into the hands of Professor Hogue, and that he is unaware of any difference between true Attic Prose forms and the readings of Manuscripts.

On p. 53 the author apparently draws a distinction between Attic Prose forms and 'classic' forms, for he there remarks: 'The imperf. and aor. augment [of βούλομαι] is either ἐβ- or ἤβ-. Inscriptions prove that ἐ- was the *classic* form.' On p. 57 ἥρους strikes one as an unfamiliar word, till the translation 'of spring' comes to the rescue.

Professor Hogue argues on p. 133 that Mr. Rutherford has spoken too strongly about the compounds of λέγω. 'The line is not drawn so sharply as is done in "*the New Phrynichus*" p. 327. Mr. Rutherford there says: "But, except with ἐπί, ἀντί, and πρό, λέγω was never compounded; its place was taken by ἀγορεύω in the present and imperfect, while -λέξω and -έλεξα completely disappeared before -εῶ and -εἶπον, and -ελέχθην and λέλεγμαι" (misprint [Professor Hogue reminds us] for -λέλεγμαι) "before -εῖρηθην and -εἶρημαι." Naturally he intended to include διαλέγομαι.' If Professor Hogue had turned to Cobet, *Var. Lect.* p. 35, he would have found that Mr. Rutherford was setting forth the results there given, and, rightly or wrongly, by no means intended to include διαλέγομαι. In support of his statement, Professor Hogue refers to Xenophon, and then adds 'ἀντιλέξω and ἀντέλεξα are Attic; see L. and S. and add Lysias 8, 11, ἀντιλέξειν. προλελεγμένων occurs Ar. *Vesp.* 886.' What are these references worth?

ἀντιλέξω appears in *Ran.* 998, a chorus; ἀντέλεξα in *Nub.* 1040, where there is obviously some joke intended by the introduction of an obsolete form; and if προλελεγμένων is Attic because it appears in one passage of the *Vespae*, then by parity of reasoning -ευχόμεσθα and ἡσθήμεσθα are Attic, because they appear in the same passage of the same play. Then what is gained by citing [Lys.] 8, the feeble work of some late imitator, as though it were evidence for Attic forms? All Professor Hogue has proved is that forms which occur in Xenophon are not necessarily the forms which were in general use.

It is a matter of little consequence how Greek names are represented in English. But consistency is expected, and no book ought to exhibit side by side such forms as Phaidros, Phaedo, Naupactos, Perikles, Archilochos, Oidipous, Peloponnesus, Agesilaos, Alcibiades, Krito. Almost all the quotations are given without any reference, so that the student for whom the book is intended is left to decide for himself whether the passage referred to is from the Greek Testament or from Thucydides. And as the forms are, according to the preface, limited to the prose writers before Aristotle, the constant quotations from the New Testament are quite beside the mark. If it was necessary to mention Mr. Froude (p. 139), the passage referred to (*Short Studies*, IV, p. 440) should have been added. But even when references are inserted, Professor Hogue darkens counsel by such inversions as 'Dem. 34, 49 [which is probably spurious]. Lys. 10, 24. Andok. 1, 19' (p. 145). *To boss the job* is not a happy rendering of τοῦ ἔργου ἐπιστατήσαι (p. 111). Among the 'English' derivatives, such extraordinary words as Sozodont (p. 180), Palindrome (p. 194), occur. Something would have been gained if Grimm's law had been illustrated, but, as every teacher and most students can supply any number of these 'derivatives' for themselves, the large space devoted to them is, in my opinion, entirely wasted.

The author may be glad to have his attention drawn to the following misprints: ἐπηγάγομεν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπηγάγοντο (p. 24), ηρεσκον (p. 41), οἱ for οἶ (p. 94), ὑκπόκρισις (p. 127), κόππω (p. 127), μιμνήσκω for -μιμνήσκω (p. 128), ἀρωματα (p. 148).

I will now notice a few omissions. Under ὁμολογῶ (p. 7), the student is not told the interesting and important fact that this verb alone in Attic Prose constantly has παρά, and now and then ἐκ or πρὸς, instead of ὑπό

when it occurs in the passive. The genuine speeches of the Orators contain at least sixteen instances of παρά with the passive of ὁμολογῶ against nine with ὑπό. The rarer κατασκευή is not distinguished at all from the commoner παρασκευή (p. 12). On p. 32, the fut. of αἶρω is marked with a long instead of doubtful. If it was worth while to enumerate the forms of πηδῶ found in chap. viii. of Xenophon περὶ ἵππικῆς (p. 37), the list ought to have been made complete; two forms there found are omitted. ποθῶ, with fut. ποθέσομαι, aor. ἐπόθεσα, which is found thirteen times in the Orators in the phrase ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι, is absent. We are led to suppose that δέομαι merely takes the genitive: Professor Hogue ought to have informed the student that if a participle and infinitive has to be added to the genitive, the participle is bound to be in the accusative, not the genitive. Thus, while we may say ἐμοὶ ἐξήν καὶ μηδεμίαν συνθήκην ποιησάμενον or ποιησαμένῳ χαίρειν ἔαν τὸ πρῶγμα, we are bound to say δέομαι ὑμῶν συνθήκην ποιησαμένου (not ποιησαμένου). I have not observed that this change from gen. to accus. is *invariably* made with any other verb; but even Lysias, who prefers to keep up the gen. or dat., always changes to accus. after δέομαι. No distinction is drawn between καταβοῶ τινός and καταβοῶ τινά (p. 53). Under ἐλέγχω (p. 87) it should have been stated that ἐλήλεγμαi and ἐληλέγμην make ἐλήλεγκται and ἐλήλεγκτο. Nothing is said about the periods at which εἶρον and ἡῦρον were respectively used (p. 94); no mention is made of the fut. mid. of κάω, which is vaguely described as the 'more usual' form of καίω; no mention of κλέφομαι as fut. of κλέπτω; no mention of κολῶμαι as fut. of κολάζω. The treatment of the fut. of the last verb is most unsatisfactory (p. 124), since the Professor merely informs the student that 'κολάζω is reg., except that κολάσομαι may be used in the same sense as the fut. act. κολάσω.' But the Orators never use any form but κολάσω, and Veitch's list of the places where it is found is complete. λέγω and ἀναγιγνώσκω are treated as synonymous in the sense of 'to read' (p. 133), and πωλῶ and ἀποδίδομαι in the sense of 'to sell' (p. 161). Again on the same page 161, ποτήριον is wrongly printed in the smallest type, as Professor Hogue states at p. 21 that forms in the smallest type are 'unattic, or merely poetical, or doubtful, or suspicious, or something of the sort' (!) But ποτήριον is nothing of the sort.

Professor Hogue explains on p. 54 that ἐβουλόμην ἄν means, 'I could have wished

(but did not)'; or 'I could wish (but do not).' If this explanation holds for ἐβουλόμην ἂν, it must also hold for ἤθελον ἂν, which must accordingly mean 'I could have been willing (but am not),' and so on. But the futility of this is at once apparent when we try to fit it to Andoc. 1 §136 ὡς πλείστους εἶναι ὑμῶν ἤθελον ἂν τοιοῦσδε οἷός περ ἐγώ, for neither 'I could be willing, but am not,' nor 'I could have been willing, but was not' will suit the passage. Of course ἐβουλόμην ἂν does not imply that the speaker did not or does not wish for something, but merely that his wish was, or is, impossible of fulfilment; just as when Ovid says 'Nunc ego Triptolemi cuperem consistere curru,' he means, not that he does not wish, but that he does wish, but cannot have what he wishes.

Mr. Rutherford states in the preface to

The New Phrynichus that his study of the Greek verb was 'long and exacting.' It would have been well if Professor Hogue had discovered that study of the subject was necessary, 'a long and exacting study,' before he took up his pen to write on a matter which has taxed the industry, the acumen, and the vigour of Cobet, of Veitch, and of Rutherford. English students are rapidly growing accustomed to look for good school books from American scholars; the series published by Messrs. Ginn is rightly being received with favour in this country; and teachers of Greek have long required a sound treatise on the Attic verb in a handy form. It is a matter for regret that Professor Hogue has missed his opportunity.

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SIMCOX'S LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Language of the New Testament, by the late Rev. W. H. SIMCOX. 1889. Pp. 226. 2s. 6d.

THE title of this book reminds us of the melancholy loss which Greek criticism has sustained in the death of a ripe scholar, who has often contributed to the elucidation of passages in the New Testament. He died before putting the finishing touch to this volume. Unfortunately completeness of execution is essential to the practical utility of a work like this, which confines itself to the grammatical aspect of the language. For the grammar of the Greek Testament has been so thoroughly investigated by Winer, and his work has been so ably supplemented by Moulton in his English editions, that there is no room for an original handbook, even by a competent scholar, who takes up the subject ἐν παρέργῳ. The student requires for his assistance a thorough systematic treatment of the whole language, not mere notes of deviation from classical usage: he wants orderly arrangement, abundant illustration, and copious indices of the subject-matter, which may enable him to lay his hand at once on any peculiar form or construction. Now this handbook has only a scanty table of contents, and no index except a bare list of quotations, imperfectly revised. It contains, however, some excellent materials, accumulated with painstaking industry, for determining the alteration of

the Greek language between the days of Euripides Demosthenes and Plato, and those of the Apostles.

The language of the Greek Testament is well described in the introductory chapters as the joint product of Hellenic culture and Hebrew thought. Greek and Jew had by that time become cosmopolitan; and both contributed their share towards transforming the Attic Greek, which had been the peculiar treasure of a refined and intellectual class, into a world-wide popular organ, capable of stirring the heart as well as satisfying the intellect, and adapted to the needs of the prophet and preacher as well as the poet or philosopher. The author forms a low estimate of this altered tongue, chiefly because he judges it by its fidelity to the classic mould, which he takes as the standard of perfection, and not by its own inherent power or flexibility. Every departure from the model is in his eyes an 'irregularity' due to 'the laxity of a decaying language.' I differ from this opinion: I cannot read the simple, earnest, pathetic narratives of the Gospels and Acts, or the impassioned appeals of Paul to the hearts and consciences of his children in Christ, without recognizing that the language has gained as well as lost. It is a popular language, and lacks the transparent clearness and perfect finish of the Attic tongue: but it is matter for thankfulness that it had grown on the lips of Hebrew teachers into so wonderful

an instrument for expressing the universal heart of mankind. This volume enables us to follow in detail this progressive change in the Greek language. I proceed to treat its contents from this point of view, finding here its chief interest for the scholar.

In pp. 45-47 are noticed several exceptional constructions, which illustrate a new usage of the article. In Matt. i. 2-16 it accentuates the accusative in each clause; and rightly so; for Abraham begat other children besides Isaac: but the evangelist singles out the one line of promise, with a view to tracing the pedigree of Christ. Here then is seen the application of a new principle, regulating the use of the article before proper names: it accentuates them wherever transition of subject, antithesis, or perspicuity, calls for special emphasis. The same principle determines the peculiar form of the Hellenistic vocative (p. 76): it is but the utterance of a designation, accentuated for the purpose of personal appeal by a prefixed article. The classical rule on the other hand of introducing persons and places for the first time without an article, as unknown, is quite inappropriate in the N.T., which deals habitually with well-known names, either Hebrew or Christian.

The position of the prepositional clause ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ in John vi. 32 after τὸν ἄρτον is by no means exceptional, as may be seen in Winer, and as any Greek scholar may observe for himself: only instances like τ. γραμματεῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ (Acts iv. 5), which have been overlooked by translators, need special comment. Evidently the periodic structure, which requires that the substantive should wind up its descriptive clauses, as a German verb does its sentence, is giving way in the New Testament to a more natural order.

In John xii. 9 it is by no means 'impossible' to distinguish ὁ ὄχλος πολὺς from ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος: the *multitudo* is contrasted with the high priests of v. 10, and it is added that it was numerous: πολὺς is nearly equivalent to πολὺς ὢν.

If John viii. 44 be translated *he is a liar, yea the father thereof*, the article with the predicate adds great force, since it designates the devil as the one exclusive father of lies (or liars), and so justifies the previous reproach, ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ. Again the omission of τοῦ before πατὴρ, suggested as an improvement, would really destroy the irony, which turns on the identification of *their* father, not with Abraham (as they contended), but with the devil. It is strange (as Winer argues) that

anybody should reckon the apposition of τ. διαβόλου with τ. πατὴρ so impossible as to resort to the intolerable translation, *Ye are of the father of the devil*.

Changes like these evince an altered syntax rather than laxity: the article has not lost its force, but gained new significance. The application of κύριος (the Greek equivalent to the name Jehovah) without an article as a title to Christ in Phil. ii. 11, and iii. 20, and to the Holy Spirit in 2 Cor. iii. 18, is an important evidence of theological sentiment in apostolic times (p. 49). In like manner the distinction between law in the abstract (νόμος) and the law of Moses (ὁ νόμος), or between faith as a motive principle (πίστις) and the faith in Christ (ἡ πίστις), is not the less real because it needs good grammarians to apply it correctly (p. 50).

The language has lost a little of its scientific precision: the use of the optative as a past subjunctive has become obsolete (p. 107): the elaborate structure of subordinate clauses in classical Greek is impaired: indicatives in final clauses after ἵνα, or in relative clauses after ὅταν, present changes of construction (pp. 108-110): linguistic decay is apparent in the assimilation of irregular forms of inflexion to common types (pp. 33-39), in the extinction of dual forms (pp. 31, 70). But its vitality as a popular language is exhibited in the extended use of the substantival infinitive by aid of the article in the oblique cases (pp. 118-120) and of the infinitive mood and participial constructions (pp. 128-135). Beside some decay of formal rules is seen a struggle to grasp principles of structure: subject-clauses are appended in the nominative, by a sort of irregular apposition (compare pp. 77-78 and Acts xv. 23 γράψαντες), just as object-clauses still are in the accusative (compare τ. λογικὴν λατρείαν, Rom. xii. 1). With the latter I class Rom. viii. 3 and 2 Cor. vi. 13 (described in p. 78 as an extension of the cognate acc.): the passage from Rom. fuses into a single thought the powerlessness of the Law to save, and the power of God through Christ: *what the Law could not do, God did—He sent*. . . Such constructions are eminently Thucydidean, and the parallelism of language between the two authors is worthy of attention.

The analytical tendency of N.T. language is illustrated in the freer expression of personal pronouns as subject and object (pp. 53-56), in the redundancy of demonstratives (pp. 57-62), in the extended use of prepositions after adjectives and verbs (pp. 92, 93,

136-158), and in the resolution of finite verbs into combinations of the verb *εἶμι* with participles (pp. 130-135).

Even the minutiae of grammar pave the way for higher exegesis. The abundance of present forms in the gospels, illustrated by the repetition of *λέγει* 113 times in the fourth gospel (pp. 98, 99), suggests that the life of Christ is regarded as present living truth, not as mere history. The description of things future as already present testifies faith in the promises of God, and confidence in the fixedness of His eternal laws (pp. 100, 101).

His theory of a declining language tempts the author at times to suspect Latinisms and modern Greek corruptions where sound criticism may well hesitate. We have no right to assert that relative forms are confounded with interrogative in Mark ii. 16, ix. 11, 28, Matt. xxvi. 50 (p. 68): the Revised Version well renders *ὅτι* as the simple *that* and *ὅ* as the relative pronoun. *ὅτι* has in fact lost the force even of an indirect interrogative in the New Testament (for even in Acts ix. 6 it may well be a relative), the direct interrogative *τί* having taken its place. Because Latin has but one form for perfect and aorist, and for the prepositions *in* and *into*, it does not follow that the New Testament confounds them: the peculiar use of the perfect in Heb. ii. 14, xi. 17, 28 is best explained as a reference to written records existing in scripture. The aorists quoted from the epistles of Paul are all genuine aorists, illustrative of the tendency of Greek towards narrative tenses, and of English towards perfect, in the language of a historical religion which admits of either. It is obvious that *Δάριος ἀπέθανεν* in John xi. 14 may mean *Lazarus died*, i.e. of the illness which was reported to us (pp. 104-106). There is no occasion to depart from the original meaning of *ἄφες*, *suffer* or *let alone* in Matt. viii. 22, xxvii. 49, because it has passed in modern Greek into a mere auxiliary. *εἰς* and *ἐν* may be 'etymologically connected,' but their case-government keeps them distinct. Confusion of the two in an Italian Greek of the second century does not imply confusion in the Greek Testament: *εἰς* does very rarely follow a verb of rest and *ἐν* a verb of motion, but always with a pregnant force which adds a new conception to the verb: *ὢν εἰς τ. κόλπον* differs from *ἐν τ. κόλπῳ* in John i. 18, and *ἐξῆλθεν ἐν . . . Ἰουδαίᾳ* from *ἐξῆλθεν εἰς* in Luke vii. 17. *εἰς* is quite in place after a verb expressive of change and motion like *γίνεσθαι*. In Acts xix. 22, *εἰς τ. Ἀσίαν* may well mean that Paul waited to

visit the province of Asia, and *εἰς Καισαρίαν* in Acts xxv. 4 that he had been sent to Caesarea and was in safe custody there (pp. 142-144).

In like manner accusatives with *ἐπὶ* retain their force, and *ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον* does not mean *on the morrow* as a point of time either in Luke x. 35, where it denotes provision *for the morrow*, or in Acts iv. 5, where it relates the gathering of the council *by the morrow*, i.e. against its coming (p. 147).

The author does not do justice to the real character of the aorist participle, as neither past present nor future, but borrowing its time from its position and context; or he would not have gone out of his way to condemn the Revised Version for translating it by the narrative participle (-ing) which is its most exact equivalent in English. Though it would be hypercritical in many passages to object to translating it by a perfect participle, it is not true, as stated in p. 124, that *μετανοήσαντας* in 2 Cor. xii. 21 means literally *having repented*: it expresses the fact that they repented not, when warned. So *ἦν δὲ ἐλεηθέντες* in 1 Pet. ii. 10 denotes that they did in these days obtain mercy (pp. 123-125).

Nor does he frankly admit the altered force of participial clauses connected with a finite verb. When placed after a verb, they do sometimes describe action which follows the verbal action in time or thought, instead of preceding it. Heb. ix. 12 is a still stronger example of this than even Phil. ii. 7, for Christ's obtaining eternal redemption for us followed as a result upon his entrance into the holy place (p. 125). On the other hand *ἀσπασάμενοι* in Acts xxv. 13 is best understood by observing the full force of *κατήντησαν*: Agrippa and Bernice did not arrive at Caesarea only, but stayed there also after saluting Festus (p. 126).

It is correctly stated that *ὢν* is used in reference to time past as if it were a narrative participle, when coupled with adverbs like *ποτέ* or *πρότερον* (p. 128), but it is impossible that it can without any such addition denote time past in contrast to time present: the translation of John ix. 25, *whereas I was blind, now I see*, appears to me undoubtedly wrong; *ἄρτι* means *lately* when joined to an aorist participle, and the meaning is, *whereas I was lately blind, I see*.

The influence of Hebrew upon the language of the Greek Testament was undoubtedly very important, but is handled too slightly in this volume for criticism. One interesting example is noted in p. 115, viz.

the prohibitive force, *Thou shalt not*, acquired by the Greek future with negatives from the Hebrew commandments (Ex. xx. 13-17). It should however have been more distinctly stated that the future also acquires an imperative force: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, Thou shalt love thy neighbour* (Matt.

xxii. 37, 39). The Hebraistic element is of value as differentiating the language of the N.T. from that of the Greek fathers, and fixing the date of its composition before the decay of Hebrew language and literature in the Christian church.

F. RENDALL.

DELBRÜCK'S DIE INDOGERMANISCHEN VERWANDTSCHAFTSNAMEN.

Die Indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Alterthumskunde. Von BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK. Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1889. pp. 228. Mk. 8.

THIS work is a most significant contribution of philology to anthropology. It deals with the history of the primitive family organization, and limits itself to an attempted reconstruction of the conditions existing in the *Aryan* family just prior to the so-called dispersion of the *Aryan* race.

The recent investigations into the rise and development of the institutions of the family, which have attracted so much attention, notably among students of historical ethics, have been exclusively in the hands of anthropologists pure and simple. Bachofen's *Mutterrecht* (1861), Mc Lennan's *Primitive Marriage* (1865), Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man* (1870), Morgan's *System of Consanguinity* (1871) and Starcke's *Primitive Familie in ihrer Entstehung und Entwicklung* (1888), are perhaps the best known works of this kind. The method pursued by all these authors is in substance this: to note all the various conditions among *existing* peoples of the most various degrees of civilization, and to arrange these into a historical series, with sexual promiscuity as a presumptive starting-point for the whole. Little or no attention is paid to the possibility that among different races the family-system may have had a different history. The method has no claim to the title comparative, but may rather be denominated the *confusative*. It is what the linguistic method of Wilhelm von Humboldt was to that of Bopp. It may suggest and illustrate a possible sequence; it cannot demonstrate one. An admirable example on the other hand of the strict application of the *comparative* method to the study of primitive institutions we have in the recent book of Professor Leist on the primitive law of the *Aryan* clan (*Alt-arisches Jus Gentium*, 1889).

The most widely accepted result of the application of the anthropologist's *confusative* method is that which places between the hypothetic original stage of sexual promiscuity and the final stage of civilized monogamy a stage, among others, wherein kinship was recognized through females alone. That conditions have existed and do now exist corresponding to this stage is indubitable. That it may have existed as a stage prior to the essential monogamy which we find established among all the *Aryan* people at the dawn of their separate histories is possible, but it is not necessary. It must be proven and proven for the *Aryan* family by itself.

It is to settle this as well as other less disputed points that Delbrück approaches the whole subject. He essays to bring to bear upon it the whole strength of the material of language. He proceeds soberly and cautiously. He turns his back resolutely from the start upon all the fair *Aryan* idyls sung by Müller, Curtius, and Fick, upon all those 'own dear' *svasaras* leaning on the helpful arm of 'supporting' *bhrātara*s, or as dutiful *dhughtaras* carrying the milk-pail for 'protecting' *pātara*s and 'wise-ordering' *mātara*s. Not so much the primitive etymology of the oldest names of relationship is sought, for this is always uncertain, being in the nature of the case essentially beyond the reach of the truly comparative method, as, first of all, the fact of their existence. Let us illustrate by one or two cases the value of such determination. The absence in primitive *Aryan* of a word like Latin *conjuges* to denote the husband and wife as a pair joins with many other considerations to indicate that 'the relation of the husband to the wife and that of the wife to the husband were to the ancient mind things so different that one never thought of denoting husband and wife by the use of one term.' The existence of a word for *widow* coupled with the absence of any word for *widower* is in the light of ancient Indian usage significant of that

primitive Aryan usage whereby the second marriage of the wife, but not that of the husband, was precluded. To the same conclusion point the probable existence of a word for *step-mother* (Gr. *μητρικά* and Armenian *mauru*) and the absence of any word for *step-father*.

It is furthermore demonstrated that only the wife, and not the husband, enjoyed the advantage of distinctive names for the brother-in-law (*δαίρ*, *levir*), the sister-in-law (*γαλώς*, *glos*) the father-in-law (*ἐκρός*, *socer*) and even the mother-in-law (*ἐκρά*, *socrus*). The children had a distinctive name for the paternal uncle, but none for the maternal uncle as separate from that of the maternal grandfather. The relationships to the family of the wife are everywhere vague and remote; if recognized, they are summarized ('friends,' 'allies'), not distinguished. The theory of the 'Mutterrecht' finds no comfort. Even the pre-eminence given to the maternal uncle among the Hindoos is shown to be a matter of the later usage only, while in the older usage the paternal uncle is preferred in honour. No explanation is however offered of Tacitus's report that among the ancient Germans the *avunculus* ranked with the father in honour (*Germ. ch. xx*). Cer-

tainly this must have been a special and secondary development.

But of even more importance than this determination of the existence or non-existence of primitive terms is the determination, by comparison of terms present in the different languages, of the existence of primitive, discriminations between the different grades of relationship. Here Delbrück has exhibited much good judgment and much good learning, but to illustrate would carry us too far. We can barely add one chief result of the whole investigation which includes also an important chapter on the antiquities of the Hindoo family system. It proves that the primitive Aryan family was monogamous in the sense that one wife, as the mistress of the house and the priestess at the household altar, stood distinctly apart from the other wives or concubines. Fidelity was exacted of the wife, though not strictly of the husband. To the children the kinship through the father was much more important than that through the mother, but the relations to the mother-family were those of friendship rather than of hostility.

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SOLTAU ON THE PUNIC WORDS IN PLAUTUS.

Zur Erklärung der in Punischer Sprache gehaltenen Reden des Karthaginiensers Hanno im 5. Akt der Komödie Poenulus von Plautus: von FRIEDRICH SOLTAU. Berlin 1889. Calvary. 1 Mk. 20.

ALTHOUGH the relics of the ancient language of Carthage are miserably scanty, and fresh finds of inscriptions, owing to their uniform character, rarely add much to our knowledge of it, scholars have for centuries felt practically certain of its affinities, of the general principles of its grammar, and of a considerable portion of its vocabulary. As a Carthaginian is introduced speaking his own language in the *Poenulus* of Plautus, it has been very generally agreed that that language must be Carthaginian (*i.e.* Phoenician), or none; and the most eminent Semitists have been at pains to restore and interpret the 'Punica' of Plautus. The result of their labours, as it appears in Schröder's *Phönizische Sprache* (1869), is on the whole

highly satisfactory, and bears all the marks of a true restoration. The words restored differ slightly from the MS. tradition; their meaning agrees very closely with the corresponding Latin texts; and they are for the most part familiar words, which occur either in other Phoenician documents, or in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. In the same year in which Schröder's book appeared, two other famous Semitists published monographs on the 'Punica' of Plautus, Ad. Neubauer in the *Journal of Philology*, and Jos. Derenbourg in the *Journal Asiatique*; and the former of these at least offers some felicitous suggestions with which Schröder's account may be supplemented. That there is still room for discovery in these texts on the lines of these scholars is perhaps agreed; but a new interpretation which sets aside all their labours must naturally be received with surprise and suspicion. Such however is the work of F. Soltan, the appearance of which in the *Berliner Studien* gives it a

right to be noticed in these columns : and a very short notice will show that the suspicion as well as the surprise is justified.

According to Mr. Soltau Phoenician is Scythian, and Scythian is Irish ; Irish is therefore the language of Hanno in the *Poenulus*. This is not his own discovery, but that of the Irishman O'Connor, who, we are told, gave it the world in his 'Chronicles of Eri, London 1822.' Mr. Soltau might have learned from Gesenius that O'Connor was anticipated by others, whose theories are very rightly dismissed by Gesenius as 'somnia.' It appears, however, that the language of Hanno according to the MSS. is no more Irish than English : and to reduce it to the former O'Connor has to rewrite it ; and when interpreted it is found to bear no particular relation to the authentic Latin translation. Thus the theory of O'Connor and his follower breaks down hopelessly when tried by the first two of the three canons suggested above. The reader shall have two specimens. The first line of Hanno's speech (in the later recension) appears as follows in the MSS.

ythalonim ualonuths icorathis ymacomsyth.

These words are all familiar Phoenician or Hebrew words, and are rendered by Schröder as they stand, 'The gods and goddesses of this place whom I meet,' which corresponds very closely with the Latin version *deos deasque qui hanc urbem colunt*. O'Connor rewrites the line as

an iath al a nim uailonnac socruidd se me com sit,

and renders it 'Oh mighty splendour of the land, renowned, powerful ; let him quiet me with repose,' which is improved by Soltau into 'Grossmächtiger Glanz dieses Landes,

o! Erhabener, Achtung gebietender! Möge er mich sicher leiten und mir Ruhe geben!' In the next scene Milphio the slave is told to inform Hanno in Punic that he and his master are not physicians ; this he does in the words *rufe ennuco istam*, which with scarcely any alteration can be rendered as Hebrew 'there is no physician here, good sir.' Mr. Soltau's version runs 'Zu einer Verdrehung, hörst Du, ist hier keine Veranlassung,' 'there is no occasion here for any distortion, let me tell you,' a saying which Mr. Soltau might well take to heart. Whether the words restored by O'Connor are Irish or Scythian, I will not undertake to say ; whatever language may boast of them must possess a very enviable conciseness. That they are not Phoenician may be asserted with confidence, if only on the authority of the great Eshmunazar inscription, which contains the word *alonim* 'gods,' with which Hanno's speech commences (and which puzzled the earlier critics), and further shows that Plautus' transliteration of the objective particle by *yth* is quite accurate. When therefore Mr. Soltau asserts that Movers did not know Phoenician, but O'Connor did, this statement is about as true or, if preferred, as perverse as the remark that Movers' restoration is conjectural, but O'Connor's certain. A considerable portion of the Punic of Plautus was interpreted with certainty two centuries ago by Bochart ; and if O'Connor's work was neglected by scholars, Mr. Soltau's *rechauffé* of it seems to show that those scholars lost very little. Perhaps however, his essay is not intended to be serious ; but whether it be serious or a jest, the editors of the *Berliner Studien* would seem to be badly in want of copy.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

NEW EDITION OF HERMANN'S GREEK ANTIQUITIES.

K. F. Hermann's Lehrbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten. Erster Band. Staatsalterthümer. Sechste, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Umgearbeitet und herausgegeben von VIKTOR THUMSER. Erste Abtheilung. Freiburg i. B. 1889. J. C. B. Mohr. xviii. 272. 6 M.

PROFESSOR THUMSER confesses in his preface that he engaged with some misgivings to

re-edit the first volume of Hermann's *Handbook*. He admits that he is not satisfied with the arrangement of the matter, which evoked a protest from G. F. Schoemann fifty years ago. Hermann's defence was that the subject was treated 'from the standpoint of history.' The principle was sound but the application clumsy. Hermann's account of Sparta will serve as an example : after describing the position of the kings, of

the council and of the assembly, the peculiarities of the 'Lycurgeoan' ἀγωγή and the military organisation, he devoted forty pages to tracing the external history of Sparta down to the victories of Epaminondas before attempting to expound the powers of the Ephors. Professor Thumser has not been able to correct this obvious defect. In this instalment which treats of the first forms of political union in Greece, and then proceeds to the history of the Dorian migration, of Sparta and, so far as it can be written, of the Dorian cities in Crete, the chapters and sections are arranged and numbered as in the last edition (1875). A slight improvement is promised in the next two parts: the analysis and history of the Athenian state is to follow immediately in the second part instead of being separated from the description of Sparta by a general sketch of the movement of constitutional changes in Greece and a review of the Greek colonies. The explanation of this conservatism is probably to be found in the wish of the publishers that 'the book should remain Hermann's book.' With this condition no bold and decisive treatment was possible. The editor's work as defined in the preface was first to cancel views that have become untenable, secondly to make such additions as have been rendered necessary by increased knowledge of ancient authorities (especially inscriptions) and by the fertility of modern criticism. A third and more onerous task might have been added, to retain in making such changes as much as possible of the old book. In examining how Prof. Thumser has discharged so difficult an office I will begin with the notes in which it was easier to make excisions or alterations.

The notes, as in the new editions of the 'Rechtsalterthümer' and 'Privatalterthümer,' have been placed at the foot of the page and lightened by the transference of the larger bibliographical catalogues to a place at the beginning or end of the section to which they apply. Both changes are for the better. Further a comparison with the edition of 1875, brought out by Stark and Bähr, reveals a multitude of alterations which are evidence of the editor's patience, industry and devotion. Notes are incorporated in the text, sometimes a quotation is expanded, sometimes a reference is substituted for citation in full, or is changed to suit a new edition, small inaccuracies are silently corrected, e.g. p. 78. n. 5., ἐπαγγέλλοντες Aesch. 2. 133 replaces ἀπαγγέλλοντες which stood in the last edition, instead of an imperfect discussion a reference is given to a

more detailed treatment, e.g. p. 89. n. 6 to Bürgel, die pyläisch-delphische Amphiktyonie, for a criticism of the list in Diodorus (xvi. 29) of the peoples who on the one side supported the Amphictyonic decree in 355 B.C., on the other declared for the Phocians. All who have wasted time in hunting for passages in Aristotle with no clue but chapters and sections which defy identification will appreciate the editor's forethought in adding the pages of the Berlin edition when Aristotle is cited. Similar consideration is shown in the treatment of the inscriptions: references to the great collections or the periodical literature are supplemented, where it is possible, by quotation of books more likely to be within the reach of the ordinary scholar, Dittenberger, Cauer, Röhl, etc. All these changes have cost no little labour and deserve praise.

For the defects that remain the editor probably ought not to bear the sole responsibility; at least the conjecture that he was bound to retain verbatim as much as possible of the old material affords the simplest explanation of the inconvenient form of some of the notes. Hermann first published this part of his *Handbook* in 1831 and new editions appeared in 1836, 1840, 1855, 1875. Now as one of Hermann's principles was to supply as far as possible a complete collection of bibliographical notices, and as the book has been growing by successive accretions ever since 1831, the edition of 1875 already contained a large body of useless references, useless because the books referred to had become hard to get and not worth getting. The state of affairs is far worse in the present edition, for Prof. Thumser has sought to add to the accumulated mass a bibliography of the literature since 1875. He has not merely recorded the numerous dissertations, programmes, articles, 'Berichte,' etc.; every section is also furnished with an apparatus of precise references to the other handbooks, Schoemann, Gilbert, Busolt, and to the historians of Greece, Thirlwall, Grote, Curtius, Hertzberg, Duncker, Busolt, Holm, etc. Whether the labour spent in constructing this elaborate system of references is adequately compensated by the advantages secured is a question for the consideration of the editor. Still those who use the book may be saved some trouble. But what defence is there for a reference cast in so general form as this on p. 44? 'Einzelnes findet sich in den griechischen Zeitschriften, in The Academy, Journal of hellen. studies, Transaction (*sic*) of the Cambridge (*sic*), Revue arch., Revue

de géographie, Bull. de corr. hell., Journal des Savants, Acad. des inscr. et des belles lettres, instr. publ., Revue des deux Mondes, Bull. de l'inst. génév., in den Monatsber. der Berl. Akad., Hermes, Mitteil. des deutsch. arch. Inst., Deutsche Rundschau, D. R. f. Geographie, Ausland, Unsere Zeit, Augsb. allg. Zeit., Im neuen Reich, Westermanns Monatshefte, Berl. phil. Wochenschr., Z. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde in Berlin.' This capricious catalogue is enough to convict the editor of a lack of judgment and makes it unnecessary to multiply examples of irrelevant and incongruous references. Prof. Thumser often frankly admits that 'he was not able to see' this or that work and the value of a book cannot be divined from its title.

The editor's labours conducted in this catholic spirit have produced very extensive collections, which in general have been appended at the end of the old notes. This was undoubtedly the simplest method if the editor was not authorised to recast completely the contents of the last edition; the attempt to interweave the new and old which has occasionally been tried must have been tedious and difficult and is apt to end in breaking the continuity and introducing a confusing complexity of brackets. But the result is not commendable from the point of view of art or of utility. A critical eye sometimes detects expressions which are irrational survivals from previous editions, as *e.g.* the use of 'neuerdings' p. 34. n. 3, and a practical reader is irritated by the antiquated references. The knife has been very timidly used. It is something to be no longer solemnly referred to 'Nic. Sienicii liber de rep. s. politia Spartae, Dantisci, 1606.4,' but so much has been left that a note sometimes contains a list of books beginning at the close of the last century and ending only in 1888. Why preserve curiosities like these? 'Vermutungen über einen Urstamm, der noch vor der physischen Trennung beider Welttheile (Diod. Sic. V. 47, Orph. *Argon.* 1279, vgl. Wachsmuth I. S. 8 und A. v. Humboldt, *Kosmos* II. S. 153 f., 405 f. A. 14.) die Einwohner von Illyrien, Thracien, Griechenland und Kleinasien umfasst habe, s. bei Plass, *Urgeschichte* I. S. 12-41' (p. 37. n. 3). 'Mehr bei de la Nanuze, sur les peuples qui s'établirent en Épire avant la dernière guerre de Troye, in M. de l'Ac. d. Inscr. VII. S. 151. ff.' (p. 106. n. 4.) These notes were justifiable in the early part of the century, now they are only the dust and rubbish of learning. A manual is not meant to be a storehouse of extinct theories

and exploded methods. How much better if the editor had ruthlessly excised worthless combinations of an uncritical age and utilised the space gained, *e.g.* to comment on *μεταξὺ Βαβύκας τε καὶ Κνακίωνος* of the 'rhetra' in Plut. *Lyc.* 6 instead of giving references to St. John's Hellenes, Curtius' Peloponnese, Bursian's Geography, Gilbert's altspartanische Geschichte!

This increase of the notes has of course been accompanied by considerable alterations in the text. An outline of the principal changes will give a notion of the editor's attitude. The remarks (§ 4 p. 24 *sqq.*) on Egyptian and Phoenician influence on prehistoric Greece have been modified in view of recent excavations. The Pelasgians (§ 6 p. 36 *sqq.*) are defined as a separate and settled people, distinct from the Hellenes, probably belonging to the Illyrian stock, and are apparently regarded as the owners of the treasures of Mycenae, Tiryns, Orchomenus, etc. In this matter Prof. Thumser is on the wrong lines. The common-sense plan, adopted *e.g.* by Holm, is to present to the reader the ancient evidence arranged and classified, and the result of this method in the case of the Pelasgians is (I think) to show that there is no clear, uniform and trustworthy tradition. The marvellous collection of conjectures on p. 44 'exhausting,' the editor remarks, 'almost all possibilities' is enough in itself to prove that there is no material for determining the habits and nationality of the Pelasgians. In connexion with the Pelasgians I venture to point out what seems an oversight in the revision of the text: surely the words on p. 59 'die ... über die patriarchalischen Zustände des Pelasgerthums hinausgeschobenen kriegerischen Teile der Nation' taken with the quotation from Thirlwall in the note are only applicable to Hermann's explanation of the Pelasgians but not to the view proposed by Prof. Thumser. The other shadowy peoples of early Greece, Leleges, Carians, Thracians, etc. are also discussed at greater length and with a rather different result (§ 7 p. 50 *sqq.*). Considerable additions have been made to the account of the Homeric state (§ 8) and of the Delian and Delphian Amphictyonies (§§ 12. 13. 14): excavations at Delos have provided plentiful matter for discussion and conjecture. On the other hand it is a surprise to find Hermann's section on 'Patriarchal Forms' (§ 5) reprinted almost word for word. English readers will not now accept without question utterances like these: 'Die patriarchalische Monarchie des Familienhauptes ist die ursprünglichste

Regierungsform' (p. 30), 'Die gottesdienstlichen Verrichtungen der Könige... sind Nachklänge einer Zeit wo hausväterliche und obrigkeitliche Gewalt zusammenfiel' (p. 31). Prof. Thumser does not seem to be acquainted with English criticism of the 'Patriarchal Theory.' He observes p. 29. n. 3. *ad fin.* that Meyer's objections (Gesch. d. Altert. I. 2.) to the theory 'which makes the family precede the state historically and logically' 'cannot convince,' but the effect of this judgment is weakened by the remark on p. 28. n. 2: 'Post, die Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens, Oldenburg 1878, war nicht zugänglich.' Dr. Post, who is a rapid writer, has himself characterised this book in the preface to a later work (Die Grundlagen des Rechts 1884. p. vii.), but the collections of facts it contains would have served to reveal to Prof. Thumser the wider prospect presented by Anthropology.

In the second division of the book, *i.e.* the history of the Dorians, particularly the Lacedaemonians, Hermann's description of the Dorian migrations, of the condition of the Peloponnese at the time of the conquest, of the division of the conquered country between the invaders, of the position of the Peloponnesian Dorians (§§ 15—20), is followed very faithfully but more is told of the position of the *περίοικοι* of Sparta and indications are given that this harmony of the legends is not regarded as serious history. 'Wie die Sage weiter erzählt' (p. 118) is a significant addition and whereas Hermann not only wrote in the text that the Dorians entered the Peloponnese '80 years after the Trojan war' but spoke of Grote's objections as 'unnütze Schwierigkeiten,' Prof. Thumser is content with 'endlich' in the text and a confession in the note that there is no means of fixing the date of the 'return of the Heraclidae' (p. 113). At the same time he does not seem to be prepared to renounce on principle the attempt to construct history out of the myths, for he applies the epithet 'tempting in itself' to a combination which discovers in the legends traces of four distinct stages of the Dorian conquest (Gelzer, *Rh. Mus.* xxxii. p. 259 *sqq.*) The sections (§§ 21 22) on the Dorians in Crete have been decidedly improved; it is no longer taught that Minos was a Dorian and a historical character or that Lycurgus was inspired by Cretan models; and useful information is supplied about the political system of the cities so far as it is indicated in the various inscriptions from Crete.

In dealing with Sparta Prof. Thumser has only introduced trifling changes into the

sections which narrate the external history of the city from the Messenian wars to the rule of the Roman emperors (§§ 31—42, 49, 50). The description of the education of the young (§ 26) and of the organisation of private life (§ 27) is also unaltered: these two sections might, I think, have been improved. In the other sections the alterations are numerous. Some additions that deserve notice are the following: a more precise exposition of the military functions of the kings (p. 161) and of the part played by the assembly in public affairs (p. 168), a fuller discussion of *ἡ μικρὰ καλουμένη ἐκκλησία* (Xen. *Hell.* 3. 3. 8), the position of which is somewhat vaguely compared with 'the relation of the Roman comitia curiata to the comitia centuriata in the older period' (p. 170), an investigation into the meaning of the words *τὰ τέλη*, *οἱ ἐν τέλει ὄντες* (p. 171), *οἱ ἐκκλητοί* (p. 173), *οἱ μόθακες* (p. 175), *ἡ ἀρχαία μοῖρα* (p. 186), a complete account of the rather barren speculations about the place of the *μόρα* and *λόχος* in the organisation of the Spartan army (§ 29 p. 192 *sqq.*).

It is to be noted however that the radical criticism of recent years has not left so deep a mark on the treatment of Lycurgus and the origin of the Spartan constitution as might have been anticipated. The corrections are in the right direction; thus Lycurgus' interview with Homer is justly called 'legendary': it is no longer stated that he re-distributed the land in equal lots, or substituted new divisions for the three Dorian tribes or restored the Olympian games in conjunction with Iphitus; the smaller 'rhetrae' are not now resolutely defended, the influence of Delphi on the lawgiver is mentioned in dubious terms and Curtius' view that he was 'an organ of Delphic wisdom' is decidedly rejected. But the main position remains untenable. The editor has propounded a half-hearted compromise which will satisfy no one. He holds to the 'historical personality of Lycurgus' and at the same time strips the lawgiver of the characteristic features assigned to him by ancient writers, he is not ready either to reject the inferences suggested by comparison of political development elsewhere or to throw overboard Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus. Greek writers, dominated by the conception of a *νομοθέτης*, said simply, 'Lycurgus created the *γερονσία*, created the military system, etc.' and meant it. Prof. Thumser is not so simple, but is unwilling to leave the venerable figure of Lycurgus without a function. According to him Lycurgus found the *γερονσία* in existence but reconstituted

it, as the supreme power overshadowing both kings and assembly (p. 156): similarly he revived and re-invigorated but did not create the military system (p. 153 with n. 5.) The product of this method is a strange conglomerate. The 'rhetra' in Plutarch's Life of Lysurgus c. 6 has been explained by some scholars, e.g. Wachsmuth and Gilbert, to be a 'treaty' containing the terms according to which separate communities, two on Wachsmuth's theory, three on Gilbert's, united to form the city Sparta. Prof. Thumser accepts this interpretation of the 'rhetra,' although he thinks that *ρήτρα* may mean 'law,' but unlike Gilbert retains Lysurgus. The consequences are awkward. The primary purpose of this hypothesis of a *συννοικισμός* is to provide a reason for the existence of two kings. But the 'tradition' does not represent Lysurgus as the founder of the dual monarchy and does represent him as publishing the 'rhetra' in question. This of course does not affect Gilbert, for he rejects Lysurgus, but it involves Prof. Thumser in difficulties. For he has already applied the device of a *συννοικισμός*, before on his theory Lysurgus appears on the scene, inasmuch as he explains after Wachsmuth the strange phenomenon of two kings by the union of a Dorian and an Achaean community (p. 158), declining, it may be added, and very reasonably too, to believe in Gilbert's third king who originally represented the *Αιγείδα* (Hdt. 4. 149) but disappeared before the historical period. When therefore he comes to Lysurgus and the 'rhetra' attributed to Lysurgus, he is reduced to suggesting timidly a *second συννοικισμός*, 'when the community was enlarged by the reception of a new member' (p. 149). This abortive speculation is the fruit of intermittent and capricious criticism of the ancient authorities. When Plutarch describes the anarchy, which prevailed in Laconia before Lysurgus, as a struggle between weak or tyrannical kings and a presumptuous *ἄνθος*, the narrative is accepted (p. 132); when he proceeds to expound how Lysurgus terminated these divisions by creating the *γερουσία* which stood between the contending powers and 'balanced the constitution,' Prof. Thumser turns sceptic and takes refuge with the moderns. Such inconsistency is common enough in 'reconstructions' of early Greek history but is peculiarly injurious in a handbook in which the stages of the so-called proof cannot always be set forth in detail. The ambiguity

thus arising may be illustrated from the account given of the growth of the powers of the Ephors (p. 244 *sqq.*). The editor rejects the suggestion that the Ephors may have been from the outset high political officers charged with the duty of 'watching over' the integrity of the Spartan system and declares his adhesion in general to the views of Dum (Entstehung und Entwicklung des Spartanischen Ephorats 1878). Dum starts from the statement made by Cleomenes III. (Plut. *vit. Cleom.* c. 10) that the Ephors were originally officers chosen by the kings to administer justice in their absence. He supplements this by a conjecture that the kings used to transfer to them certain police duties, i.e. superintendence over the education of the young, over morality, over the conduct of *περίουκοι* and foreigners. How then did these temporary delegates of the kings with limited duties become great political functionaries independent of the kings? This question Dum answers by a series of inferences deduced by what seems to me a strained interpretation of Herodotus' statements about Cleomenes I. Still Dum's account is clear and can be followed step by step. Prof. Thumser's narrative I find indistinct: he starts from the same point as Dum but I cannot decide whether he takes exactly the same course or where he diverges; apparently he attaches more importance than Dum to the police functions as an element in the development, but the one thing quite plain is that he takes fright at last at Dum's long train of conjectures.

In appreciating this work as a whole justice requires that the restrictions imposed on the editor by his commission should not be left out of account. The book is a monument of the unwearied activity of German scholarship, it is crammed with facts and theories and all the apparatus of learning, but it is not a good manual, being overloaded with superfluities and lacking unity of method and decision of statement; a specialist will be able to discover useful matter, but the wider public that asks for a clear and definite outline will prefer Busolt's sketch in the fourth volume of Müller's *Handbook*. After all this is only saying that the book betrays the defects of its origin, that it is not the product of a single mind applying consistently uniform principles, but an attempt to repair rather than rebuild the old-fashioned structure designed by Hermann.

W. WYSE.

TOEPLITZ'S ATTISCHE GENEALOGIE.

Attische Genealogie von IOANNES TOEPLITZ.
Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung,
1889. 10 Mk. 40 Pf.

THIS work may be described as an attempt to codify all the information that has been gathered from various sources, mainly from the scholiasts, lexicographers and inscriptions, relating to the ancient gentes of Attica. The scope of the work may be at once seen from its arrangement. Starting with an introductory description of the character and constitution of the Greek gens, it goes on to discuss severally the gentes of Attica that are known to us, which are divided into the Eleusinian, the town and the country gentes, and it ends by giving genealogical tables which show the lines of descent that can be traced in the various gentes. The general index is full and good, and there is a separate index to the inscriptions referred to in the course of the work. The subject forms, as the author observes, a branch of enquiry with which the ancient world concerned itself far more than the modern has done, and at first it may seem singular that a subject which furnished such ample food for interest and enquiry should play so small a part in the best literature of Athens. Were we left to the poets and historians or even to the orators of the best period for our knowledge of the Attic gens, that knowledge would be scanty indeed. But this silence points in one way to the value of the subject; it shows that there could have been no revolutions, worth recording, in the character of this institution, and above all that the religious traditions connected with the institutions, which could not have centred only round the greater gentes, were so integral a part of the life of the people as to awaken no wonder and no enquiry in the minds of the inheritors of these traditions. It was only to the greater gentes that ancient speculation turned; the subject, when approached at all, was approached from the point of view of the religious antiquary, as Hellenicus turned to the subject of the *γένος Ἱεροφάντων*, seeking some historical clue in the mythological traditions of a great race. The Athenian gens, if judged from the Athenian standpoint itself, has far more interest as a mythological record than as a social institution. While the Roman tended to regard the *sacra* of his race as a burden imposed by the state, the Greek looked on them as the visible symbol of an ideal union among its members,

and the higher corporate character of the Greek gens is based mainly on its religious unity. The enquirer into the Greek gens is, therefore, justified in treating it, as Toepffler has done, almost entirely from the mythological point of view. Yet, in doing so, he is apt to lose sight of the fact that to the Greek mind the gens was essentially a family institution as well, and that the mythological had all the force of family traditions. This was not obscured by the fact that membership of the gens was determined through agnatic descent, although this fact does, as Toepffler justly remarks, sever the gens properly so called from mere family groups such as the Pisistratidae and Buselidae (p. 4). But it is hardly correct to say that the essential mark of the gentes was that they were 'geschlossene und staatlich anerkannte Corporationen.' Politically recognized they were and in two ways. Reception into the gens was equivalent to a declaration that a child had satisfied the conditions of being a member of the state: but this was only indirectly the case. Since all did not satisfy the conditions of being *γεννηταί*, the reception into the phratry was the ultimate test, the *φρατερικὸν* and the *κοινὸν γραμματεῖον* being identical (*C.I.A. n.* 841), and in this sense the phratry was the lowest political unit. The gens may again be spoken of as politically recognized, in so far as special public cults were associated with special gentes: but this was only due to the mythological traditions which were the family traditions; primarily the gens is a unit of private life and a subject of private law, the self-regulated rights of which, whether in the matter of the test of membership or in the exclusive right to the *sacra*, were protected by the state. The first of these rights was rigorously preserved by the true *γεννηταί*, whatever the patrician nucleus that formed these may have been, but it is doubtful whether they were so exclusive in the second right as Toepffler would make them (p. 15). That every Athenian citizen was a member of a phratry, and therefore shared in the worship of Apollo Patrons, and Zeus Herkeius is clear. Toepffler rightly shows from the inscription of the Demotionidae that the priests of the phratry and of the leading gens in that were not, as Busolt thinks, identical; the words of Aeschines (*de Fals. Leg.* § 147) εἶναι δ' ἐκ φρατρίας τὸ γένος ἢ τῶν αὐτῶν βύμων Ἐτεοβοντάδαις μέτεχει need imply no more than that

the noble and non-noble elements worshipped together at the same phratric altar. In this limited sense every one who was not a member of the gens would be an *ὀργεῶν* so far as these two supreme cults were concerned: but this would not give us the distinction between *γεννηταὶ* or *ὀμογάλακτες* and *ὀργεῶνες* within the same gens: for the accepted view that such a distinction is implied by the words of Pollux (iii. 52) and Suidas (*s.v.* *ὀργεῶνες*) is a more natural one than the supposition that these two expressions only describe the same individuals from different points of view, and that the *ὀμογάλακτες* were in every case identical with the *ὀργεῶνες*. It is by no means unlikely that citizens who were not *γεννηταὶ* were yet attached to particular gentes and admitted to many of their rites; such an expansion of the gens for sacred purposes may well have dated back to the time of Solon, at which period on the authority of Photius (*s.v.* *ὀργεῶνες*: cf. Dig. 47, 22) this distinction existed: although Toepffler, who believes that the extension of the cult of Ζεὺς *φράτριος* to those outside the gens originated with Cleisthenes, refers to this passage as evidence that *ὀργεῶνες* and *ὀμογάλακτες* were not exclusive as well as inclusive of one another (p. 17). The name *ὄργια* as applied to these ceremonies he refers with some probability to a Dionysian origin, and traces the evolution of the gentile ceremonies from the worship of Θέουρος or Dionysus to that of Apollo, the chief protecting deity of the Ionians (pp. 13, 14). The small amount of mere theorising on a subject which offers so tempting a field to theory as mythological research is one of the many great merits of this work: and its character in this respect may be illustrated by the statement that concludes a theory which is both brilliant and probable. 'Ich verhehle mir nicht die Unsicherheit dieser Combination, doch langt das vorhandene Material zu keinen Schlüssen, sondern nur zu Vermuthungen.' One point of historical theory, has, however, been pushed too far in the attribution to Cleisthenes of so much of the late constitution of the phratry and the gens. The passage of Aristotle (1319 b) which forms the sole evidence and which, while stating such reforms as possible, does not attribute them directly to Cleisthenes, opens a wide field for conjecture. Of the two possible alternatives, that Cleisthenes increased the number of the phratries or that he added new phrators, Toepffler accepts the first. But, since the gentes could not be increased, this could only have been accomplished by a redistribution of the existing gentes

amongst the phratries; it is improbable, however, that a particular gens and phratry, which had been so long connected, should have been severed; and still more improbable if we hold that members of a phratry participated as *ὀργεῶνες* in some of the rites of the particular gentes within it. There is also no evidence for the statement that it was Cleisthenes who extended to the phratries the worship of Zeus Herkeius (and presumably also of Apollo) which had originally been gentile cults. The worship of these was later the test not only of admission to the archonship (Pollux viii. 85), which might refer them to prae-Cleisthenian times, but also a test of citizenship (Phot. *s.v.* *Ἐρκειος Ζεὺς*), and the theory that refers their extension to Cleisthenes would leave the non-gennetes before his time without any common religious test of membership in the state. The question of the relation of the phratry to the deme he rightly dismisses with the remark 'Ueber das Verhältniss der Phratrien zu den Demeu zu grübeln hat keinen Sinn:' they belong to different categories of state-distributions. As regards the relation of the gens to the deme he rightly dismisses the theory that the *γεννηταὶ* were ever locally connected, yet does not recognize that it was probably owing to the fact of a large number of members of the same gens living together that the name of the gens was sometimes applied to the deme, as in the case of the Butadae, Philadae &c. A list of the demes with patronymic endings, which he supposes may have been derived from ancient gentes, is given at the end of the work (p. 315). In the case of the difficult inscription (C.I.A. ii. 605) which seems to assign a single archon to more than one gens, he cuts the knot by supposing that the Σ has been omitted after *ἀρχοντα*, as it has been in another word of the inscription.

In the discussion of the particular gentes some new views are stated and some old ones combated. He denies, for instance, the Phoenician origin of the Gephyraei (p. 293), the chief objections that he brings against it being that, according to Herodotus himself, it did not agree with the traditions of the gens and that their peculiar cult of Δημήτηρ Ἀχαιά is, as far as we can see, of a Greek nature. The chain of evidence which connects Eretria with Tanagra, which tradition associates with this worship of Demeter and the Gephyraei, is well worked out and shows the compatability of the apparently conflicting theories of Herodotus and of the gens, which associate them with Boeotia and Euboea respectively. The theory that there

was a gens of Eupatridae, as distinct from the nobility so called, is here restated (p. 175). That there was such a distinct γένος it would be hard to deny in the face of the evidence, in spite of the inevitable doubt it produces in many passages where the word Eupatridae occurs as to whether the γένος or the ἔθνος is meant; but the theory of Hirzel's which is here accepted, that the name is to be interpreted in the sense of 'benefiting a father,' a meaning which it is doubtful whether the word bears in two of the passages cited (Soph. *Elect.* 160, 859), and which it certainly does not bear in the other (*Elect.* 1079) as is proved by the words immediately following (οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν γὰρ ζῶν κακῶς εὐκλειαν αἰσχῖναι θέλει), and that the origin of the gens is to be referred to Orestes—is a theory which, if closely examined, rests only on the statement that the Eupatrids did not partake of the rights of the σεμναὶ θεαί (Schol. Soph. *O.C.* 489), and can hardly be called established. But perhaps the most attractive portion of the work, and the one in which the author's capacity for analysis is best shown, is in the treatment of the Eleusinian gens of the Eumolpidae (p. 26). Much of the darkness that gathers round the con-

flicting legends of this gens is cleared away, and it is shown beyond a doubt that the original connection was with the worship of Poseidon, and, more important still, it is shown by inscriptions that this continued to be the local form of the legend: the Thracian origin of the Eumolpidae being altogether a later growth with the entrance of the Orphic-Dionysian τελεταί into the older and simpler forms of belief. That the cult of Dionysus formed at an early period its home in Thrace is shown abundantly by coins: and it is natural that this should have become the Attic form of the legend as opposed to the older Eleusinian form, from which Toepffer rightly distinguishes it. The discussions of such questions in this work show a large grasp of facts and great power of wielding them, which is rendered more effective, as the book is rendered more readable, by the passages cited being embodied in the text and not thrust into footnotes. In these discussions, as is inevitable in a work on mythology, we are sometimes not on very firm ground, but we never feel ourselves in a region of pure speculation.

A. H. GREENIDGE.

Demosthenes de Corona, edited with Introduction and Notes, by B. DRAKE, late fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Seventh edition revised and enlarged, by E. S. SHUCKBURGH). Macmillan, 1889. pp. xxxv, 213. 4/6.

THIS successful volume of Messrs. Macmillan's series for schools has received considerable additions from the experienced hand of Mr. Shuckburgh. 'The text,' we are told, 'has been revised, the notes in part rewritten, about a third additional matter inserted, and the Index expanded.... Lastly, the reviser is responsible for the Introduction.' We are only concerned now with the new features of this useful edition.

The Introduction is perhaps the least satisfactory portion of Mr. Shuckburgh's additions. We fear that even the most enthusiastic learner will hardly find the narrative interesting. This is the more strange in a case where the writer had so attractive a theme as the life and work of Demosthenes to deal with. Nor are the brief analyses of the speeches which it contains as clear and precise as they might be. The rival claims of Chaeroneia (p. x. &c.) and Chaeronea (p. xi.) might have been settled with advantage, and a slip on p. xxxii.—'while to Athens was left the expenses and dangers'—requires correction. Just at the end, we encounter the debatable *obiter dictum*, 'Still the opportunist is not an interesting person.' Can it be that Mr. Shuckburgh, with his wide sympathies, finds Halifax and Alcibiades uninteresting persons?

The notes contain more exegesis than syntax. The new editor has done serviceable work by inserting

many new references, and the speech is now widely illustrated from the works of other authors both old and modern. We are inclined to think that too few of the parallel passages are drawn from the other orators of the canon. Besides Demosthenes, only Lysias is at all frequently referred to. If the reader's attention were more often directed to similarities of thought and language which occur in the other orators, he would gain an insight into the many tricks, as we venture to call them, of oratorical style which would be useful to him both for composition and criticism.

The text still requires the removal of all antiquated spelling. Mr. Shuckburgh has not referred at all to Blass' text, which differs widely from that before us, not only in the expulsion of possible accretions, but also in the removal of all instances of hiatus by means of elision. We hope that on some future occasion Mr. Shuckburgh will make the book complete by inserting some information about the manuscripts. At least some account of Σ would be welcome.

E. C. MARCHANT.

Schul-Commentar zu Demosthenes' acht Staatsreden, von A. BARAN. pp. v. 168. G. Freytag, Leipzig, 1890. 1 M. 25 pf.

THIS book contains an account of Demosthenes' life, a short analysis of the chief rhetorical figures, and notes on the Philipics, the Olynthiacs, the speeches on the Peace and on the Chersonese. The text is not included. The compiler finds two faults with the manner in which Demosthenes is at present studied in Austrian schools: the preparation is badly done, the 'crib' forming the chief part of the boys' stock

in trade, and too little is got through—not more than three of these speeches apparently in a term's reading, three hours a week being devoted to the pastime. The elaborate nature of most German commentaries really affords a fair excuse for a not too scrupulous recourse on the part of schoolboys 'zur gedruckten Übersetzung.' The German remedy for this 'crib' disease, then, is obviously to provide a readable commentary, giving help only where help is wanted. The English plan is usually to get the class to regard the use of 'cribs' as a mean thing, on a par with other forms of cheating—which answers well with dull boys: clever boys generally avoid them, for fear of spoiling their style.

The introduction is written in a simple manner, with short periods, and is wisely broken up into three sections. The analyses of the speeches dealt with in this book are decidedly preferable to those in Mr. Drake's school edition, because they are clearer and unencumbered with quotations. In the fourth section, on rhetoric, it would have been an improvement if one of the speeches had been employed to illustrate the various divisions of a speech. The object of the notes appears to be threefold—to supply idiomatic German equivalents, to point out simple syntactical rules, and to explain the connection of thought in the subject-matter. Long notes are rightly avoided: they are seldom read, and are best left to the master. No parallel passages are quoted: from which it would appear that schoolmasters in Austria are habitually acquainted with the classics. The text is embellished with four rather meanly-executed illustrations. On the whole however the writer has done the work well, and his book will probably fulfil its purpose satisfactorily.

E. C. MARCHANT.

T. Livi ab urbe condita libri. Apparatu critico adiecto edidit AUGUSTUS LUCHS. Vol. iv. librorum xxvi.—xxx. continens. [Berlin, 1889.] 3 Mk.

IN this valuable edition of the latter half of Livy's third decade Luchs has given us a reconsidered text with the result that the book differs from his larger edition of 1879 in several points which he has tabulated in the preface.

On the whole however there are less than 120 alterations in the 231 chapters, and of these nearly half are merely changes in the order of words or others equally slight. On comparing with Madvig's second edition (1882) the passages where a change has been made, it is satisfactory to notice that the altered readings approach more nearly to the text of Madvig than was the case in the former edition.

The learned editor has himself proposed not a few new emendations; as a rule however he has confined them to his critical notes.

It would be unbecoming to praise the work of so great a scholar in a field which is so peculiarly his own. To Luchs belongs the discovery that the authority of the codex Puteanus 'qui in priore partis decadis tertiae unus instrumentum criticum efficit,' is equalled in the latter half by that of a lost codex (which he designates by S) from which the codex Spirensis (S) and several others have been derived by different stages of descent. Before his time the testimony of these MSS. was unduly neglected.

M. T. TATHAM.

Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande bis zum Beginne des xi. Jahrhunderts von ADOLF EBERT. Erste Band. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel. 1889. 8vo. pp. xiv, 667. 12 M.

CONTAINS three periods: from Minucius Felix to Constantine, from Constantine to the death of Augustine, and from the death of Augustine to Charles the Great. The first edition, published in 1874, was less in bulk by more than two sheets and a half. New editions of the authors, especially in the Vienna *corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* and the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, and many special investigations into their lives and works which have appeared during the last fifteen years, are recorded and criticised with Ebert's known exactness and sound judgement. A French translation, by Aymeric and Condamin, appeared at Paris in 1883-89, with some corrections supplied by Ebert himself. It is to be regretted that Bp. Wordsworth's first instalment of the Vulgate appeared too late for notice, and that other translations, such as the Latin Irenaeus and Dr. Swete's edition of Theod. Mops., are excluded by the design of the work. P. 119 Ebert refuses, on the ground of the use of the 'Itala' instead of the Vulgate, to accept Peiper's ascription of the Latin Heptateuch to Cyprian bishop of Toulon. In dealing with a book of such established reputation it is enough to add that a perusal of it will convince the most sceptical that the 'Fathers' contain very much that is of interest to the general scholar and man of letters. Perhaps Dr. Ebert might have improved his notes by citing the *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, which contains not a few articles bearing on his theme.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

Sardinia and the Sardes. By CHARLES EDWARDS. London: Bentley and Son. 1889. Pp. xii. 379. 8vo. 14s.

THIS is mainly a book of travels. Mr. Edwardes went the round of the cities and made the excursions to La Barbagia, S. Antioco, etc., as prescribed by Büdker and Murray: and he narrates his adventures pleasantly enough. But unfortunately he follows Italian writers of the old school on the ancient history and antiquities of the island. On p. 117 a statement is quoted from 'Xenodotus, on the authority of Timaeus.' Xenodotus is an unknown author: perhaps Zenobius, v. 85, is intended. In any case, Timaeus, *Fr.* 28, is sadly mistranslated. On p. 52 there are grotesque mistranslations of a Phoenician inscription. The translation in *C. I. S.* No. 144 should have been consulted. On p. 26 the amphitheatre at Cagliari is described as 'wholly an excavation.' The sides and one end are formed on a natural valley, and the other end is built up. These few examples will probably suffice. Mr. Edwardes, it is true, hardly pretends to any greater knowledge of these matters than he actually displays: but nevertheless he spoils his book by handling them. He spoiled his book on Crete in just the same way. If he ever again makes a Mediterranean island the subject of a book, he will do well to keep to matters that are within his grasp. His description of the tunny-fishery is excellent.

CECIL TORR.

NOTES.

ÆSCHYLUS, *Agamemnon*, 425.

εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν
ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί,
ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαῖς
ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτῃ.

κολοσσός is regularly used of 'colossal' statues. Here however there is no question of size, and the word is certainly a curious substitute for ἀγαλμάτων. I think we may infer that Aeschylus had a special motive in choosing κολοσσῶν, and for such a motive we have not to look far. ὀμμάτων ἐν ἀχηνίαῖς is the poet's etymological interpretation of κολοσσός, *eyeless*, lit. *eye-docked* (κόλος, ὄσσε).

J. B. BURY.

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ÆSCH. *Agamemnon* 374:

πέφανται δ' ἐκγόνοις
ἀτολμήτων Ἀρη
πνεύτων μείζον ἢ δικαίως.

Many critics have endeavoured to make these lines readable. Hermann has conjectured: π. δ' ἐκγόνοις ἀτολμήτως κ.τ.λ., 'they (the Gods) have appeared to the offspring'; Weil: πεφύσθαι δ' ὁ νοῦς ἀτολμῶν θράσει, as ingenious as Hermann's conjecture is shallow, but *hoc est secare et urere, non emendare*. The same may be said of Keck, who reads in his bold (*nomen et onien*) edition: πέφανται δὴ κτενεῖς ἀτολμήτω θράσει κ.τ.λ. How if we read π. δ' ἐκγόνοις κ.τ.λ. and attach πέφανται not to φαίω but to the root φεν? *Iliad* E 531 αἰδομένον ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σόοι ἢ πέφανται, 'Of shameful men there are more safe than killed.' The meaning of the Chorus is that even the children of the reckless who were more ferocious than behoved have been killed (*a fortiori* the ferocious fathers themselves). As I have never anywhere seen this interpretation of πέφανται, I venture to submit it to the judgment *doctiorum*.

S. J. WARREN.
Dordrecht, Holland.

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EURIPIDES, *Phoen.* 854-855.

ὅς πᾶσ' ἀπήνη, ποῦς τε πρεσβύτου φιλεῖ
χειρὸς θυραίας ἀναμένειν κουφίσματα.

For the unintelligible πᾶσ' ἀπήνη in this worried and corrupt passage, I would suggest παῖς ἀπήνης, *i.e.* as a child likes the relief of a ride, and an old man's foot likes the relief (or assistance) of another's hand.

SYDNEY THELWALL.

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ON AN ALLUSION TO THE 'CYPRIA' IN PLATO, *Rep.* 379 E.

οὐδὲ θεῶν ἔριν τε καὶ κρίσιν διὰ Θέμιτος καὶ Διός. These words are generally supposed to refer to *Il.* xx. where an assembly of the gods is summoned, and Zeus gives them leave to take part in the war before Troy, whereupon follows the *θεομαχία*. But there are two objections to this interpretation. Themis' part in the proceeding is very small. She is only the messenger employed by Zeus and her intervention is dismissed in a single line:

Ζεὺς δὲ Θέμιστα κέλευσε θεοὺς ἀγορήνδε καλέσσαι.

The second objection is that 'ἔρις' and 'κρίσις' are

not the natural and obvious words to describe what takes place. 'κρίσις' must be taken as the substantive of κρίνεσθαι, to contend, whereas its familiar and frequent meaning is judgment or decision. Plato could hardly use it in any other without being guilty of bad writing.

Now there is another story to which the words ἔρις and κρίσις do apply exactly and of which they are frequently used. It is the quarrel of the goddesses and the Judgment of Paris. Their use in this sense is so common as scarcely to need illustration, but the following passage in the *Helena* of Isocrates is instructive (§ 41) ...γενομένης ἐν θεοῖς περὶ κάλλους ἔριδος ἧς Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πριάμου κατέστη κριτής, ...ἡττηθείς τῆς τῶν θεῶν ὕψεως, (§ 42, init.). I have quoted the last words because they contain 'θεῶν' in the sense of goddesses and therefore help to dispose of the objection which might be brought, that 'θεῶν' is ambiguous. An Attic prose writer had no alternative to θεῶν, if he wished to say 'of the goddesses,' and in this case he could use θεῶν without fear of misapprehension, 'ἔρις' and 'κρίσις' giving the hearer a key to the meaning at once. As we learn from Proclus' abstract of the Cypria, the quarrel which led to the Trojan war was brought about by Zeus and Themis, who anticipated Malthus in thinking that the human race was multiplying too rapidly and resolved to relieve Mother Earth of her excessive burden:—

κουφίσσαι βάρεος παμβώτορα γαίαν.

Two results follow from this interpretation:—

(a) Plato seems to have regarded the Cypria as the work of Homer. But this inference is rather doubtful.

(b) The emendation Θέμιτος for Θέτιδος¹ in the text of Proclus is confirmed, if it required any confirmation. It is all but impossible that Thetis could have taken counsel with Zeus at this stage in the story—Thetis whose marriage with Peleus is the occasion of the ἔρις. Themis on the other hand is precisely the counsellor whom Zeus would consult in such a case.

[This interpretation is not new, but the justification and explanation of it is so, as far as I know. Stallbaum seems to take—or to follow Muretus in taking—ἔρις to mean the θεῶν μάχη of the *Iliad*, and κρίσις the 'iudicium dearum': but his note is brief and obscure.]

W. R. HARDIE.

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ATHANASIUS, *De Incarn.* xxxiv. 3.

As the text stands at present it is impossible to make satisfactory sense of τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν. The Benedictine version ignores ὑπὲρ altogether, and translates 'ejusque potentiam.' I venture to suggest ὑπεράνουν for ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. ἄνους is found in this same treatise (ch. viii. § 1) applied to the Λόγος, and is used by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* viii. 8): ὑπεράνους occurs in Philo 1, 103. The correction makes excellent sense, as Athanasius is here laying stress on the difference between the ordinary power of man and that of Christ which is absolutely immaterial.

E. N. BENNETT.

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¹ Suggested by Heyne: Kinkel, *Ep. Graec. Fr.* p. 17.

δολιχόσκιος = Zd. *dareghaarstaya*.

1. *Traditional derivation of δολιχόσκιος*.—The plausible derivation from σκιά was current in antiquity, but did not satisfy even the old scholars; thus it was suggested that the last part of the word came from κίω (see Ebeling, *s.v.*). The epithet 'long-shadowed' is not appropriate to a spear, which suggests 'flash' rather than 'shadow.'

2. *Usage of the two words*.—*dareghaarstaya* occurs several times in the Avesta as an epithet of Mithra (Yasht 10. 66, 102) and of a worshipper (17. 12), and means 'having a long spear' (thus Homer calls the Paeonians δολιχεγής, *Φ* 155). *arsti* = Skr. *ṛṣṭi* 'a spear, shaft.'

δολιχόσκιος is always coupled with ἔγχος in Homer. We may fairly ask why it is never applied to tall stationary things like a tree or a mast.

Out of the 26 instances given by Ebeling (21 in *Il.*, 5 in *Od.*) 13 occur in the phrase προίει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος, and 7 have ἀμπεπαλὼν or κραδῶν; just the very case in which the idea of shadow is least suitable. Where a spear is described as sticking in the ground, the epithet is not used; the only examples where the word is used of a stationary spear are E616 ἐν γαστρὶ πάγῃ δ. ἔ., and possibly Z 44 ἔστη ἔχων δ. ἔ. The idea of shadow cannot be appropriate to phrases describing the spear and armour being laid aside (*Ψ* 798, 884; *χ* 95).

In fact, δ. is a stock epithet already; yet in spite of its apparent connexion with σκιά, it is not used in cases where σκιά would be most appropriate, and it is used where σκιά is least appropriate. The usage then, though not decisive, favours my hypothesis.

3. *Phonetic considerations*.—δολιχός has long since been equated with Zd. *daregha* and Skr. *dirghā*. If my hypothesis be correct, δολιχόσκιος came from *δολιχ-σάτιος for *-ορστίος i.e. *-ṛṣṭi-*. This assumes (1) that *-rṣt- became -σrd- and (2) -τ- became κ through the analogy of σκιά.

(1) If it could be shown that *rṣt- became regularly -στ-, my case would I think be proved. But I cannot find any certain instance of the change; indeed, I can find no example of *-rṣt- at all, although the combination is to our ears pleasing enough, and might easily have arisen in some such formation as Skr. *ṛṣṭā-*. On the other hand, there seems to be no instance of -ρστ- in any Greek word. And I believe that γαστήρ and βόσκη have lost an *r*: and I suggest, as the root of the family of words to which they belong, the ablaut *ǵer-* *ǵor-* *ǵr-*.

ǵer-: Skr. *jāthāra-* for **ger-ter*- Goth. *kil-bei* (Brug. *Grdr.* I 259)

: *uo-scō* for **ǵuer-skō*, cp. *testāmentum* for **terstāmentum*, Osc. *tristamentud*, *postulō* for **pors-tulō*, etc.

ǵor-: βό-σκη for **bor-σκω* through the form **ǵuor-skō*, βο-τήρ βο-τός hence βο-τ-άνη, Lat. *uor-o* for **ǵuor-o*.

ǵr-: Skr. *gras-*, Gr. *γρά-ω*.

: *βρῶσι-ας* for **gṛ-ti-s*, γαστήρ for **γap-σ-τήρ* **gṛs-ter-*, γράσ-τι-*s*.

In support of the loss of *r* before *s+t* or *k*, which I assume, I may cite the similar treatment of the nasal; *κεστός* for **κενστος*, -*κοστός* for **-κονστος* (Brug. *G. Gr.* § 59, 101); in *πάλτο* for **παλ-σ-το* the *λ* is kept owing to the influence of the other forms of the verb.

¹ Or for **γρασ-τήρ*; then the *ρ* was dropped owing to *ρ* following close upon it in forms like **γραστρός* **γραστρί*, cp. *βάτραχος* for **βατραχος* etc., Brug. *Curt. Stud.* ix. 272. γαστήρ, if it stood alone, might well come from **ǵnt-ter-*: *uen-ter*, as suggested by Feist Goth. Etym. p. 89.

(2) *ṛṣṭi arsti* has no equivalent in Greek. If it survived only in the second member of one word, it is almost certain that it would be modified by some analogy. And the analogy of σκιά would be suggested by δόσκιος παλίσκιος (μεγαλόσκιος *El. Mag.*) and possibly other words, as *βαθύσκιος* (Hymn. Hom.). The change in sense would not be violent: but from the usage it seems clear that the idea of shadow was kept quite in the background all along. Probably it was no more prominent than the *Jerusalem of Jerusalem artichokes* is to us.

The foregoing evidence, although it does not prove the case, seems to give a strong presumption in its favour. There is nothing that condemns it; the phonetic development here suggested is at least possible, and I think I may say that the balance of probability is on its side; whilst my derivation is supported by both sense and usage.¹

W. H. D. ROUSE.

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LIVY. I. 32. 12. *fieri solitum ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam ad fines eorum &c.*

With reference to this passage, I venture to suggest that the error lies in the word *ferratam*. The antique ceremony would have required the antique weapon, the *hasta praeusta*, dipped of course in blood. That an iron spear was ever used is most unlikely if one may judge from parallel instances of archaic survivals such as this. On the other hand it is not improbable that the ceremonial spear had its special name (our *javelin-men* have preserved a term that else would have perished from popular knowledge), and if so that this rare word should be corrupted into *ferratam* is an easy hypothesis. I cannot hit upon the right word, but some Old Latin Scholar reading this may be able to do so.

There is a well-known line in *Völuspá* on this fetial custom,

flegðgi Óðinn oc ifole um scaut—

which Englished might run:

'Woden let fly and shot [his spear] over the host,' and again in the *Lay of Hlöd and Angantheow* l. 94 before the battle of Dun-heath.

oc láti suá Óðinn flein fluga...

'and may Woden let the javelin fly.'

In *Eyrbyggja Saga* during the feud between Snorre gode and Steinthor about the end of the 10th century in Iceland, the same incident occurs. pá scaut Steinþórr spióte at fornorn sið til heilla ser yfir flocc Snorra, en spióteð leitaðe ser staðar etc. 'Then S. shot a spear in heathen fashion for luck over Snorre's company and the spear found its goal, for Már Snorre's kinsman met it and was straightway rendered unfit for fight. But when Snorre was told thereof he answered: "It is a good thing for it to be shown that it is not always best to march in the rear." After that a big battle began.'

Again in *Flatey-book* ii. 72 comes this passage.—Sa selld honum reyspróta í hand oc bad hann skíota honum yfir lid Styrbiarnar. Ok þat skylld hann mæla, Óðinn a ydr alla. 'He gave him a reed-wand in his hand and bade him shoot it over Styr-beorn's crew, and he was to say as he did so Woden have you all!' This last passage, though it is from a legendary saga, yet preserves the carmen which the others have omitted.

F. YORK POWELL.

¹ It should not be forgotten that -οσκ-ιος has been compared with Eng. *ash*. But the coincidence of the Avestic word has not been noticed before, and should hardly be left out of account.

MANIL. I. 809—812 (Jacob) :

Sunt alia aduerso pugnantis sidera mundo
Quae terram caelumque inter uolitantia pendent
Saturni Iouis et Martis Solisque sub illis
Mercurius Venerem inter agit Lunamque locatus.

Bentley makes out a strong case for the spuriousness of these vv. They are however not worse than many others in Manilius of whose genuineness there can reasonably be no doubt. Meanwhile my collation of the Leyden Vossianus alter reveals the fact, of which Jacob takes no notice, that in 812 there is a remarkable variant for *inter agit*, words the pooriness of which as Latin is emphasized by Bentley in support of his view of the general spuriousness of the passage. Voss² gives *intangit*. This may no doubt be a corruption of *inter agit*, the abbreviation of -er having fallen out, and *intagit* expanding into *intan-*

git. But another explanation is equally possible. The *in-* may represent a dittographed *m*—*uenerem mtangit*, then *uenerem intangit*, as in iv. 640 *uicticem cbusum* has become in the Vossianus primus *uicticem mebusum*. The original would thus be *uenerem tangit* :

sub illis

Mercurius Venerem tangit Lunamque locatus—

i.e. the planet Mercury is placed under Saturn, Jupiter, Mars and the Sun, the next neighbour on the one side of Venus, on the other of the moon. The sense is thus nearly identical with *inter agit*, but the planet, instead of being described as stationed *between* Venus and the moon, is said to *touch* the domain or sphere of either planet. For this use of *tangere* Forcellini supplies examples. ROBINSON ELLIS.

ECHOES OF LORD TENNYSON'S CROSSING THE BAR.

Ἐν εὐφημία χρῆ τελευτᾶν.

Ἐν βίοντος δυσμαῖς, ὁπότεν δαίμων με καλέσῃ,
μὴ στενάχοι τρηχεῖ πόντος ἐπ' αἰγιαλῷ·
λαῖος δ' ἔσπερίον κοιμώμενος ἀστέρος αὐγαῖς
ἔρποι ἄτερθ' ἤχῃς, ἡρέμα κλυζόμενος,
οἶσων ναυτιλίην ἐπ' ἀπείρονα τὴν ἀπ' ἀπείρου
ἦκουσαν, νῦν δ' ἄψ οἰκαδ' ἐπιγομένην.
Ἐμβαίνοντι δ' ἔμοιγ', ἐπεὶ νῦν ἐνθάδ' ὁρώρη,
κώδων ἑσπερίης ὥς μεθέλκε βοῆς,
μὴ τις ἔπειτ' ἀπύοντι φίλων ὀλοφυρμὸς ἔποιτο
αἰῶνος γλυκεροῦ γῆς τ' ἀπολειτομένην.
Ἔστω γάρ, ἔσθ' ἡδέϊα κυβερνήτην προσιδέσθαι
ἐλπίς, ἐκεῖ μακρὸν πλοῦν ἀπαιρομένην.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

March 16th, 1890.

Ἐσπερος ἡελίον δυσμαῖς ἐπι, καί μέ τις ὁμφῇ
ἐκπροκαλεῖ λιγυρῶς· ἀλλὰ διέκ λιμένος
κούφα φέροι με τὰ κίματ' ἄνευ στόνου εἰς ἄλα
διαν
λειαίνου τε ῥοῦς νήνεμος ἡσυχία
οἶδμά τε πληθύου μάλα μείλιχον· ἀφρὸς
ἀπέστω
καὶ βρόμος, εὐθ' ἔλκη βέημα παλιρρόθιον
ἔνθεν ἔφν, ποτὶ κόλπον ἀπείρονος Ωκεανοῖο·
νῦν κνέφας ἑσπέριον νύχθ' ἱερὰν ἐπάγει
ἑσπερίον τ' ἡχεῖ κώδων νόμον· ἀλλ' ὅταν εἴπω
χαίρετε, μήτ' ἔστω δάκρυα μήτε γόοι·
εἰ γὰρ καί με φέροι μάλα τηλόθι πόντος ἀπ'
ἁκτῆς
ἔνθα τόπων θ' ὀρίους καὶ χρόνον εἰργόμεθα,
ἀλλὰ κυβερνήτην ἔτ' ἐνώπιον ἐλπίς ἔχει με
αὐτίκ' ἰδεῖν, ὅρμου κλῆδας ἀμειψάμενον.

E. D. STONE.

Vesper adest; adsit: solem mox stella
sequetur:

Tum mihi, nec surda, vox sonet aure, 'redi':
Absit aquae gemitus, sileatur ad ostia portus,
Cum portu excedens solus in alta vehor.
Lenis, ut in somno, pleni maris affluat aestus,
Sic tamen ut spuma vis strepituque vacet,
Ex infinito veluti cum ducta profundo
Sistit, et ad propriam vertitur unda domum.¹
Vesper adest; dubiae iam lucis ab aede sonabit
Naenia, tum noctis nigrior umbra cadet:
Absit amicum vox lugubris ire vetantum,
Cum mea se terra solvit itura ratis.
Nam licet hos ultra fines terrenaque claustra
Tractibus immensis aequora vasta ferant,
Spes mihi Rectoris praesentem agnoscere
vultum
Ut primum ignotus experiemur aquas.

H. M. B.

Solis in occasu nitet Hesperus: omine certo
Semel vocatus audio!
Claustra velim ne triste gemant vocalia ponti,
Solvente me funem ratis,
Sed fremitum spumamque premens, similis-
que sopori
Labatur aestus amplior,
Cum maris immensi quae pleno eurgite fluxit
Vis refluat in sedem suam.
Contrahebat umbra diem: resonabunt aera:
tenebris
Tunc vesperem nox occulet!
Iamque, 'Vale' dicto, reprimat querimonia
vocem
Infausta, dum scando ratem;
Trans finemque licet, loca quae terrestria
claudit
Et tempora, auferar procul,
Adfore Te coram spero—mihi, Christe, solutae
Tu navis hinc clavum regas!

H. KYNASTON.

¹ This seems to me to express more correctly the poet's meaning than the lines which I had at first written:—

Ex infinito cum vita exorta profundo
Divinam repetit, prodiit unde, domum.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

THE SITE OF OLBA IN CILICIA.

MR. THEODORE BENT writes to me that he has recently returned to Mersina from an expedition into the mountains behind the coast-line which runs from that town down to Selefkeh. The result of his researches, in point of inscriptions and of identifying sites, has, he says, been very satisfactory, and he hopes to be able to add four towns to the map. Among these he thinks that he can establish the site of the ancient Olba. His account is as follows:—

‘About four miles inland, and about 1,000 feet up in the mountains behind the place mentioned as Ayash on the maps, are the ruins of a considerable town; most of these ruins being of Roman or Byzantine date erected on Hellenic structure. The great peculiarity of the place is a deep hole in the middle of it, a quarter of a mile wide, three quarters of a mile round, and 200 feet deep; this hole has evidently been a place of great sanctity, for it is entered by two roads, the one, an ordinary path in the rocks, and the other a tunnel cut in the rock starting from the centre of a Byzantine church which was presumably the ancient temple; on the walls of the hole are carved many bas-reliefs, and there have been numerous tombs and inscriptions in it. To the south of the hole is a polygonal fortress of Hellenic date, with the following two inscriptions on it, and a mark, thus:—



Apparently it was the custom of the town fortresses of Cilicia each to have its own sign.

The highest inscription is as follows:—

(1) ΔΙΙ ΟΛΒΙΩΙ
ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΤΕΥΚΡΟΣ
ΤΑΡΚΥΑΡΙΟΣ

Two stones below it was this:—

(2) ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΟΛΒΕΩΣ

The *ιερείς* must surely refer to one of the priest-kings of Olba, and the name recurring twice seems almost conclusive evidence that this was the site of the town. We got squeezes of a good many other inscriptions

from this site, but none had on them the name of the town.

From Mr. Bent's description it is not quite clear what is exactly the site to which he refers. The 'deep hole' would seem at first sight to point to the Korykian cave (Κορύκιον ἄντρον) of the ancients (Strabo xiv. 5, 5; Pomponius Mela xiii.); but the site of the cave has been thoroughly examined by Langlois, Teliatcheff, and more recently by Collignon (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* iv. 133), and must certainly lie much further to the south-west than Mr. Bent's site. A direct line four miles inland from Ayash (Elaïousa-Sebaste) brings one to the site marked on Sterrett's map as Kannideli, which Langlois (*Voyage dans la Cil.* p. 221) describes. He says: 'On the southern slope of a mountain which forms part of the Taurus are some fine ruins, remains of a Byzantine town, which cover a large extent of ground; a narrow Roman road leads to it through the rocks.' He thinks that Kannideli must be the site of Neapolis mentioned by Hierokles and Suidas. 'On voit à l'est de Neapolis une profonde carrière formant un carré assez régulier.' On the south wall of this 'quarry' are sculptures with Greek inscriptions; and on the north a square mausoleum. He further mentions five mediæval churches of which the remains are visible here, and refers to 'citadels' among the ruins. It will be noticed that the main features of the Kannideli of Langlois correspond with Bent's description. The site of Kannideli is not marked in Kiepert's Atlas; but judging from the lists of Cilician towns recorded in the *Notitiæ*, &c. (see Head in *Numism. Chron.* 3rd ser. viii., pp. 300-7), it can hardly represent Neapolis, as Langlois supposes.

The site of Olba (or Olbasa) has been the subject of much discussion; the most recent writer (Head, *ibid.*) places it conjecturally to the south-west of Claudiopropolis, or more than twenty miles to the north-west of Kannideli. On the coins Olba is named 'Metropolis of Ketis.' M. Waddington, who has collected the evidence about Ketis (*Revue Numismatique* 1883, p. 34), and whose opinion I have had the benefit of consulting in this matter, quotes Ptolemy v. 8 as showing that the coast-line of this district extended from Anemurion to the mouth of the Kalykadnos, in which case the proposed site would be excluded. Basil, Bishop of Seleukia in the 5th century, says that Olba was a neighbouring city to Seleukia (*Ἀστυγείτων πόλις*, p. 287).

Therefore it would seem that the site of Olba still remains to be found.

Considering the widely extended influence which Olba must have possessed, it would not be surprising to find traces of this influence in even distant localities of this part of Cilicia Tracheia. The toparchia of the priests of Olba extended, as we know from the coins, not only over Ketis, but also over the adjoining districts of Lalassis and Kennatis; the three districts together must have covered a wide range of territory on both sides of the Kalykadnos. Possibly if Ketis was (as we know part of it at least was) on the right bank of the river, Kennatis may have extended along the left bank; at any rate it seems certain that the toparchia of Olba spread considerably further along the coast to the east of the river mouth. Langlois (p. 237) mentions having seen at a site half an hour to the south-east of Lamos (*i.e.* more than ten miles east of the river mouth) a rock on which are deeply engraved two signs, one of which is the triskelis of Mr. Bent's inscription. The triskelis appears also on the coins of Polemon and Aias the toparchi of Olba; now this sign, which is common enough in Lycia, and which occurs also at Aspendos in Pamphylia, is as yet only found in Cilicia in connection with Olba. We may suppose, with Langlois, that the rock he describes served to mark a site within the toparchia of the priest-kings of Olba, to whom Rome had given with sovereign power the title of dynasts of the Kennates and Lalassians.

The occurrence therefore of the formulæ in Mr. Bent's inscription need not prove more than that this site also was within the toparchia of Olba. On the contrary, the very fact that Pleistarchos here calls himself an Olbian would seem to show that the site in question was not that of his native town. The two inscriptions taken together give the official formula of dedication, ratified by the priest-king of Zeus, and by the epistates; such a formula, in fact, as might be found anywhere within the toparchia of Olba at the time.

The worship of Zeus at Olba was said to have been instituted by Teukros, son of Aias. Strabo (xiv. 5, 10) describes the varied fortunes of the priesthood, and adds that, down to his day, the dynasty retained the name of Teukros, and most of the priests were called either Teukros or Aias; but shows at the same time that this rule was not without exceptions. The priest in the present case is called Teukros 'Tarkuarius' where we should expect 'Aiantos.'

It would appear that this must mean 'son of Tarkuaris'; the name is unknown, but the termination *-ris* (cf. Kelenderis, &c.) and the prefix *Tar-* (cf. Tarkondimotos, &c.) would suit a local name very well.

M. Waddington has kindly called my attention to a paper published by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. für Numismatik* vol. 13, p. 134. From a comparison of two coins the writer establishes the following type:—

obv. ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟC—ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Head of youthful M. Aurelius to left.

rev. ΔΙΟ—(ΚΑΙCΑ)—ΡΕΩΝ. Zeus, with hair floating back and chlamys flying, crushes to right a giant turned towards him, and hurls at the giant a thunderbolt with his raised right hand. Over the group ΟΛ—ΒΟC.

This word ΟΛΒΟC the writer takes in its literal meaning of 'happiness,' and compares the occurrence on other coins of Εὐβορία, Εὐθηνία, &c. But, as he himself says, this sense has no connection with the scene represented. He rejects the possibility of taking it as Ὀλβιος, a title of Zeus, this form being clearly given in a votive inscription from Lysimacheia (Lebas-Waddington ii. No. 1456). In this connection it is worth noting that the name of the town as given in the MSS. of Strabo presents several varieties; one of the most favoured alternatives is Ὀλβοι, and one MS. even gives Ὀλβος, so that there is at least authority for referring the form on the coins to the cultus of that town. Assuming that both readings are correct (*i.e.* of the coins and of the inscriptions), is it then impossible to reconcile the two forms Ὀλβος and Ὀλβιος? M. Waddington suggests that the Olbos on the coins may possibly be a local appellative of Zeus, in which case the difficulty would disappear. If we could be certain of this, it would seem that at the period of these coins Diocaesareia was also under the toparchia of Olba. It is even possible that the site described by Mr. Bent may be Diocaesareia; Basil says that Olba was near Seleukia; and in all the lists Diocaesareia takes a place next to Olba; in Ptolemy it comes between Olba and Seleucia. CECIL SMITH.

ACQUISITIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

1. Onyx cameo, Ajax seizing Cassandra at the altar of Athens.

2. Bronze vase (3½ in. high) in the form of a pomegranate: the upper part with the sepals forms a movable lid which works on a pivot: from Delphi.

3. Fragments of three leaden plates inscribed with

imprecations in Greek (see the note by Mr. A. S. Murray below). One of these plates has still the nail, 3 in. long, by which it was attached.

4. Leaden horse (1½ in. long), incised with a Greek inscription in late characters, apparently a cabalistic formula consisting principally of repetitions of two or three syllables: from Epidauros.

Cecil Smith.

DIRAE.—Two new examples of this interesting class of late Greek inscriptions have been acquired by the British Museum. Like the one published last year in the *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* p. 79, they probably come from Athens or its neighbourhood. The formula is the same, as indeed is the case also in those older examples given by Boeckh, *C.I.Gr.* 538-9. These inscriptions are written on thin tablets of lead, and were meant to consign the persons named therein to the powers of the lower world. The tablets were folded up and then nailed to a wall. The use of such tablets is referred to by Tacitus (*Ann.* 69) and Dio Cassius (*lvi.* 18) in connection with the death of Germanicus. The word *καταδέω*, *καταδῶ*, *καταδῶ*, 'I denounce,' which recurs in these inscriptions, is cited by Harpocration (*s.v.* *καταδεῖσθαι*) as a term of Greek sorcery, and is so used also in Plato.

I.

καταδῶ τὰ Ὀφιλίων[ος] καὶ Ὀφιλίω-
να καὶ τὸ καπήλιον Ὀλυμπον. [κα]ταδῶ τὰ Με-
λαμθίον ἅπαντα καὶ τὸ καπήλιον Ἀγάθωνα·
καταδῶ τὰ Συρίσκο(υ), ἅπαντα τὰ Συρίσ(κ)ο(υ).
κα[τα]δῶ τὰ Πιστίον ἅπαντα· Μανῆ καὶ Πι-
στ[ί]ον ἅπαντα· καταδῶ [τ]ούτων ἅπαν-
τα καὶ τὰς ἐργασίας, ἅπαντα τοῦτων.
..... ηρ

If *καπήλιον* is a form of *καπηλείον* = *ἐργαστήριον* τῶν καπήλων (Pollux, vii. 193), then *Olympos* and *Agathon* would have to be the names of shops or taverns. They seem to me more suited for the names of slaves. A slave as an article of merchandise might be called *καπήλιον*, or this word may be merely a diminutive from *καπηλος*.

In line 4 is written *Συρίσκος* as if it were a form of genitive, and again *Συρίσος*. For other examples of Attic *dirae* see *Ephemer. Arch.* 1869, p. 333.

II.

Ὀφιλίων, Ὀφίμη, Ὀλυμπος.
καταδέω τὸ ἐργαστήριον[ν] τὸ Ὀφι-
λίωνος καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν[ν].
Ἐκαταίο[s], Μάνης, Φίμη, Ἐρήνη,
καὶ τὴν ἐργασία[ν] τῇ[ν] Ἐ[μ]ήρην.

The principle here seems to be to set out as a heading the names of the persons who are to be denounced, and then to follow with the denunciation. Ὀφιλίων = Ὀφελίων, Φίμη = Φήμη, Ἐρήνη = Εἰρήνη. The names in line 4 may be those of slaves.

A. S. M.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

C.R. 1890. p. 2.—In reference to Mr. Evelyn Abbott's remarks as to the siege of Plataea, a correspondent who has recently visited the site points out that there is at present no trace of mortar having been used in the walls. Leake in his *Northern Greece*, ii. p. 325 says that 'the masonry in general has the appearance of not being so old as the time of the battle. The greater part is of the fourth order (*i.e.* incertum) but mixed with portions of a less regular kind, and

with some pieces of polygonal masonry.' As for the 2½ miles of wall, Leake shows (*ibid.* p. 360) that this extent is not consistent with the statement of Thucydides as to the smallness of the city. He conjectures that 'Plataea was at that time (of the siege) confined to the southern extremity of the existing remains. In almost every other part, the masonry is of a less ancient kind.'

Mr. Abbott thinks that 'the water streaming down Cithaeron would quickly fall into the outer ditch': this is not correct. The excellent map given by Stanhope (*Topography illustrative of the battle of Plataea*, plates) shows clearly that Mr. Abbott's supposition is impossible, inasmuch as the ground distinctly dips between the city and the hills.

C.R. 1890. p. 94. The writer has 'murdered Sleep' by a series of startling misstatements. 'There is at the British Museum a beautiful Graeco-Roman bronze head of Sleep or her twin Death. The parted hair, the dove-like wings over the delicate ears, the eyelids that droop low over the languid eyes...the close quiet mouth' and so on. Of the inaccuracies contained in the above statement, the first is the worst. Considering how lamentably rare original Greek bronzes of this size and period are, it is surely unpardonable to call Graeco-Roman 'an original Greek masterpiece, which reveals the qualities of Praxiteles perhaps better than any other ancient work.' The sex of the twins is male, not female. The wings are not those of a dove, but of a night-hawk, and therefore curved and noiseless. The eyelids do not droop; there are no eyes in the British Museum example; and the lips are not 'close' (if that means closed) but are slightly parted. Lastly, the head does not at all represent the Greek thought of Death, a type which is perfectly well known, *e.g.* from the Ephesus column.

C.R. 1890. p. 135. 'Suria (probably the ancient Nisyros).' This Nisyros is of course not the Rhodian island of that name. Mr. Paton thinks there is good reason for identifying Saria (*not* Suria, as given above) with the Carpathian Nisyros.

C. S.

SOME of the inscriptions found at Nemi in 1885 are now in the Nottingham Castle Museum. They include the interesting one *C.I.L.* 14. 4198 L. Faenius Faustus quartar(um) par(asitus) Apol(linis), with the aid of which Henzen completed the inscription *C.I.L.* 6. 10103 'parasitus Apollinis [quar]tarum in mimis saltantibus utilis actor,' where Mommsen had suggested 'multarum.' Another important inscription *C.I.L.* 14. 4195 gives a list of Arician magistrates and a third *C.I.L.* 14. 4190 refers to the use of a large amount of lead in pipes leading to granaries, baths, basins, &c.

* In addition to the above, inscriptions *C.I.L.* 14. 4182, 4186, 4189, 4196, 4199, 4201, 4202, 4207 are in the Nottingham Museum.

An inscription on a marble base, in which there is a socket for a statue, runs VENERI Q. RAECIVS; this is not in the *Corpus*. There is a slight error in the account given of 14. 4189: | Tontius Q.f.d.d.l.m. The upright stroke before 'Tontius' should be omitted, since the stone is obviously uninjured and the inscription is in the centre. We have here, therefore, an omission of the praenomen. Dessau in the *Corpus* interprets 14. 4202 as follows but with hesitation: Licinia Chrysarioni M. Bolanus Canusaeus h.e.d.n.s. 'honoris causa Dianae Nemorensi sacrum.' Would it not be simpler to render it 'honoris causa dedicavit nepti suae'?

FRANK GRANGER.

Wiener Vorlegeblätter für Archäologische Übungen herausgegeben von OTTO BENNDORF. Vienna, 1889. folio.

This new series of the *Vorlegeblätter* will be welcomed by students of vases and by all who are interested in the history of Greek painting. The former series were issued in loose sheets of unwieldy form; designed originally to suit the purposes of a scholastic apparatus, the publication had become a necessity to all archaeological libraries. But since many of the monuments have been published for the first and only time in this work, reference to it is frequently indispensable, and much inconvenience has been caused by the difficulty of procuring back copies.

The present form is apparently intended to meet this difficulty; it is smaller in size, and the plates are bound in boards. The choice of illustrations moreover shows more attempt at a systematic arrangement. It consists of three divisions, the first one, (A) being devoted to the early vase painters, (B) to Greek and Roman representations of marriage, and (C) to a conspectus of the various attempted restorations of the *Iliupersis* picture by Polygnotos.

The publication of Klein's *Meistersignaturen* has done perhaps more than anything else to facilitate the systematic study of the signed vases in relation to the early stages of painting; and this first division (A) will serve as an atlas in illustration of Klein's work. From this point of view the pictures are arranged pretty much in Klein's order; for the same reason doubtless Prof. Benndorf has refrained from writing any text, and gives merely the briefest descriptions of the drawing,—i.e. whether taken direct from the vase or from a publication,—with the necessary references. Several unpublished vases are given, and in some cases new drawings of well known monuments, such as the François vase, this last a great improvement on the reproduction given in the *Monumenti*. A new facsimile is shown of the debatable portion of the 'Aristonophos' signature. The name as it stands is of course etymologically impossible. Various alternatives have been proposed, such as 'Ἀριστόνοθος', 'Ἀρίστων δ' ὁ ῥῶτος'; according to the new facsimile both these would seem to be impossible. The most recent is that of Ramsay in the *Hellenic Journal* 1889, p. 187, who takes $\phi = F$ and reads 'Ἀριστόνοφοs', comparing this usage of ϕ with the Pamphylian of Aspendus ($\phi\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$ =twenty) and the Phrygian $\phi = w$ sound.

The series is carried down to the name of Exekias, nine of whose vases are here given. It is to be hoped that the publication will be speedily continued on these lines, and that the collection may be rendered as complete as possible up to date. After the signed vases we shall now want the vases with *καλός*, so that the work is really hardly begun. For this reason we may regret that nearly half the present number is diverted from this main purpose. The marriage scenes are perhaps interesting to the student of private life, but we could well have been spared the dreary set of *Iliupersis* restorations. These are arranged chronologically, nine of them, from that of Caylus in 1757 down to the most recent drawn by L. Michalek for a lecture given, presumably by the editor, in 1887. This last is the only one which has any real interest, as it is the only one which is based on vase pictures, the only true evidence we possess of the actual method of Polygnotos. Even this is open to criticism on general lines. Herr Michalek has drawn his inspiration apparently from the school of Epiktetos, whereas every day is teaching us more and more that the vase-paintings nearest to the manner of Polygnotos are those of which the Meidias vase is a prominent example, and which date from nearly half a century later.

CECIL SMITH.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. December, 1889. Athens and Paris.

1. Fougères, the lion of Tegea: a relief on a marble slab, described by Ross and others, here published (pl. vi.) for the first time: probably belonged to a frieze of animals, which may have decorated the temple of Athene Alea; attributes it to the school of Skopas. 2. Radet and Paris; inscriptions of Syllion in Pamphylia. 3. Collignon; the colossal statue of Poseidon (pl. iii.) in the Central Museum at Athens; attributes it to the second century B.C.: it was found in 1877 on the site of the ancient Melos. 4. Doublet; fragment of a *senatusconsultum* of Tabae in Caria. 5. Lechat; bas-reliefs of the Museum of Constantinople; (i.) an heroic sacrificial subject, found in 1886 close to Pergamon; end of fourth century B.C. (ii.) inscribed slab with circular relief of a head in profile inserted: this head, formerly thought to be barbarian, is probably that of Pan: plate. 6. Legrand; two Latin inscriptions of Carystos. 7. Holleaux; edict of Antiochus II. (emended from *Bull.* 1885, p. 324). 8. Cousin and Deschamps; letter of Darius son of Hystaspes, a Greek inscription from Deïrmendjik (more correctly than in *Athen. Mitth.* 1889, p. 103). 9. S. Reinach; archaic statues of Cybele discovered at Cyme in Aeolis; plate. 10. The same; sepulchral inscriptions discovered on the same site. C. S.

Kyrene, eine altgriechische Göttin. By FRANZ STUDNICZKA. Leipzig 1890. 8vo. pp. 224. 9 Mk.

IN this treatise Dr. Studniczka examines the legends and monuments relating to the nymph Kyrene. The arrangement of the work is susceptible of improvement and the portions relating to mythology and legend suffer from want of condensation: the archaeological sections are interesting and ingenious. The text is accompanied by thirty-eight well-chosen illustrations. In chapter I. Dr. Studniczka discusses the Arkesilas vase (fig. 1) and maintains, against Milchhofer, its Cyrenaic origin. Some African and Egyptian influences on the civilization of Cyrene are pointed out. Referring next to Mr. Cecil Smith's Appendix to Petrie's *Naukratis*, the writer discusses some interesting vase fragments, especially (fig. 10) the fragment of a kylix from Naukratis which has on it the remains of a female figure holding what are decided to be the silphium-plant and an apple-branch. This is doubtless the Hesperid nymph Kyrene, who on early coins of Kyrene appears standing beside an apple-tree together with Herakles. On other Kyrenaean coins, Kyrene is seated before the silphium. The small winged figures surrounding Kyrene on the vase are probably personifications of the fostering breezes. Chapter II. deals with the fragment of a relief from Olympia representing a female figure grasping a lion. Dr. Studniczka calls this figure Kyrene, comparing the subject with the late groups from Kyrene (now in the British Museum) showing Kyrene strangling a lion. He conjectures therefore that this relief belonged to the Treasury of the Kyrenaean at Olympia, probably to a pediment, the restoration of which is attempted. Chaps. III. and VI. treat of the legend, cultus &c. of the nymph Kyrene, and chapters IV. and V. of the legends relating to the colonization of Kyrene and its mother-country Thera. Kyrene, according to Dr. Studniczka, is not, as generally supposed, a mere Tyche Polios who derived her name from the city of Kyrene, but (as partly appears from the authors, especially Pindar, *Pyth.* ix.) a nature-goddess connected with or at least equivalent in her functions to Artemis. The story which represents her as being carried off from her home in Thessaly by Apollo is not intended to symbolize the foundation of Kyrene under the auspices of

the Pythian oracle, but is due to the first founders and rulers of Kyrene who were of the old Cadmean-Minyan population of Thera and who can be traced back ultimately to Thessaly.

In the Appendix (No. 1) Dr. Studniczka discusses Phalanthos and the foundation-legends of Tarentum. Phalanthos is the original founder-god of Tarentum—a pre-Dorian form of Poseidon. Taras is the later founder, and the dolphin-rider represented on the earliest Tarentine coins is in reality Phalanthos, who was afterwards (not later than the time of Aristotle) taken to be Taras. The word ΤΑΡΑΣ inscribed on the archaic coins of Tarentum is the name of the town and not that of the dolphin-rider. A second Appendix (pp. 194—205) deals with Hektor, whose connexion with Kyrene, eine altgriechische Göttin, is hardly obvious. In this appendix, which is written by Dr. F. Dümmler, it is maintained, partly from an examination of *Iliad* v. 708 ff. and of Pausanias ix. 18, 5 (on the grave of Hektor at Thebes) and on other grounds, that Hektor was originally not a Trojan but a Greek hero, the leader of a Theban people. In the *Iliad*, the place of Paris the real leader of the Trojans has been usurped by Hektor.

WARWICK WROTH.

Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique. Sept.—Oct. 1889.

A. de Belfort, 'Recherche des monnaies imperiales romaines non décrites dans l'ouvrage de H. Cohen' (continued). Describes coins of Constantine the Great.

Nov.—Dec. 1889.

E. Hueher, 'Trésor de Plourhan (Côtes du Nord).' Find of Roman denarii from Valerian I. to Probus.—Froehner, 'Grand-Bronzes de Néron transformés en miroirs.' Seventeen instances are cited as well as a medallion of Antonius Pius, used as a pocket box-mirror.

W. W.

Revue Numismatique. Quatrième trimestre, 1889.

K. F. Kinch, 'Observations sur les noms attribués à des graveurs des monnaies grecques.' Disputes the view at present held by all numismatists that the names of Cimon, Evaenetus and others on Sicilian coins are those of engravers. According to M. Kinch these names when occurring on the reverse are the names of the owners of victorious chariots—the chariot being the usual reverse type of Sicilian coins: the names on the obverse when inscribed on or near some portion of the dress of the divinity represented (e.g. on the helmet of Athena, on the stephane or near the necklace of Arethusa) are those of victors who had dedicated a helmet, a stephane or a bracelet to the divinities in question. M. Kinch's view, though ingenious, is not to be accepted off-hand. He has not shown that the current view as to these names being those of engravers involves any serious difficulties, while his own view, even if it prove to be true, is at any rate contrary to numismatic analogies. A more complete survey of the whole evidence is desirable, and M. Kinch should not confine his attention to the Sicilian series without seeking for light from other quarters, especially from the 'engravers' names' on coins of Magna Graecia.—E. Babelon, 'Quelques remarques sur les monnaies d'Afrique et d'Espagne (concluded). *Cirta*. Coins of the time of P. Sittius, founder of the colony. *Babba*. Coin of Augustus, confirming the statement of Pliny that the colony was founded by that Emperor. *Uncertain coins of Spain*.—Dr. E. Poncet, 'Le trésor de Planche (Neuville-sur-Ain).' With two plates. A find of nine aurei, of the period A.D. 265—305, and of rings, bracelets &c. A coin of Victorinus is set in a gold circlet as a pendant.—*Necrologie*. 'Baron de Witte' by Comte de Marsy.

W. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Athenaeum: 4 Jan. 1890, notices of Bindley's *Apology of Tertullian*.—11 Jan. notices of Allen's *Abbreviations in Greek MS.* and of Postgate's *Catullus*; review of Hogarth's *Devia Cypria*.—1 Feb. notice of Shuckburgh's translation of Polybius, and A. R. Shilleto's revised translation of *Whiston's Josephus*.—8 Feb. review of Bury's *Later Roman Empire*; notices of Holden's *Plutarch's Timoleon*, Marchant's *Andocides*, Kellogg *Cicero's Brutus*, Turner's *Republic X.*, Bayfield's *Eur. Ion*.—15 Feb. notice of Margoliouth's *Essay on Ecclesiastical*.—8 Mar. rev. of A. J. Evans' 'the horsemen' of Tarentum.

Academy: 4 Jan. 1890, obituary notice by W. Sanday of Bishop Lightfoot; rev. by A. H. Sayce of Rawlinson's *History of Phoenicia*.—11 Jan. Review by A. W. Benn of Leist's *Altärisches Jus Gentium*.—18 Jan. review by R. B. Drummond of W. H. Simcox' *Language of the New Testament*.—25 Jan. letter from C. R. Conder on *The Lycian Language*.—1 Feb. review by F. T. Richards of Shuckburgh's *Polybius*; notice of Zahn's *Gesch. d. Neutest. Kanons*.—8 Feb. review by Rob. Ellis of Postgate's *Catullus*; letter by W. Arkwright on *the Lycian Language*.—15 Feb. review by C. Oman of Bury's *Later Roman Empire*; notices of Tomson's *Selections from the Greek Anthology*, E. P. Coleridge's *Apollonius*, Shilleto's *Josephus*, Waddell's *Versions in Greek and Latin*; review by T. K. Cheyne of Margoliouth's *Ecclesiastical*.—22

Feb. review by E. D. A. Morshead of Verrall's *Agamemnon* and Tucker's *Supplices*.—1 Mar. review by W. Sanday of Westcott's *Hebrews* (cont. on 15 Mar.).—8 Mar. obituary notice by T. K. Cheyne of F. Delitzsch.

Cambridge Philological Society.

At a Meeting held on February 20th, 1890, Mr. Nixon read a note on the force of the Gerundive in Liv. Praef. § 6 *quae ante conditam condendam urbem traduntur*. Assuming that some word like *facta* or *gesta* must be supplied mentally, he maintained that *facta ante condendam urbem* could not properly be rendered 'before the city was in building' (Madvig, Roby, Donaldson, &c.) or 'before the beginning of the building,' or 'before it was contemplated or thought of,' as Kühner seemed to take it. Otherwise we should have to admit as possible, sentences like *mortua est Dido ante condendam Romanam* or *mortuus est (or conturbavit) adulescens ante solvendam pecuniam*, neither of which would be possible without some connexion in the way of intention between some contemplated building or payment and the death or bankruptcy. He considered therefore that *facta ante conditam* referred to facts antecedent to, but not necessarily connected with, the building; *facta ante condendam* things done before, and with an ultimate view to, the building, such as the sending of the she-wolf by Mars

to suckle Romulus and Remus, the founding of Romulus' asylum, &c. In fact, he maintained that *facta ante condendam* means *facta ante quam urbs conderetur*. He did not think it necessary, as Weissenborn did, to look on *condendam* as an afterthought correcting *conditam*; as two distinct classes of events might well be referred to; nor did he agree with him in limiting *facta ante condendam* to events which were 'bound by fate to happen before the building of the city.'

Mr. Giles read a paper of etymologies as follows:—
1. *turbassem, amasso, amassim*.

These forms Stolz attempts to connect with the *s*-aorist, but *-ss-* is on this theory inexplicable and there is no obvious analogy between these forms and genuine forms of the aorist like *faxim, capsim, faxo*, &c. Consequently it seems better to give up the aorist theory for the Latin pluperfect subjunctive and to suppose it to be a composite tense like the forms in *-bam* and *-bo*. *legissem* would then be an *os/es* stem in the locative without the *-i-* suffix and *sen-* would be the old opt. of *sum*. For the sing. of this opt. there appear in Skt. two forms (1) *syām* and (2) dissyllabic *siyām*. To *syām* corresponds *εἴην=ἔσιν* (Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.*² § 12, p. 29); to *siyām* corresponds Lat. *siem*=**siēm*. If Latin had originally a form corresponding to *syām* it would appear as *sem*, for *i* after *s* disappears, cf. *suo=sjuō*, *legis=leges-* (*i* appearing for *e* before the double consonant) is the same form as the ordinary infinitive *legere*—(*leges-i*)—a locative. In Skt. stems in *-an*, locatives often appear without the *-i-* suffix, and J. Schmidt has shown (*KZ* 27, p. 306 f, and *Pluralbildungen d. Indog. Neutra*, p. 305 n.) that a few forms of the same kind appear in *os/es* stems in Skt., Greek and O. Bulgarian. *aiēs* is the same case without the *-i-* suffix, as *aiel=aiFes-u*. As the form of the locative without suffix must have belonged to the original language there is no difficulty in admitting it for Latin; but in any case Latin often dropped final short *i*, *animal, et*, &c.

The probability of this origin for the Latin plup. subj. is heightened by the appearance of exactly parallel forms in the Baltic languages—Lettic and Lithuanian. There the optative is formed by the addition of the optative of a defective verb = *φώω* to the accusative infinitive (supine) e.g. *saktum-bimc* 'we would draw' (cf. Schleicher, *Litauische Gr.* § 107; Kurschat, §§ 1092–3, 1367–8; Bienenstein, *Lettische Sprache*, §§ 448–9).

Forms like *amassim* are produced in the same way as *sīm, sis*, &c., by bringing over plural forms to the singular. The original inflexion had been sing. *turbassem*, &c., pl. *turbassinus*, &c. The origin of *amasso*, &c., is not clear. Brugmann and Thurneysen think they are connected with Keltic forms, Irish *ro-charus*. It seems simpler to suppose that they were produced by proportional analogy.

faxim: faxo = amassim: amasso.

To this language affords many parallels. Cp. the German dialect *sir* for *sich* which arose thus:—

nich: mir } = sich: sir.
dich: dir }

2. *consul*. Compare with this Zend *hārō* 'protector, lord.' The corresponding Skt. form **sāras* does not occur. The Latin equivalent of this would be **solos*. Thus *con-solos* = 'joint protector or lord,' which gives us the two ideas contained in *consul* (1) supreme magistracy; (2) collegiality. *exsul* = 'outside protection, outlaw.' *praesul* is not connected with these but with *Salū* and *Salio*, the *praesul* being originally the leader of the *Salii*.

3. *culpa*. *ul* = *l* and hence the original form would have been *kḷpa*. Cp. with this Skt. *kṛpā*,

'Elend' (Grassmann), Zend *χραφstra* 'wicked (applied to heretics). The original and more concrete meaning is perhaps preserved in the Lithuanian *kūpytiūti* 'mit schiefen Füßen halblahm gehen' (Kurschat).

4. *uallis*, *ῥιλις* (*Fālis*). These words perhaps come from a root *vēn* or *ven*. If *vēn*, *uallis* comes easily, cf. *sātus* from **sē*. As in the Elean dialect *ē* appears as *ā* there is no difficulty in any case. The assimilation to the suffix *-li-s* would be parallel to *στάλα*, Ionic-Attic *στάλη* from *στάλλα* (Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*² § 65). Skt. *vanam* 'wood' is from the same root = *ven-o-m*, and so also Lat. *uēnor* 'practise the woodland craft.' *Vena-frum* is like the Skt. *vanam*. In Zend *vanam* means 'a tree.' For this change of meaning cp. English *holt* with German *holz*; Eng. *wood* with O. Ir. *fid* 'tree.' O.H.G. *witu* 'holz.' For the change of meaning in Latin *uēnor* cf. Lithuanian *medis*, genitive *medžio* 'tree,' but *medžiūkle* 'the hunt,' *medžiūju* 'I hunt.'

5. *Raudus, rūdus, rūdis*.

(a) Festus says *rudus uel raudus significat rem rudem et imperfectam. nam saxum quoque raudus appellatur poetae.....in aestimatione censoria aes infectum rudus appellatur*. The popular etymology connecting it with *rudis* affects its later meaning. *raudus* meant originally 'a huge mass' (*rōdus* is the popular form, cf. *Clodius* and *Claudius*) and is the same as the Skt. **rōdas* only used in the dual *rōdasi* 'the two worlds, heaven and earth.' The word is made feminine by being personified into the wife of Rudra, cf. Latin *Venus*, originally neuter.

(b) *rūdus* more frequently plural *rūdera* is exactly the same in form and meaning as Skt. *rōdhas* (1) Wall, Schützwehr, (2) Steiler Abhang' (Grassmann); both go back to a form **reydhas*, Skt. *√rudh* = 'shut in, hinder.'

(c) *rūdis* is from another root, Skt. *rudh* 'wachsen, spriessen' (Grassmann). Hence *rudis* like the German *Sprossling* (1) is used = 'rod, switch, shoot of a tree,' and (2) becomes adjectival = 'immature, not full grown.'

These forms along with *gaudeo* = *γηθέω*, &c., show that Brugmann's statement that original *dh* in the middle of a word before and after *r* before *l* and after *u* and *u* becomes *b* (*Grundriss* I. § 370) requires limitation to cases where *r* and *l* appear.

6. Eng. *dumb* not with *τυφλός* as Kluge but with *ταφ-ων* = *dhnph*. The root had alternative endings *b* and *bh* as is shown by *θάμβω*.

7. *uelum*, not a derivative of *uelo* but = Skt. *jālam* 'covering,' 'net'; 'covering' not 'sail' is the earlier meaning of *uelum*; original form = *guēlom*. For *jālam* in meaning of 'net' cf. English meaning of *veil*. Atharva Veda x. l. 30, where darkness is compared to a *jālam*, shows the original meaning was 'covering' not 'net.'

8. Skt. *glakshina* (not in Veda) used in Nala with *girā*, &c., 'with bland, soft voice.' *√clak* is the same as in Gothic *hlakjan* which Feist (*Gotische Etym.* s. v.) compares with *κλάσσω* (byeform of *κλάω*), *κλωγμός*, O. Ir. *cluche*. For suffix *-sna* cf. *tik-shna* 'sharp,' *kṛt-sna* 'complete.' For change of meaning cf. German *glatt* 'smooth' with English 'glad.'

9. *ῥχχῖ, ῥχχῶ, ῥχος*.

ῥχος = Skt. *vāhas* explained by Sāyana in three out of the five instances in Rig-Veda as *stōtra*, 'hymn of praise.' With this another *vāhas* = *ῥχσφιν* was confused. Ebeling (*Hom. Wörth.*) shows that the Greek words had *F*. 'To the same root belong Lat. *uāgio*, *uāgitus*, &c.

10. *ῥρας, μελλίραπες*. From the same root, with another suffix, as Skt. *vīras*, Lith. *vīras*, Lat. *vīr*,

&c. This seems more probable than Brugmann's derivation (Curt. *Studien* iv. 1. 115). The form with α is probably a Hyperdorisism as $\dot{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\sigma$ occurs (Herodotus ix. 85). The word was applied to the men between twenty and thirty years of age. As Plutarch and Hesychius are the principal authorities for the compounds it is not surprising that F has disappeared. The old connection with $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\rho\alpha$, $\epsilon\dot{\rho}\omega$ (hence 'those who might speak in the assembly') has two difficulties, (1) only Spartans over thirty years of age were admitted to the assembly, and (2) none but officials were allowed to speak in it.

At a Meeting held on March 6th, 1890, Mr. Darbshire read a paper on $\epsilon\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\sigma\iota\sigma$ and Hdt. ii. 36. — $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ καὶ $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\zeta\omicron\nu\alpha\iota$ $\psi\eta\phi\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$, 'Ελληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά' καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶντες αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπιδέξια ποιεῖν, 'Ελλήνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά.

The most common explanation, which makes $\epsilon\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\sigma\iota\sigma$ = 'skilfully,' is not consistent with the lateness of this sense—once in Aeschines (iii. [*In Timarch.*] 178), three times in Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* iv. 14, ix. 11, *Rhet.* ii. 4) &c. (see *infra*)—and does not give a satisfactory antithesis. Its usual sense in Homer is in connexion with the passing of the wine-cup, which went from left to right of the *feasters*, and not of the cup-bearer. Compare also Plato, *Sympos.* 177 D, where $\epsilon\pi\dot{\iota}$ $\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\alpha$ is explained as beginning with the extreme left-hand man. If now we wish to transfer the image to the case of a man writing, it is obvious that he represents the cup-bearer, his hand or pen represents the cup, and the row of letters the row of feasters. The letters then must be considered as having their own right and left, and $\epsilon\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\sigma\iota\sigma$ $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota\nu$ will be 'beginning at the writer's right' just as $\epsilon\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\sigma\iota\sigma$ $\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\chi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ is 'beginning at the cup-bearer's right.' Thus the remark in the text is a play upon words attained by opposing the etymological sense of $\epsilon\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\sigma\iota\sigma$, 'towards the right,' to its derived one, which in certain connexions may be 'towards the left.' This interpretation is supported by the careful contrast of $\epsilon\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\sigma\iota\sigma$ with $\epsilon\pi\dot{\iota}$ τὰ δεξιὰ and of $\epsilon\pi'$ ἀριστερά with $\epsilon\pi\dot{\iota}$ τὰ ἀριστερά in the passage before us.

Any difficulty which may be felt in regarding written characters as having their own right and left can be met by a passage from Aristotle (*Metaph.* N. 6, p. 1093a 30), in which he says that the Homeric line (viz. the purely dactylic) $\beta\alpha\lambda\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ ἐν μὲν τῷ δεξιῷ ἐννέα συλλαβαῖς, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ὀκτώ, where the *right* half is obviously the *first* half, made up of three dactyls, and the left half, the second, made up of two dactyls and a spondee.¹ But to call the first half of the line the *right* is only possible if the line is regarded as facing the reader and having a right and left hand of its own. Compare finally Aristotle, *Probl.* κς' 31, p. 943b 28, where the wind is credited with a subjective right and left. This, however, is more natural.

The following is perhaps the development of the word² :—

¹ This is the express explanation of the scholiast, twice repeated. Bonitz, who attempts to reverse the relations by dividing the line at the caesura, is compelled (a) to restrict the remark to lines with feminine caesura; (b) to make Aristotle commit a $\psi\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ πρότερον, as he thus states the *second* half and the *larger* number first.

² $\epsilon\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\sigma\iota\sigma$ and $\epsilon\pi\dot{\iota}\delta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\sigma\iota\sigma$, being practically identical, are taken together for convenience.

I. Literal uses.

1. 'Towards the right.' Hdt. ii. 36; Aristotle, *Probl.* κς' 12, p. 941b 11; *Ib.* 31, 943b 28.

2. 'On the right.' Hdt. i. 51, ii. 93, iv. 191, vi. 53; Ar. *Av.* 1493; Xen. *Anab.* vi. 2. 1. Possibly B. 353, I. 236. Defined by $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, Pind. *Pyth.* 6. 19; [Theocr.] xxv. 18.

II. Special uses.

1. Of the course of the wine at feasts:—A. 597 H. 184, p. 365, φ. 141. [Possibly B. 353, I. 236 Hdt. ii. 36; Plato, *Theact.* 175 E (?); *Symp.* 177 D 214 D; *Rep.* iv. 420 E; Ar. *Pac.* 957; Athen. 463 F.

2. Of the mode in which the $\iota\mu\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ was worn:—Ar. *Av.* 1568; Plat. *Theact.* 175 E (?).

III. Metaphorical use.

From I. 1, as the lucky direction directly, or through II. 1 (see however Cope, *Rhetoric*, Vol. ii. p. 48 f.), come the meanings 'lucky,' 'skilful' 'agreeable':—Aeschines iii. (*In Timarch.*) § 178; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* iv. 14. 1128a 17, ix. 11. 1171b 3; *Rhet.* ii. 4. 1381a 34; Theocr. *Epigr.* xix. 5; Polyb. iii. 19. 13, iv. 35. 7, v. 39. 6; Dio. Cass. LXIX. 19. &c. &c.

Dr. Postgate made some observations on the *u*-declension in Latin, criticising, *inter alia*, V. Henry's view that *senatus* was derived from *senatūs*, as the change of *uo* to *ui* was only established for Imperial times, and the truth being that *senatus* was only a mode of writing to show that the *u* in *senatūs* was long.

Litterarisches Centralblatt.

No. 48. *Polybii historiae*, ed. a Dindorfio cur. retr. Bittner-Wobst II. A careful edition. The preface gives no critical apparatus but discusses the relation of the MSS. to each other, with a special view to books iv. and v. As to textual criticism, W. has an unfounded prejudice against the mss. tradition, often and not always happily deviating from it.

No. 49. Voss, *Die Natur in der Dichtung des Horaz*. Will be read with pleasure although it does not go very deep.

No. 50. Leist, *Altarisches Jus gentium*. An interesting and valuable attempt to show the connexions which exist between the laws of the Greek and Italic and those of the Indian tribes. The whole is divided into four chapters: Village life; Foundation of the order of householders; Duties of a householder; Power of the same.

Zeitschrift für das Gymnasial-Wesen, 1889.

Sept. H. J. Müller proposes emendations of *Livy* 26, 26, 8, and 35, 49, 6. E. Albrecht has a detailed review of Schaefer's *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* 2nd ed.

Oct. H. J. Müller objects to the emendation *prope* for *prope* of J. C. G. Boot (Mnemos 1889) in *Livy* 5, 16, 5.

Nov. contains nothing of interest.

Dec. Sommerbrodt *M. Tullii Ciceronis Cato major de Senectute* 11 Ed. (E. R. Seiffert). 'The new edition bears witness to the loving care and unwearying devotion of the editor.' In some remarks upon Greek grammar H. von Kleist recognizes, besides the individual and general use of the article, a third use which 'refers to the notion of the word as realized in some undetermined example' as we say 'the true Londoner.' This use he calls 'essential' and finds exx. in Il. A 100 Γ 109, Theocr. I. 41 Plato *Prot.* 314 B *Euth.* 6 A *Phaedr.* 228 B *Apol.* 19D *Soph.* O. T. 845.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

- Cicero pro Balbo.* A vocabulary and test papers, by tutors of the University Correspondence College. 12mo. 20 pp. Clive. 1s.
- Cook (A. M.)* Latin Course. Part 3. 12mo. Macmillan and Co. 2s. 6d.
- Horace.* Odes. Book I. Edited, for London University Matriculation, January, 1891, by A. H. Allcroft and B. J. Hayes. Translation, 1s.; vocabulary and test-papers, 1s.; text and notes, 1s. 6d.; text, notes, and vocabulary, 2s. 6d. Post 8vo. Clive.
- Justinian.* Imperatoris Justiniani Institutionum libri quattuor. With introduction, commentary, and excursus by J. B. Moyle. 2nd edition. 8vo. 674 pp. Frowde. 16s.
- Justinian's Institutes*, translated into English, with an index, by J. B. Moyle. 2nd edition. 8vo. 236 pp. Frowde. 6s.
- Livy.* Book XXI. Adapted from Mr. Capes' edition, with notes and vocabulary, by J. E. Melhuish. 18mo. 176 pp. Macmillan and Co. 1s. 6d.
- Lyde (L. W.)* An Introduction to Ancient History, being a sketch of the history of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece and Rome, with a chapter on the development of the Roman Empire into the powers of Modern Europe. With maps. Cr. 8vo. viii, 135 pp. Rivington and Co. 3s.
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The Classical Review

MAY 1890.

SOME EMENDATIONS OF MANILIUS.

- I. 348, 9.
Summum igitur caeli bis bina refugit ab
imo
Astra bis senis ut sit pars tertia signis.
Astra e bis Bentl. Better *Astra bis e*.
- I. 723.
An coeat † mundum duplicisque extrema
cauernae
Conueniant caelique oras et sidera iun-
gant.
mundum Gembl., not *mundus*. Read
nondum.
- I. 738, 9.
Et puer in caelo ludit curruque superbus
Luxuriat † mundo cupit et maiora parente.
For *mundo* read *modo non*.
- I. 798-800.
Venerisque ab origine proles
Iulia descendit caelo † caelumque repleuit
Quod regit Augustus socio per signa Ton-
ante.
Scaliger rightly objected to *caelumque*,
which the Julii could not be said in any
sense to *fill*, and which Augustus could not
without impiety be said to *rule*.
Read *soliumque*.
- II. 95.
Et cum damna tuas imitantur, Delia,
uires.
Et tua Bentl. I would suggest
Tecum.
- II. 287.
at quae diuisa quaternis
Partibus aequali laterum sunt condita
ductu
Quorum designat normalis uirgula sedes
† Haec ta ferunt.
NO. XXXIII. VOL. IV.
- So *G*: the two Leyden MSS. give *Hecca*
fert. None of the editors have seen that
the astrological word *ἑττα* is concealed in
these corruptions. Firmic. Mathes. iii. 9,
ipsum tamen faciet hettematicos et prima semper
aetate uitiosos.
Read therefore *ἑττα* ferit. The *tetragona*
are inferior to the *trigona*.
- II. 358.
Deuique alternis data sunt commercia
signis.
Read *Deuia quae*.
- II. 368.
Alternis ductus locus † et per transita
signa.
Read *it*.
- II. 380.
Quod non diversum genus est quod eunti-
bus astris.
Read *coeuntibus*.
- II. 476, 7.
Affectus quoque diuisit uariantibus astris
Atque aliorum oculos aliorum contulit
aures.
Read *aliorum...aliorum*.
- II. 520.
Quin aduersa meant etiam trigona tri-
gonis.
etiam *G*: etiamque the other MSS. of
Iacob. Perhaps *utrinque*.
- II. 619.
Atquin lanigeri partus sub utroque tri-
gono
Non parcit sed rara gerit pro tempore
bella.
So *G*. Read *Atque in*.

II. 622.

Plus tamen in duplici numerandum est
roboris† esse.

Read *ex se*. So *in se* has become *ipse*
in iii. 461.

II. 775.

Vertit opus, ruit ecce nemus.

Read *Feruit* opus.

II. 898, 9.

sub corde sagaci

Conde locum numenque dei nomenque po-
tentis.

Better *momenque*. Lucr. II. 144, *Paret
et ad numen mentis momenque mouetur*.

III. 65, 66.

His regimen natura dedit propriasque sac-
rauit

Vnicuique uices sanxitque per omnia
summa

Vndique uti fatum ratio traheretur in
unum.

Read *per omina*, then *fati ratio*.

III. 271.

Atque haec† illa demum est mensura per
oras

Quas rigat aestiuis grauidus torrentibus
amnis.

Read *illarum* sc. horarum.

III. 277.

Ne magna in brevibus† careant compendia
dictis.

Read *iaceant*, be neglected.

III. 631.

Et trepidum pelagus iactatum languet in
undas.

Perhaps *iactatu*.

IV. 200.

In uitio bonus ut teneros pudor impedit
annos.

So *G*: the second Leyden has *bonas
inteneros*.

Read therefore either

In uitio bona sunt: t. p. i. annos

or In uitio bona sint: t. p. i. annos.

IV. 423.

Laudatique cadit post paulum gratia
† Christi.

So *G*: rightly for *xysti* or as it might be
written and scanned *systi*. The reading of
the other MSS. *ponti* is weak, perhaps im-
possible.

IV. 413.

Et sterilis utroque tamen quas largior
humor

Quaque minoribus ouit.

Manilius seems to be opposing large col-
lections of *standing* water to smaller and
running rivulets.

Read therefore

Et sterilis utroque, *manet* qua largior
humor,

Quaque minor riuus *currit*.

IV. 560.

Nec non Arcitenens prima cum ueste
resurgit

Pectora clara dabit bello.

So all MSS. absurdly. Read *primo cum
uespere surgit*.

IV. 610.

Eridanique bibit fluctus secat aequore
bellum

Illyricum.

Possibly *ualum*.

IV. 778-781.

Inferius uictae sidus Carthaginis arces

Et Libyam Aegyptique latus donataque
rura

Thirrenas lacrimis radiatus Scorpis arces
Eruit.

Bentley was no doubt right in explaining
Thirrenas of Cyrene: but he did not see the
allusion. It is Pindaric. In *Pyth.* ix.
Cyrene, a Thessalian maiden, devoted to the
chase and hating intercourse with men, is
won over to the embraces of her lover Apollo
by the gift of fertile lands in Libya. These
are the *donata rura Cyrenes lacrimis* (tears
for the loss of virginity). For *radiatus
arces* I suggest *radiato arcu*, and for *Eruit*
Exuit. The heat of Scorpio's ray-darting
tail strips off the clothing from the climes
exposed to its fury—Carthage, Libya where
it approaches Egypt, and Cyrene.

IV. 787, 8.

Insula Trinacriae fluitantem ad iussa
sororem

Subsequitur cremen sub eodem condita
signo.

cremen *G*, crenens *Voss*², crenens *Voss*¹, all
corruptions no doubt of Creten. I read

Insula Trinacriae fluitantem aditura sor-
orem

Subsequitur Creten, sub eodem condita
signo.

Sicily is described as following in the
wake of the similarly insular (*fluitantem*)
Crete, both islands being subject to Sagit-
tarius. Manilius fancifully represents the
larger island as striving to approach its
smaller sister, Crete. Possibly he may

connect this idea with the disruption of Sicily from the southern coast of Italy, which is mentioned in the immediately following verses.

Proximaque Italiae tenui diuina profundo

Ora parís sequitur leges nec sidere rupta est.

For *ad iura* the Roman edition of 1510, which seems based on a MS., gives *adiuta*.

V. 85-87.

Nec non alterno desultor sidere dorso

Quadrupedum et stabilis poterit defigere plantas

Per quos labit equos ludens per terga uolantum.

So *G*: other MSS. Per quos uadit. Bentley emended *Perque uolabit equos*, improbably, with *uolantum* immediately following. I suggest *Terque subibit equos*. *Ter* and *Per* are interchanged, iii. 607, 638.

V. 105, 6.

nec crede seueræ

Frontis opus signi strictos incoda Catonis.

So *G*. Perhaps *gigni strictos in saecula Catonis*.

V. 209, 210.

Qua (Canicula) subdente facem terris radiosque minante

†Dimicat in cineres orbis.

Perhaps *Ima dat*.

V. 354-357.

Hoc est artis opus non expectare gentis

Et sibi non aegros iam dudum credere corpus.

Read *aegro*. It is the business of a skilful physician not to wait (for beginning an operation) till he hears the animals groaning; and to be careful, a long time in advance, not to trust the body to its diseased self: *i.e.* to forestall the worst effects of disease by early operation or treatment.

V. 405, 6.

Censibus aequantur conchæ lapidumque notari

Vix quisquam est locuples.

Dorville corrected this into *lapidumque notari Vix quisquam est locuples*. This is ingenious: but it is also possible that Manilius wrote *lapidemque notanti Vix quisquam est locuples*: a man who takes note of the price of a jewel will scarcely consider

anybody rich. A single gem is equivalent to a large income.

V. 555, 6.

of Andromeda chained to the rock.

Supplicia ipsa decent, niuea ceruice relinquis

Molliter ipsa suæ custos est † ipsa figuræ.

For *ipsa* perhaps *uisa*: so in Stat. *S. i. 3, 11, Ipsa manu tenera tectum scripsisse Voluptas*, the correction of the ed. Gryphiana *Visa* seems to be right.

V. 654-656.

Certa per extentos ponet uestigia funes

Et caeli meditatus iter uestigia perdet

Et penèna et pendens porulum suspendet ab ipsa.

Perhaps *Et pegma escendens*. For *porulum* the early conj. *populum* is obviously right. Gembl. has *ipsa*, but the right reading is *ipso*.

V. 717-719.

Tum quartum quintumque genus discernitur omni

E numero summaque gradus qui iungitur angue

Maxima per minimos censu concluditur imo.

Read

Tum quartum quintumque genus discernitur omni

E numero, summamque gradus qui vincit utramque.

Maxima pars minimos censu concludit et imos.

summam utramque Bentley, *vincit* is mine: *pars* Bentley, for the rest I am responsible.

The degree which goes beyond both 4 and 5 is 6. The remaining 7th and largest class consists of the smallest and lowest-grade stars.

V. 740, 1.

Sunt stellæ procerum similes, sunt proxima primis

Sidera, suntque gradus atque omnia † uicta priorum.

Read *ficta*: so in IV. 264 *ficta* is written as *uicta* in the C. C. C. MS., *fouet* as *uouet*, II. 445.

'There are degrees of rank in the stars, and all the imaginary distinctions of superiors.'

The above are a specimen of my forthcoming *Noctes Manilianæ*, which I hope to publish in the course of this year.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

HORATIANA.—II. THE MAVORTIAN RECENSION.

It is well known that several MSS. of Horace have, after the *Epodes*, a *scriptio* of which the following is the usual form, though trifling variants occur :

Vettius Agorius Mavortius v.c. (vir clarissimus) et inl. (inlustris) ex coñ. doñ. (ex comite domestico) ex coñs. ord. (ex consule ordinario) legi et ut potui emendavi conferente mihi Magistro Felice oratore urbis Romae.

This *scriptio* occurs in the MSS. which Keller denotes as follows :

A=Parisinus 7900^a saec. x. (The leaf bearing the *scriptio* is in fact detached and has lately been found in the Hamburg Library.)

λ=Parisinus 7972 saec. ix.—x.

l=Leidensis Lat. 28 saec. x ineuntis.

g=Gothanus B. 61. saec. xv. (The lyrics in this MS. are in a later hand than the hexameters, which, at least in the *Satires*, are derived from the same tradition as Blandinius antiquissimus.)

q=Parisinus 8216 saec. xiv.

The leaf is missing from σ = Sangallensis oppidanus 10, saec. x., and this fact raises a suspicion that the MS. had the *scriptio*. It is added (but perhaps in a later hand) to Reginensis ccii. (Queen's Coll. Oxon.), saec. x. ineuntis : also to Brucellensis 9776 saec. xi. : also to Taurinensis I. vi. 2 (or K. i. 7), saec. xi.

Of these MSS. Keller gives a full collation of Aλ and a partial collation of ggσ and Taur. but hardly ever quotes Regin. or Brux. A full collation of g is to be had from Pauly's Horace (1855) ; many citations from Regin. are to be had from Bentley and the appendix to Wickham's *Odes* ; σ is Orelli's S, but I do not think the readings of Brux. have ever been published.

Now Mavortius was certainly consul in A.D. 527, therefore the *scriptio* at least derives from an archetype which was about 300 years earlier than the oldest of our existing Horatian MSS. Two very interesting questions are thus immediately raised : (1) Can we recover the Mavortian readings ? and (2) If we can, then, given a Mavortian reading and another, which is the older of the two ? Bentley answered the second question without attempting the first, for he says very roundly (*Praef.* x.) : ' Flaccum ex Mavortii recensione hodie habemus.' Keller answers the first question with a very doubtful affirmative (*Epilog.* pp. 785, 786), but goes on to answer the second with great confidence, for he derives

his Class III. of MSS. from a prae-Mavortian archetype and his Class II. (at least in the lyrics) from Mavortius (*ibid.* 790, 794). As his conclusions seemed to me *prima facie* unsatisfactory and as he gives hardly any reasons for them, I worked out, as well as I could from the published material, a collation of the *Epodes* in those MSS. only which have the Mavortian *scriptio*. I confined myself to the *Epodes* because the *scriptio* is appended to this book only and we have no means of knowing how much of Horace Mavortius really edited. The results are moderately interesting.

I should premise that the two MSS. A and α (Ambrosianus O. 136 sup. saec. x. ineuntis) seem to Keller to be derived from the same copy (A'), but that A has the *scriptio* while α has not : also that λ and l seem to him to be derived from the same copy (λ'), and that both have the *scriptio*.

The following are the most important readings.

- Epod.* I. 10. qua A σ¹ quem λg.
 21. ut adsit Aλ ut assit gσ Reg.
 28. pascua Aλ pascuis gσ.
 34. nepos Aλ ut nepos gσ Reg. (ut supra scripto).
 II. 18. agris Aλgσ Reg.
 23. novum *Epod.* incipiunt Aλg Reg. (Aλ with the same superscription : Reg. with another : g with none).
 25. ripis Aλgσ.
 31. agris λ acris Ag.
 50. scauri λg Taurin. scari A.
 V. 1. regit Agσ. regis λ Reg.
 15. illigata Aλgσ Reg.
 18. cupressos Aσ Reg. cupressus λg.
 20. strigis nocturnae Aλσ Reg. noct. strigis g (ut uid.).
 21. Hiolcos Aσ Colchos λg Reg.
 21. aut Aλσ Reg. (and g, a pr. manu, according to Keller).
 34. inemori Ag inmemori λ.
 55. formidolosis Aλg Reg. formidolosae σ.
 58. suburbanae Aλ suburbanae gσ.
 63. superba A Reg. superbam λggσ.
 65. infectum A imbutum λgσ Reg.
 102. effugerit gσ effugerint Aλ.
 VII. 15. albus ora pallor Aλg Reg. ora p. albus σ.
 IX. 17. adhuc λgσ (uar.) ad hunc A Reg.

¹ A bracketed ut uid. or uar. refers only to the MS. immediately preceding.

- Epod.* XI. 16. *uennus* $\Lambda\lambda$ *uentis* *g.*
 XII. 2. *quid* *Ag* *Reg. cur* $\Lambda\sigma$.
 XIII. 11. *cecinit grandi* $\Lambda\lambda g$.
 XV. 12. *uiri* $\Lambda\lambda$ *uirium* *g.*
 XVI. 33. *rauos* *A* *Reg. (ut uid.) saeuos*
 λ *flauos* *g* (*flauos* *a*).
 61. *astri* $\Lambda\lambda g$.
 65. *aerea dehinc* $\Lambda\lambda\sigma$ *Taur. Reg.*
aere dehinc *g.*
 XVII. 11. *luxere* $\Lambda\lambda g$ *Reg. Taur.*
(unxere *a* *and corr.* λ *Reg.)*.
 18. *relapsus* *Reg. relatus* $\Lambda\lambda g$ (*re-*
lapsus *a*).
 50. *partumeius* ¶ *Reg. pactumeius*
cet.
 60. *proderat* $\Lambda\lambda$ *proderit* *cet.*
(incl. a).
 62. *sed* *Ag* *Reg. si* λ .
 64. *laboribus* $\Lambda\lambda$ *doloribus* *g* (*and*
a) *cruciatibus* *Reg.*
 81. *exitus* $\Lambda\lambda$ *exitum* *lg* *Taur.*

This list shows clearly, within narrow limits, what becomes more and more clear as the limits are enlarged, viz. that each MS. of Horace gives an eclectic text and does not agree on one page with the same MSS. as on another. Hence, as the MSS. $\Lambda\lambda\sigma$ *Reg.* are all of about the same date, it is impossible to say, when they are divided between two readings, which of the two is more likely to be Mavortian: indeed, even if they agree in one reading, it is possible that this is not Mavortian. It is nevertheless probable that, when these MSS., or most of them, agree (especially against the reading of nearly all others), the reading given by them is derived from Mavortius. I give therefore now the readings of the above list which seem to be most likely Mavortian, together with the alternative in each case, marking the (presumably) correct reading with a *

- Epod.* I. 21. *ut adsit** *auxili* *Mav. : ut sit*
auxilii (majority of Keller's
 MSS.).
 II. 18. *agris** *extulit* *Mav. : aruis ext.*
(small minority).
 23. New epode, *Mav. : run on**
(majority).
 25. *ripis* *Mav. : riuis** (*Bland.*
antiq., Bernensis *and ma-*
jority).
 V. 15. *illigata* *Mav. : implicata** (*ma-*
jority).
 20. *strigis nocturnae* *Mav. : noct.*
*strigis** (*all*).
 21. *aut* *Mav. : atque** (*majority*).
 55. *formidolosis** *Mav. : formidolo-*
sae (*minority*).

- Epod.* V. 63. *superbam* *Mav. : superba* (*about*
evenly divided).
 65. *inbutum** *Mav. : infectum*
(minority).
 VII. 15. *albus ora pallor* *Mav. : ora*
*pallor albus** (*majority*).
 XIII. 11. *cecinit grandi* *Mav. : grandi*
*cecinit** (*majority*).
 XVI. 61. *astri** *Mav. : austri* (*large*
minority).
 65. *aerea dehinc* *Mav. : aere dehinc**
(all).
 XVII. 11. *luxere* *Mav. : unxere** (*majority,*
with Bland. antiq.).
 18. *relatus* *Mav. : relapsus** (*ma-*
jority).

Allowing *strigis nocturnae* in V. 20 to be a mere slip, and *superbam* in V. 63 to remain doubtful, we have fourteen passages in which the Mavortian reading seems to be distinguishable. In four of these (II. 18, V. 55, V. 65, XVI. 61) Mavortius agrees with the majority of the non-Mavortian MSS.: in the other ten he disagrees with them. Of these ten he offers an improvement in only one (I. 21): in two (II. 23, XVI. 65), he is wrong, and in the remaining seven the alternative reading is at least as good as his. It is surely in the highest degree unlikely that these alternatives were invented in the dark ages. The probability is, then, that Keller is right in maintaining that the edition of Mavortius is not our ultimate archetype and that we have also an older tradition.

One other point seems to me worth mentioning. It seems improbable that Mavortius edited only the *Epodes*, but, so far as I can gather from the printed evidence, there are only three passages in the *Odes* in which there is anything like the same consensus of Mavortian MSS. as there is in the above sixteen passages of the *Epodes*. These three are *Carm.* I. 7. 15. nouam oden incip. $\Lambda\lambda\sigma$ *Reg.* (also *g* according to Keller, but not according to Pauly).
 III. 24. 41. *ponticum* $\Lambda\lambda\sigma_1$ ¶ *Reg. (publi-*
cum *g* *Brux. punicum* σ_2).
 IV. 4. 65. *mersus* $\Lambda\lambda g$ σg *Brux. Reg.*
 Elsewhere, the Mavortian MSS., as Keller says, 'gehen systematisch auseinander.' Nevertheless there are at almost every doubtful place only two substantial variants

¹ This passage is one of the very few which support Keller's theory of three classes in the MSS. There are here three important variants, viz. *publicum*, *ponticum*, *Apulicum*, each well represented. There are, I believe, only five such places in the *Lyrics*. I hope to examine the theory on another occasion.

(e.g. I. 3. 19 *turgidum, turbidum*: 4, 8 *urit, visit*: 27, 13 *uoluntas, uoluptas* etc.), and it is probable that one of them is Mavortian. Keller assigns to Mavortius the readings in which $\Lambda\Lambda$ agree.

The relation of Mavortius to our MSS.

is of importance chiefly to the emendation of the text. If our readings date from about A.D. 500 or earlier, it is obvious that they are to be corrected by reference to capital or uncial, and not to minuscule, writing.

J. Gow.

CAESAR STUDIES I.

(Concluded from page 154.)

In the narration of the war against the Belgae Caesar's action is represented as being a defensive one. He was informed repeatedly, both officially and unofficially (so he tell us in II. 1, 1), that the Belgae were planning offensive war. Nothing of course, is said of *their* point of view. They certainly knew that Caesar, having entered upon a policy of conquest and having driven back into Germany an enemy reputed much more formidable than anything on the left bank of the Rhine, would attack them too. Caesar cleverly manipulated the Remi, exactly as he had been manipulating the Aedui, in accordance with the maxim of 'Divide et impera.' Of course the leaders of the policy of national autonomy are called public enemies (II. 14, 3), and Caesar's characteristic forbearance and leniency are emphasized (II. 14, 6; cf. also 'ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur' II. 28, 3).

At the conclusion of the Belgian campaign his forces were placed in winter quarters in a specific locality: 'in Carnutes Andes Turones quaeque civitates propinquae his locis erant ubi bellum gesserat legionibus in hibernacula deductis' (II. 35, 3). Heller has properly laid stress on Caesar's winter quarters as preparing for the subsequent campaigns and further conquest, whereas *Napoleon III.* and *Goeler* have uncritically passed over the matter. As to *quaeque* in the passage just quoted, some of the oldest and weightiest MSS. read simply *quae*, the Paris MS. 5763, of the tenth century, and that of Voss at Leyden, of the eleventh century, being the most important of those that exhibit this particular reading. It may be assumed at all events that the relative clause contains the expressed chief point of view from which the winter quarters were selected. As for the Andes and Turones (Angers, Tours), on the lower Loire, they were so situated that the two-fold movement of the next campaign (55 B.C.) against the Atlantic states as well as against Aquitania

could be readily begun from this base. If Caesar had really felt any concern as to the *Belgae*, he would have placed his forces within the territories of the latter. Caesar indeed professes that he was surprised by the necessity of operating against the Atlantic states: 'cum omnibus de causis Caesar *pacatam* Galliam existimaret, superatis Belgis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis atque ita inita hieme in Illyricum profectus esset, . . . *subitum* bellum in Gallia *coortum* est' (III. 7, 1). At the same time Caesar's political friends or temporary allies in May, 56 B.C., advocated passing the law which extended Caesar's imperium to the limit of ten years (to the beginning of 48 B.C.), at a time when the *third* campaign had but recently been begun. At that stage Caesar's policy in official language and on an official occasion (Cicero de provinciis consularibus) was designated as aiming at the complete and permanent subjugation of all Gaul, vid. Cicero *l. c.* § 32 'non enim sibi solum cum eis quos iam armatos contra populum Romanum videbat, bellandum esse duxit sed *totam esse Galliam in nostram dicionem esse redigendam*.' Thus Caesar's policy was frankly stated by his political mouth-pieces in 56 B.C., whereas the whole drift of his own report in the commentarii is that he was continually *forced* to enter upon new enterprises and campaigns, against his own wish and expectation. Again the conclusion forces itself upon the modern student that the point of view from which Caesar's book was written is radically different from the point of view held and pronounced in 56 B.C. Caesar's defence of his severity in dealing with the Veneti is placed on lofty but probably disingenuous ground: 'quo diligentius in reliquum tempus ius legatorum conservaretur' (III. 16, 4). His methods of disciplining liberty-loving tribes and German interlopers became more severe as time went on, not from impulse but from policy, as in the next campaign, 55 B.C., in dealing with the Usipetes and Tencteri. He had probably

hoped that his defeat of Ariovistus and his success in driving the invaders back into Baden would prevent any further German incursions from their side of the Rhine to his side of the Rhine. In this he was disappointed: the Usipetes and Teneteri *did* cross over; hence the fearful severity of the second lesson, discussed in the famous protest of Cato in the senate. In his apology Caesar tries to make the most of a bad case by charging the Germans with every perfidy, whereas by his own account their almost naive trustfulness is made patent enough.

Caesar's crossing of the Rhine added vastly to his prestige at the seat of government. A whole chapter is devoted (IV. 16) to the setting forth of his motives, amongst which a substantial one is lacking, viz. his wish to secure his rear while he invaded Britain. Even for that enterprise (which in its consequences turned out to be most disastrous) he adduces by no means all his motives. The single one which he does express was probably not the primary one, but certainly the one which would be the most specious in an *apologia pro imperio suo*, namely the one given in IV. 20, 1, 'in Britanniam proficisci contendit quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intellegebat.' Compare Drumann's remark: (III. p. 294) 'Auch er selbst erlaubt sich eine Unwahrheit, er war durch keine Feindseligkeit gereizt.'

Of the military events that followed after and upon the second invasion of Britain, one may truthfully say that they were not arranged by Caesar, that they surprised him in great measure, that they proved severe tests of his military capacity. The rising of the Eburones, Nervii and others in the winter of 54-53 was probably provoked by the decline of Caesar's military prestige and the proportionate *crescendo* in the movement of the national spirit. His efforts to avenge upon the chief offenders the destruction of the fifteen cohorts in 53 B.C. were utterly unsuccessful in this point, that they not only did not smother the national spirit among the Gauls, but did not even check the spreading of the same; and when at last, in 52 B.C., the national feeling found its Gambetta, it soon flared up from the Rhine to the Garonne and from the marshes of Holland to the Cevennes. Vercingetorix proved a far more formidable antagonist than Dummorix and Ambiorix had been. And here I cannot refrain from noting an ignoble trait of the literary Caesar. Of all great captains, it is true, he was probably

the most dispassionate and acted least from impulse and from regard for the bubble reputation, unless indeed it reacted on his own position in the sympathies of those who were dazzled by it. Preferring at all times to conciliate rather than to provoke, unmoved by vanity or anger, content as a politician to secure the neutrality of those whom he could not attach to his own policy, imbued to an extraordinary degree with the idea of the effectiveness of kindness, especially when dealing with Romans, in spite of all these great qualities he impresses the candid and careful reader of the commentarii as one who tried to blacken the memory of those who were his *uncompromising* enemies, as in the case of Dumnorix, whose ambition overleaped itself, of Ambiorix, a base ingrate, according to Caesar, rather than a patriot. Even more viciously Caesar tries to create the impression that Vercingetorix, whom the French are not alone in considering a great man, was consumed by personal ambition and extended his influence by base terrorism (VII. 4, 9-10).

When in the fall of 52 Caesar received the submission of that dangerous leader, he had stronger reasons than at any time before for believing his work in Gaul to be finished. The uprising of the Gauls had been extraordinary, but the catastrophe of Alesia too was unparalleled in its completeness. It is safe to say that Caesar considered his work in Gaul accomplished. His own report ends there. That account in its very conclusion assumes so rapid and summary a gait as to evince the unmistakable hurry of the author to reach the end. There is no retrospect, no contemplation, no characterization, no sentiment. Judged from a purely literary point of view, this conclusion is a disappointment. But all these matters are in perfect harmony with the theory stated at the beginning (in the preceding instalment of this paper), that the entire book was drawn from Caesar by the exigencies of the political situation, which made it necessary to counteract the policy of the optimates at the seat of government in 52-51. It was one of the consuls of 51, M. Claudius Marcellus, of whom Suetonius says (Div. Jul. 28) '*rettulit ad senatum, ut ei succederetur ante tempus, quoniam bello confecto pax esset.*' This implies an official notification, or something else of an equally authoritative nature, either '*litterae Caesaris,*' dispatches on which or in consequence of which the senate was wont to take official action (II. 35, 4, IV. 38, 5), or the commentarii which we have.

As a matter of fact Caesar was in a press of work when he wrote his account, and the probability that he conceived, projected, and composed (probably dictated) the whole work *after Alesia*, in the winter of 52-51, and published it (not so much as a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεὶ* as to influence political opinion at Rome) in 51 B.C.—this probability, I say, almost approaches the force of evidence. Some other things not hitherto alluded to fit in well with the same theory. Prominent among these is Caesar's practice of reproducing addresses, arguments, appeals, and other *spoken matter* indirectly, by '*oratio obliqua*,' a literary peculiarity of these '*commentarii*' utterly at variance with the literary habit of Greece and Rome, and with the culture and training of the day. Caesar in 52-51, writing or dictating under circumstances such as have been repeatedly suggested in this paper, absolutely lacked the leisure and the literary ease requisite for composing history dramati-

cally by constructing or even reconstructing speeches in the first person and with an approximate cast of the liveliness with which they were actually spoken. This limitation of Caesar to the argument has resulted in the grief of schoolboys, although without any substantial detriment to the cause of history. But what of the rather elaborate speech of Critognatus in VII.77, which is in *oratio recta*? That speech was a comparatively recent matter when Caesar wrote, the focal point, so to speak, in the great crisis and catastrophe recently enacted. No product ever came from the pen of a Roman prose-writer so little rhetorical, nay so utterly unrhctorical, as the commentaries. On the whole, Cicero's appreciation of the *commentarii* fits in well here: '*nudi sunt, recti (terse) et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta*' (Cicero Brut. 75).

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ON 'CONDITIONAL SENTENCES IN GREEK AND LATIN, AND INDEFINITE SENTENCES IN GREEK.

I.

THE two following propositions, so far as I am aware, fulfil in Grammar the accepted tests of catholicity, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, and are *de fide*. (1) 'Conditional sentences in Greek cast in the forms *εἰ τοῦτο ἐποίηε* (or *ἐποίησεν*), *ἤδῃκει* (or *ἤδίκησεν*) *ἂν*, and (2) Conditional sentences in Latin which employ the Secondary Tenses of the Subjunctive always contain suppositions which are known or implied to be contrary to the fact, and the events which they suppose are known or implied not to be occurring or not to have occurred.' If, therefore, a Greek or Roman had wished to express the following thought, 'If a man had heard Demosthenes speak [*εἰ ἤκουσεν* . . . : *si quis*, or *qui*, *audisset*], could he ever have forgotten it?'—he could not have done so without implying that the orator was always inaudible. A truly terrible conclusion! And yet one from which the rule leaves us no escape. Let us, however, test its truth by one or two examples from the Greek and Latin writers. Perhaps the rule may give way, and Demosthenes be saved.

Take first Eur. *Ion*, 354, *σοὶ ταῦτ' ὅν ἦβης, εἴπερ ἦν, εἰχ' ἂν μέτρον*. From v. 345 the dialogue proceeds as follows: 'Where is the child? Is he alive?'—'*No one knows; that*

is just what I have come to ask the oracle.'—'If he is dead, how was he destroyed?'—'She expects that wild-beasts killed him.' [*ἴψ*, that is, he *is* dead; but, as I have just said, no one knows what has become of him.]—'Why does she think that?'—'She found no trace of the babe.'—'Was there any blood?'—'No.'—'How long is it since the child was made away with?'—'If he were alive he would be just your age.' I submit that there is nothing here even to suggest that Kreousa recedes from the position she takes up in v. 346, *οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ταῦτα καὶ μαντεύομαι*. Certainly the word *διαπεπραγμένῳ* does not contain such a hint.¹ It is purposely chosen for its ambiguity, as expressing both the actual mode of Ion's disappearance (known to the audience), and the wild-beast hypothesis. On the other hand the turn given to Kreousa's reply, *σοὶ ταῦτ' ὅν ἦβης* κ.τ.λ., is a subtle stroke of art. *Just because she has not abandoned hope*, she pictures her boy as she may yet see him, and instead of rejoining something like *ἐνιαύσιοι τρίς πέντ' ἂν ἐξῆλθον χρόνοι*, replies, 'he would have just thy measure of vigorous and radiant youth, were he alive.' In the *Meno* 93 E, Socrates observes *οὐκ ἂν ἄρα τήν γε φύσιν τοῦ νιόος αὐτοῦ ἡττίασατ' ἂν τις εἶναι κακὴν*. We

¹ See *Classical Review*, Nov. 1889, p. 417.

must here supply the suppressed protasis, 'if the occasion had arisen' or the like, and are we to say that Socrates implies that no occasion ever arose for expressing an opinion on Kleophantes' natural endowments? Take again Xen. *Hellen.* 3. 4. 18, ἐπερρώσθη δ' ἂν τις κάκεινο ἰδών, Ἀγχιλάων μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας κ.τ.λ. Surely the writer does not here imply ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς εἶδεν? Plato *Meno* 94 D, ὥστε εἶπερ ἦν τοῦτο διδασκόν, ἐξευρεῖν ἂν ὅστις ἤμελλεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς νείεις ἀγαθοὺς ποιήσειν, ἢ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τις ἢ τῶν ξένων, εἰ αὐτὸς μὴ ἐσχόλαζε διὰ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμέλειαν. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἐταίρε Ἄνυτε, μὴ οὐκ ἦ διδασκὸν ἀρετῇ. Here we are not justified in assuming either (1) that Socrates anticipates the conclusion of the dialogue, and implies that Virtue is *not* teachable (his own words at the end of the quotation are, 'perhaps Virtue is not teachable'); or (2) that Thucydides is supposed to have had plenty of leisure to instruct his own sons. If Socrates implies anything, it is that the young men did have the instruction of teachers 'calculated to make them good,' but that all was in vain. Otherwise the example is useless for the purpose of his argument. Soph. *O.T.* 220, οὐ γὰρ ἂν μακρὰν | ἔχενον αὐτὸς μὴ οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον. Almost a literature of criticism has been written on this passage, which would probably not have called for annotation at all, but for the assumption that non-fulfilment of the condition μὴ οὐκ ἔχων is implied by the form of the sentence. It is obvious that the condition *is fulfilled*. Oedipus *has no clue*, but by a natural idiom he states his actual position hypothetically. 'I am altogether a stranger to this business, and accordingly am about to make a proclamation; for *I should not be tracing the crime far, if I had no clue*. But now [since I intend to get a clue] I make proclamation,' &c. What could be clearer, had we not to reckon with the grammars?

In Latin cp. Cic. in *Ferr.* 3. 29, Quantum Apronius edidisset deberi, tantum ex edicto dandum erat. Etiamne si plus edidisset quam quantum natum esset? Etiam. Quomodo? Magistratus ex istius edicto exigere debebant. At orator repetere poterat. Verum, Artemidoro recuperatore. Quid si minus arator dedisset quam poposcisset Apronius? Iudicium in aratore in quadruplum. Cicero's dismay, if he had been told that his language implied that the conditions he suggested were never fulfilled, may be better imagined than described. Livy 22. 54, Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Is not the

observation prompted by the writer's knowledge of cases where nations *had* succumbed under similar disasters? Cic. *Man.* 11, Hoc tantum bellum quis umquam arbitraretur uno anno confici posse? Did no one, in the speaker's opinion, discuss the duration of the war? Livy 22. 24, Ipse quod minime quis crederet &c. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 879, non illi se quisquam impune tulisset | obuius armato. Cic. *Ferr.* 4. 23, Qui uideret equom Troianum introductum, urbem captam diceret.

It would appear, then, that the rule does not hold. Indeed no Conditional Sentence can *of itself* convey any implication either as to the facts or the speaker's impression of the facts. The hearer knows (if he knows at all) whether the condition is or is not fulfilled, by independent information already in his possession.¹

Now all this would perhaps be of small practical importance, were not the dictum made the basis of a division of the Conditional Sentence for teaching purposes, with inevitably unfortunate results on the more thoughtful learners. In an unthinking moment a master gives his form the following sentence to translate into Greek and Latin. 'Even a Stoic would have jumped, if a wasp had stung his nose.' The boy, seeing the words *would have* and *if...had*, is about to turn the sentence correctly, but (unfortunately) he pauses and reflects. Reflection brings him to the conclusion that a wasp might have stung even a Stoic, and he writes down anything but what he ought.

In place of that now in vogue, I venture to propose the following scheme of the Conditional Sentence as both simple and easily learned. Though not exhaustive, it exhibits all the normal forms.

1. Future Time.

- A. { If he shall do it, he will do wrong.
(a) εἰ ποιήσει, ἀδικήσει.
(β) ἐὰν ποιήσῃ, ἀδικήσει.
Si faciet, peccabit (or fut. perfs.).

(β) is commoner than (a), which is somewhat more formal and precise.

¹ It is independent knowledge too which guides the hearer as to the conclusion intended to be drawn from the hypothetical statement. Thuc. i. 9 writes οὐκ ἂν οὖν νήσων ἔξω τῶν περιουκίδων ἡπειρώτης ὦν ἐκράτει, εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν. On this Kühner (*Gramm.* § 574) writes 'aber er hatte eine Flotte, wie wir aus der Geschichte wissen; also konnte er auch ueber dieselben herrschen.' But he has fallen into error from not examining the context. Thucydides is arguing that Agamemnon *must have had a fleet*, because, as Homer declares, he ruled the islands.

- B. { If he were to do it, he would do wrong.
 εἰ ποιήσειεν, ἀδικήσειεν ἄν.
Si faciat, peccet (or perfs.).

2. Present Time.

- A. { If he is doing it, he is doing wrong.
 εἰ ποιεῖ, ἀδικεῖ.
Si facit, peccat.
 If I have done wrong, I am sorry.
 εἰ ἡδίκηκα, μεταμέλομαι.
Si peccaui, paenitet.

- B. { If he were doing it, he would be doing wrong.
 εἰ ἐποίει, ἡδίκηει ἄν.
Si faceret, peccaret.

3. Past Time.

- A. { If he did it, he did wrong.
 εἰ ἐποίησεν (ἐποίει), ἡδίκησεν (ἡδίκηει).
Si fecit (faciebat), peccavit (peccabat).

- B. { If he had done it, he would have done wrong.
 εἰ ἐποίησεν (ἐποίει), ἡδίκησεν (ἡδίκηει) ἄν.
Si fecisset (faceret), peccavisset (peccaret).

Obs. In each division the sentences marked (B) differ from those marked (A) only in that they present the hypothetical statement less positively.

Sentences like γελάτε ἢν λουδορηθῶσι, *you laugh if ever they abuse*, and εἰ μὴ φέροιμεν, *ωτρυνεν φέρειν, if ever we did not bring*, etc., are rather temporal than conditional sentences; *if ever* really means *whenever*. See below.

II.

Indefinite Sentences in Greek.

At present any sentence is called *Indefinite*, which is introduced by an Indefinite Relative (ὅστις, ὅπου ποτέ, ὅπως ποτέ, etc.). I should propose to limit the designation as follows:—

‘Indefinite’ means *indefinite in time*. No sentence is ‘Indefinite,’ by whatever word it may be introduced, unless the *time* is indefinite.

Indefinite sentences are introduced by (α) Relatives (ὅς, ὅστις, ὅπου, ὅπως, &c.), (β) Temporal conjunctions (ἐπεί, ὁπότε, ἔως, μέχρι, &c.), (γ) by εἰ and ἂν, when these are equivalent to ὅταν and ὁπότε.

In primary sequence the subjunctive with ἂν is used. In historic sequence the optative

(without ἂν). This ἂν marks the time as indefinite. It does not (as commonly stated) give indefiniteness to relatives; i.e. the difference between ὅς and ὅς ἂν is not that between *who* and *whoever*, but that between *who* and *who ever* (i.e. *at any time*).¹ If this ἂν did merely give indefiniteness to relatives, then ὅς ἂν ᾄδῃ would be good Greek for ‘*whoever is now singing*.’ But no instance in support of this, could, I believe, be produced.

The following table illustrates the statement of the Indefinite Sentence given above.

1. Primary Sequence:—

- (α) ὁποτέρους ἂν λουδορηθῇ, γελῶμεν.
Whichever of the two parties he abuses (at any time), we laugh.

- (β) ὅταν λουδορηθῇ, γελῶμεν.
Whenever he abuses, we laugh.
 ἔως ἂν λουδορηθῇ, ἀκούσομαι.
So long as he goes (shall go) on abusing, I shall listen.

- (γ) εἰ ἂν λουδορηθῇ, γελῶμεν.
If ever (i.e. whenever) he abuses, we laugh.

2. Historic Sequence:—

- (α) ὁπότερος λουδορηθείη, ἐγελῶμεν.
Whichever party he abused (at any time), we used to laugh.

- (β) ὁπότε λουδορηθείη, ἐγελῶμεν.
Whenever he abused, we used to laugh.

- ἔως λουδορηθείη, οὐκ ἐγελῶμεν.
Until he began to abuse, we used not to laugh.

- (γ) εἰ λουδορηθείη, ἐγελῶμεν.
If ever (i.e. whenever) he abused, we used to laugh.

Obs. 1.—It will be seen that the Indicative does not occur in the *protasis* of Indefinite sentences. Sentences like ὅστις ποιεῖ, ἀδικεῖ (‘*whoever is now doing it*’), ὅστις ἐποίησεν ἡδίκησεν (‘*whoever then did it*’), ὅπου ποτέ ἔστιν, εὐρήσομεν (‘*wherever he is now, we shall find him*’), ὅποι ποτέ ἡγήτο, ἔδει ἔπασθαι (‘*wherever he was then leading, you ought to have followed*’), are not ‘Indefinite,’ but ordinary relative sentences, because a definite time is referred to in each

¹ This explanation accounts for the use of εἰ ἂν γράψῃ under 1. A (β) of Conditional Sentences above: the reference is to an indefinite time, which the *apodosis* shows to be future. Did a Greek ever say εἰ ἂν τότε γράψῃ for *if he shall then write*? Did he not say εἰ τότε γράψει?

case. The indefiniteness of the relative does not affect the question.

Obs. 2.—Sentences like the following are only apparently incompatible with the principles laid down above.

(α) ἔχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο
πύλῃσιν
γίγνεται, ὃς πενίῃ εἰκὼν ἀπατήλια βάζει.
(*Od.* 14. 156).

(β) ἐπίσταμαι
ἰ.ε. ὁρᾶν θ' ἂν δεῖ με, κοῦχ ὁρᾶν ἂν μὴ
πρέπει.
(*Eur. Fr.* 417).

Since no definite time is referred to, the rule might seem to require ὃς ἂν βάζῃ, ἂν ἂν δέῃ, ἂν ἂν μὴ πρέπῃ. But in fact *no time*, definite or indefinite, is in question. βάζει, δεῖ, πρέπει are timeless, and the relative clause in each case is purely adjectival; a *class* is described. ὃς βάζει=ὁ βάζων (cp. ὁ νικῶν, *the victor*), ἂν δεῖ=τὰ δέοντα, ἂν μὴ πρέπει=τὰ μὴ πρέποντα. So *Soph. Ant.* 375 ὃς τὰδ' ἔρδει: *ib.* 178 ff. ὅστις . . . ἄπτεται . . . ἔχει . . . νομίζει: *Thuc.* 2. 64 οἷτινες λυποῦνται.

The explanation of sentences like *Thuc.* 2. 37 τὸν πέλας, εἰ . . . ὁρᾷ is similar: ὁρᾷ is timeless, and εἰ . . . ὁρᾷ is an adjectival rather than a conditional clause. The meaning is 'a neighbour who does,' not 'our neighbour, if ever he does.' So in *Soph. Tr.* 944 εἴ τις . . . λογίζεται=ὅστις . . . λογίζεται, =ὁ λογιζόμενος, 'the man who,' &c.

In Latin on the same principle a purely descriptive clause with Indicative appears sometimes in *oratio obliqua*: cp. *hortatur ad cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant* (*Sall.*).

Obs. 3.—Xenophon's affectation of the Imperf. Indic. in *Ages.* 11. 3 εἴ τις [*i.e.* ὅστις] . . . ἡμύνετο, *Anab.* 1. 9. 13 ὅπῃ τις ἤθελεν, and elsewhere, is a deliberate artifice employed

for the sake of a gain in vividness. The explanation is still that given in *Obs. 2: i.e.* ὅπῃ τις ἤθελεν is a purely adjectival clause defining an omitted antecedent ταύτῃ, and εἴ τις [*i.e.* ὅστις] ἡμύνετο=τὸν ἡμυνόμενον.—*Anab.* 6. 5. 6 ἐπελάμβανεν, 1. 1. 5 ἀφικνέιτο, *Thuc.* 7. 10 ἐπῆρώτα (quoted by Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*), are not instances of this kind. In each case the reference is to a definite occasion or period of time. See *Obs. 1.*

Xen. An. 1. 9. 27 Ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνν εἴη, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι . . . , διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς . . . ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον, though at first sight perplexing, does not violate the rule. ἐδύνατο is not for δύναιτο. A succession of clauses beginning with relatives having the same antecedent offended the Greek ear, and accordingly 'whom I saw and to whom I gave' appears as ὃν εἶδον καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῷ: cp. *Thuc.* 7. 62. 2 ᾧ ναυμαχίαν μὲν κ.τ.λ., *Xen. Cyr.* 3. 1. 38 ὃς συνέθῆρα ἡμῖν καὶ σύ μοι ἐδόκεις θαυμάζειν αὐτόν. In the present passage αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδύνατο thus stands for a relative clause, and this clause being purely adjectival (*i.e.* containing a limiting description of the place indicated by ὅπου at the head of the sentence) the Indicative is right. In strict grammar the sentence would run ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος εἴη, [εἰ τόπος εἴη] ὅπου αὐτὸς ἐδύνατο. If Xenophon had written (as he might have done) αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκ ἐὶ ἐδύνατο, this explanation would have been instantly apparent.

Prof. Goodwin regards these passages (*Obs.* 2 and 3) as exhibiting alternative Indicative forms for those tabulated above. This seems to me to disguise the essential difference between Indefinite (Time) Sentences and ordinary Relative Sentences in Definite Time, with injurious consequences to learners.

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CLASSEN'S SECOND BOOK OF THUCYDIDES.

Thukydides erklärt von J. Classen. Zweiter Band, Zweiter Buch. Vierte Auflage besorgt von J. STEUP. Weidmann, Berlin. 1889. pp. iv. 238. 2 M. 25 Pf.

PROBABLY no author by a single work ever gave rise to so vast a literature as Thucydides. It almost requires the devotion of a life-time to keep pace with the swiftly-growing mass of comment and criticism. The

countless emendations, the endless studies, the ponderous volumes on Thucydidean grammar, geography, inflexions—they would fill a whole library with their bulk. Yet it is improbable that the last word will ever be spoken. For Thucydidean criticism is perpetually shifting its ground. No sooner is one problem solved than others obtrude themselves; and the serious scholar cannot bear uncertainty. Since the the last edition

of the second book by Poppo in 1866, and even of that by Classen in 1879, a new literature has arisen. Both works are appearing in a revised form, the former still under the care of Stahl, the latter now under that of Steup. There are many living Thucydidean scholars whose work needs neither apology nor praise. But none occupy a higher place at the present time than Stahl and Steup, and the publishers of these two important works are to be congratulated on having secured the services of such eminent editors.

The considerable additions which Steup has made to Classen's second book appear mainly in the appendix. In dealing with the commentary he has only altered what has been clearly shown to be wrong. Hence, even when he is inclined to disagree with Classen's interpretation, he often prefers to repress his doubts rather than introduce fresh matter, and in only quite a few cases has he broken through this self-denying ordinance. The editor has also avoided, as far as possible, polemical discussions and provocative asperity. On two scholars only, Naber and Müller-Strübing, is he somewhat severe. But this merely means that Steup does not belong to the sensational school of criticism. The majority of Naber's corrections are no doubt extravagant, and Müller-Strübing's most startling feat, not less ingenious than the tactics of the Plataeans themselves, has not, I think, produced any marked effect on the minds of English scholars, with perhaps two exceptions.

The limits of this notice compel me to pass by the bulk of the new matter in both commentary and appendix with a general acknowledgment of its excellence. I have read the book through with the close attention and respectful consideration that it deserves, and the impression left on my mind is that it forms a very valuable contribution towards the interpretation of the text, and that criticism of the text is its only weak point. A few misprints, not more than two dozen, remain uncorrected. The worst are *καθελνύσαντες* in the text (p. 180), and *ἔδεκμον* (δ inverted) for *ἔδεκμον* in the appendix (p. 228). There can be no doubt that the new edition will receive a cordial welcome among teachers of Greek in England.

The text of the second book, though left by Thucydides in a more finished state than that of some books, is still in a sad condition and neither Classen nor Steup has done very much towards improving it. It is often surprising what a vast amount of labour and skill is uselessly ex-

pended by editors in the attempt to explain the inexplicable. What can the most learned lucubrations avail if the text is wrong? And how long will it be possible for an intelligent person to suppose that Thucydides is a muddle-headed thinker with no regard for syntax? You may ransack the whole of Greek literature to discover a parallel to a strange construction—to what purpose, if it is a gloss or one of Dr. Rutherford's adscripts that is defiling the clear stream? Nothing in the future will do more for Thucydides than a scientific use of the knife. Cut away the accretions, and you will discover that Thucydides is a very clear thinker and a fairly clear writer; and that the difficulties in him are due not to his ignorance of grammar, but to the peculiarities of his intellect. I will now notice a few passages some of which will serve to illustrate this contention. The text is first given in every case from the edition before us.

In c. 2, 4 *γνώμην ἐποιούντο* . . . *ἐς φίλιν τὴν πόλιν ἀγαγεῖν. καὶ ἀνέειπεν ὁ κῆρυξ* . . . *τὰ ὅπλα, νομίζοντες*, it is certainly better to regard *καὶ ἀνέειπεν* . . . *τὰ ὅπλα* as a parenthesis with Poppo, Stahl, Croiset, and probably Shilleto, and to connect *νομίζοντες* with *ἐποιούντο*. How often *καὶ* introduces a parenthesis in the sense of 'and actually.' Cf. c. 49, 5, where Steup rightly keeps *καὶ* . . . *ἔδρασαν ἐς φρέατα* in a parenthesis. In the latter passage, Steup suggests that a participle has dropped out between *ἔδρασαν* and *ἐς*. Perhaps we should insert *ἐσδραμόντες*. C. 4, 2 Steup retains Classen's *ἐμπείρους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς δῶκοντας τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν* [*ὥστε διεφθείροντο οἱ πολλοί*]. Beyond doubt the words bracketed are an adscript. The *ὥστε* betrays it, and so does the variant *πολλοί* in one MS., apart from the fact that it is nonsense. But *τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν*, which alone Stahl and Herwerden bracket, ought to be included, for *ἐμπειροὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν*, if it is Greek, means 'experienced in not escaping,' after the analogy of *ἄπειροι τῶν δῶδων* above. The sentence is complete at *διώκοντας*. In the same chapter, *λαθόντες καὶ διακόψαντες*, bracket *καὶ* with Herwerden. The addition of *καὶ* between participles is a common corruption. C. 7, 2 *καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν . . . τοῖς τὰ κείνων ἐλομένοις νῆς* (Classen for MSS. *ναῦς*) *ἐπετάχθησαν ποιεῖσθαι*. Foreign scholars are, I think, unacquainted with Shilleto's edition. He is the only critic who has seen that the sentence down to *ναῦς ἐπετάχθη*—is correct, and that here a lacuna occurs, ending with *ἐτάχθησαν*. Read *ναῦς ἐπετάχθη* ('οἱ πρὸς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν') *ποιεῖσθαι* κ.τ.λ. Cf. with Shilleto III. 86, 2 *αἶπερ καὶ πρὸς τὴν* . . .

ξύμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν. In c. 9, 2 Steup reads Πελοποννήσιοι μὲν [οἱ ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ], which is much better than Herwerden's [Πελοποννήσιοι] οἱ μὲν ἐντὸς ἰ. In an appendix on c. 11, 4 the new editor casts doubt on the words δεδιὸς ἄμεινον, and his position, in spite of Stahl's explanation of ἄμεινον, is so strong that I suggest they are a reminiscence of some proverbial saying about δέος or εὐλάβεια, inserted by a reader. Compare Ar. Av. 376 ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν δῆτα πολλὰ μανθάνουσιν οἱ σοφοί· ἡ γὰρ εὐλάβεια σφῶζει πάντα. Suidas, in quoting Proverbs c. 1, 7, s.v. φόβος, remarks ὁ βουλόμενος σοφὸς εἶναι ἀπ' εὐλαβείας ἄρχεται. The well known sentence c. 11, 6—πᾶσι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ὁρᾶν πάσχοντάς τι ἄηθες ὀργή προσπίπτει, καὶ οἱ λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι θυμῷ πλείστα ἐς ἔργον καθίστανται—has probably been obscured by the intrusion of extraneous matter. Perhaps καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα is a gloss on ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι, which is more than difficult enough to need one: this is connected to the preceding words by καί, as glosses so often are when they get into the text. Herwerden rigidly brackets οἱ, but θυμῷ πλείστα also must go as a mere gloss on λογισμῷ . . . χρώμενοι, so that the sentence may have run πᾶσι γὰρ ἐν (τῷ) [Usener's correction] τοῖς ὄμμασιν ὁρᾶν πάσχοντάς τι ἄηθες ὀργή προσπίπτει, καὶ λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι ἐς ἔργον καθίστανται. At c. 13, 7 Steup follows Beloch in reading τῶν παρ' ἐπαλξιν ἐξακισχυλίων [καὶ μυρίων], to which Stahl answers with Diod. xii., 40, 4. The difficulties created by numbers in this book alone are sufficient to daze a thoughtful reader. In a note on c. 15, 5 τὰ πλείστον ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι . . . ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι, after recognizing the difficulty in τὰ πλείστον ἄξια pointed out by Torstrik, Steup suggests that τὰ πλείστον ἄξια should be read after ἐς ἄλλα. More probably the words are a misplaced gloss on ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν, and should be bracketed. C. 19 remains disfigured by at least two glaring adscripts. First we have ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ἀχαρνάς, χώρον μέγιστον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τῶν δήμων καλουμένων. Critics who can believe in such an explanation as this would not be surprised at reading in Macaulay, 'James was already in London, the largest town in England.' Then in the following sentence comes the familiar adscript of αὐτός, in καθεζόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸν στρατόπεδόν τε ἐποιήσαντο,¹ where ἐς αὐτὸν is probably added by the same editor who made the remark χώρον . . . καλουμένων.

¹ The MSS. vary between χώρον and χωρίον, and the early editors have αὐτὸ for αὐτὸν. M has καὶ καθεζόμενοι τε ἐς αὐτὸν, as also has T

Where else could the army have encamped? Just before, καθεζόμενοι appears twice correctly without ἐς αὐτόν. In c. 20, 4 † τρισχίλιοι γὰρ ὅπλιται ἐγένοντο, Polle's emendation πολῖται does not seem to make way, probably because, whenever the difficulty lies in a number, we are distrustful of any correction which does not attack the number itself. C. 21, 3 ὡς ἀκροῦσθαι ἕκαστος ὄργητο: Steup here keeps Badham's correction of the MSS. ὦν ἀκροῦσθαι ὡς ἕκαστος or ὦν ἄ. ἕκαστος. But the omission of ὡς in some MSS. seems to show rather that ὡς is a gloss, again misplaced, on ὦν. At any rate Stahl's reading, εἰς for ὡς, is certainly based on an unsound principle of correction. In c. 25, 1 ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων is obelized. Classen proposed to insert ἀξιομάχων after ἀνθρώπων, and Herwerden prints ἀνθ. οὐ πολλῶν ἐνόντων. Comparing vii. 77, I had thought of ἀνθρώπων ὅσον οὐ κενῷ, which, as a guess, is not so bold as Müller-Strübing's ἐρήμῳ.² We read in c. 27, 1 that the Athenians thought it would be safer to colonize Aegina (the eyesore of the Piræus, Classen reminds us) with Athenians; but the words τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπικειμένην are undoubtedly a false explanation by a commentator and should be omitted. Much trouble has been caused in c. 36, 3 τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οἶδε οἱ νῦν ὄντες . . . ἐπηνέγξασμεν, because none have perceived that αὐτῆς is a false adscript, meaning 'sc. τῆς ἀρχῆς,' which is wrong. Read [αὐτῆς] and translate 'for the rest (i.e. τὰ τῆς πόλεως), we ourselves, etc.' In c. 40, 2 the true remedy for the words ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς . . . καὶ ἐτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένους is to alter ἐτέροις into ἕτερα with Classen, since this is only the common blunder of a termination altered under the influence of neighbouring inflexions.

I must pass over some unsatisfactory passages and come to c. 44, 2 χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ἀπαλγῆν (MSS. οἶδα πείθειν) ὄν, ὦν . . . ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα. Steup agrees with Madvig's statement: 'ὦν καὶ πολλάκις ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα requirunt aliquid quod ad oblivionem et doloris lenitatem pertineat.' As regards grammar, there is no objection to the MSS. πείθειν, because ταῦτα can be supplied. But what is this ταῦτα? Either it recalls ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ ἐπίστανται. Then how is it χαλεπὸν πείθειν? Or the words may

² After all the Scholiast may have misled us. Perhaps οὐκ ἐνόντων does not apply to the town of Methone itself, but to its fortress, which was ungarrisoned; so that Methone (= χωρίον=πόλις) is distinguished from the fortress of Methone (=τείχος. Cf. iii. 34 of Notium). This gives a better meaning to διαδραμὸν τὸ στρατόπεδον . . . πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τετραμμένον, ἐσπίπτει ἐς τὴν Μεθώνην below.

refer to Pericles' general object—to comfort the parents. But this, says Steup, implies that Pericles distrusts his powers, which in itself is strange, and also Pericles has not yet stated all the reasons which the parents have for accepting comfort. But Steup rightly rejects Madvig's ἀπαθῆν, which would make Pericles guilty of want of taste, even supposing the sentiment were possible in the Athenian statesman's mouth. Yet it is hard to see how οἶδα πείθειν could become corrupted into Steup's οἶδ' ἀπαλγῆν. Andocides 1, 70 has εἰ τίς τι ὑμῶν ποθεῖ . . . ἀναστὰς ὑπομνησάτω. If A feels πόθος, *desiderium*, for a thing, and B has it and is ready to give it him, A naturally reminds B of it. Conversely, if D has something which C has lost, and cannot give it C, but reminds C of it, C will feel—what? Read then χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν οἶΔΑ <ΜΗ> ΠΟΘΕῖν ὄν, ὄν . . . ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα. Evidently this is an uncial corruption, though corruptions of the uncial period are not very common in this author. ΔΑ causes the loss of Μ, Π the loss of Η. Compare the Funeral Oration of Gorgias, αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν.

In the same chapter Steup restores ἀφαιρεθῆ for Classen's ἀφαιρεθείη. C. 53, 3 τὸ μὲν προταλαιπωρεῖν τῷ δόξαντι καλῶ οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν . . . ὅ τι δὲ ἤδη τε ἡδὺ καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον, τοῦτο καὶ καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον κατέστη. Here Steup objects to Stahl's insertion of τ' between τὸ and ἐς, the object of which is to connect πανταχόθεν with ἡδὺ instead of with κερδαλέον. It is inconceivable, says Steup, that a man desirous of immediate enjoyment should survey all sides of the question before indulging himself. Moreover is it possible to speak of anything *helping towards immediate gratification* (τὸ ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον) in contrast with efforts directed towards the future attainment of good (τὸ μὲν προταλαιπωρεῖν)? He suggests ὅ τι δὲ ἤδη τε ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ ἐφ' αὐτὸ (cf. 1, 141, 6; 4, 28, 1) κερδαλέον, τοῦτο πανταχόθεν καὶ καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον κατέστη. C. 58, 2 ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ ἡ νῆσος ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάνυ ἐπίεσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Here Steup and Naber detect a blunder in ἐπιγενομένη since it contradicts c. 57, 1; 58, 1. Classen merely remarked on the word, 'besonders von widerwärtigen Ereignissen.' The proposed corrections are ἐπιστομένη (Steup), and ἐπιγενομένη (Naber). After comparing c. 54 and suggesting ἐπινεμένη, I pass on to c. 63, 3 τάχιστ' ἂν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι . . . ἀπολέσειαν, καὶ εἴ που ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι οἰκήσειαν. No one has observed that αὐτόνομοι here is very awkward, because it refers to οἱ ἀπράγμονες, whose

policy is contemptuously summed up below in ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν. It is a confusion of thought which Thucydides could not impute to Pericles to describe a party in the same breath as αὐτόνομοι and δοῦλοι. Probably αὐτόνομοι is a gloss wrongly explaining ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, *für sich allein*. Dr. Rutherford points out how often σφᾶς causes glosses in the text. C. 75, 3 ἡμέρας δὲ ἔχουν† ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ νύκτας ξυνεχῶς: here both Steup and Stahl suggest Θ' for Ο', but Steup thinks Θ' too small, and suggests also ἑπτακαίδεκα. Perhaps Thucydides gave no number at all, and Ο' is a corruption of οὐ, the abbreviation of οὕτως. At c. 76, 4 βρόχους τε περιβάλ- λοντες ἀνέκλων, Dr. Rutherford's correction (C. R. ii. pp. 261 and 292) ἀνείλκων (*i.e.*

ANEΛΚON for ANEKΛON) is most felicitous, and depends on the same principle as Cobet's πρώτων for πρώτον in c. 34 of this book. In c. 80, 1 ἀδυνάτων ὄντων ξυμβοηθεῖν τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἀκαρνάνων, ῥαδίως ἂν Ἀκαρνάνιαν σχόντες . . . κρατήσουσι, assuming that grammar will allow ἂν to go with σχόντες only, as Stahl and Classen say, Steup rightly objects to it on the ground of interpretation. Croiset thinks ἂν a dittography; but Steup, comparing c. 83, 1 οἱ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Ἀκαρνᾶνες, suggests that ἂν represents a misplaced ἄνω. No doubt this is so, but the ἄνω may be due not to Thucydides, but to an editor's explanation of ξυμβοηθεῖν. C. 83, 3 καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβον νυκτὸς ἰφορμισάμενοι, Bloomfield's ἰφορμισμένοι is on a fair way towards admission into this edition, and Stahl actually prints it in Poppo. Frequently ἀπό and ὑπό are confused in the MSS. of Thucydides. Naber wrongly conjectured ἰφορμισάμενοι. In c. 84 ἐν κλυδωνίῳ, the evidence in favour of restoring ἐν κλυδωνί with Stahl and Naber appears complete. C. 87, 3 οὐδὲ δίκαιον τῆς γνώμης τὸ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν, ἔχον δέ τινα ἐν αὐτῷ ἀντιλογίαν. So Classen reads, omitting μή between κατὰ and κράτος, and translating 'und nicht darf der entschlossene Mut, der mit höchster Anstrengung (der Feinde) für den Augenblick besiegt ist, doch in sich Gründe genug zu dem entgegengesetzten Erfolge trägt.' Stahl objects to the aorist νικηθέν being twisted into 'für den Augenblick b.,' and to ἀντιλογία as *causa contrarii eventus* instead of *contradictio*. He replaces μή and renders *animi per vim non devictus habitus*. Steup also rightly thinks μή required, though he does not print it, and, as μή κατὰ κράτος cannot be translated 'nicht gänzlich,' he suggests altering it to μὴ κατ' ἀκρας, which may be right though Thucydides' imitators have κατὰ κράτος. In c.

89, 5 Steup reads *μὴ μέλλοντάς τι ἄξιον τοῦ παρὰ λόγου πράξειν* for the MSS. *τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ*. Stahl brackets these words on the ground that the Scholiast did not find them, but Steup objects that he may have found them and not have understood them, which is very probable. The note on c. 89, 6 *τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι πλέον πεφόβηται ἡμᾶς ἢ τῇ κατὰ λόγον παρασκευῇ* remains unsatisfactory. Böhme's translation of the latter part, 'als sie uns fürchten würden, wenn wir verhältnismässig (so stark wie sie) gerüstet wären,' comes to this, that 'the enemy fear us more with a small force than they would if we had a large one'—a strange paradox indeed. Classen falls back on the assumption that the text is in some way corrupt, but I do not see why we cannot translate, 'they are filled with fear of us owing to the improbable, (i.e. they never expected we should fight them), more than owing to the preparations we are likely to make.' *τῇ κατὰ λόγον παρασκευῇ* is due to Thucydides' love of antithesis and is effective in Phormio's mouth, even though no reinforcements could reach him before the battle. The enemy certainly were afraid that, unless they forced on a battle at once, reinforcements would arrive. (Cf. c. 85, 6 and 92, 6 *fol.*) In c. 93, 5 *ἀποπειρᾶσαι τοῦ Πειραιῶς τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, the last four words are certainly spurious, as Naber says. In order to explain their presence

Stahl is reduced to the supposition that they are intended to distinguish the Athenian from the Corinthian Piræus. Now, apart from the fact that the two places are differently spelt, what reader of Thucydides in his senses could imagine that the Peloponnesians were going to make an attempt on a Corinthian port? At c. 93, 3 *ἐπεὶ οὐτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμῆσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, οὐτ' εἰ διανοοῦντο μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθῆσθαι* (so Steup rightly, for Classen's *προαίσθησθαι*), Classen himself abandoned the idea that there is a contrast here between an open and a secret attempt on the Piræus. Steup now suggests that Thucydides wrote only *ἐπεὶ οὐτε τολμῆσαι ἂν, οὐτε εἰ διανοοῦντο, μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθῆσθαι*. That is to say *ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς* is a gloss on *τολμῆσαι*, and *καθ' ἡσυχίαν* a misplaced gloss on *διανοοῦντο*. But Steup's *διανοοῦντο* must be exchanged for Stahl's correction *διανοοῖντο*, and then the sentence is restored.

I have only been able to mention a few of the places in this book where corruption probably exists. There are many others where difficulties are either certainly or possibly due to the insertion of editorial notes, and often the very difficulties pointed out in this most serviceable edition themselves suggest means by which they may be removed.

E. C. MARCHANT.

F. MÜLLER'S SEVENTH BOOK OF THUCYDIDES.

Thukydides VII. Erklärende Ausgabe für den Schul- und Privatgebrauch von Dr. FRANZ MÜLLER. Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh. 1889. Pp. v. 208. Mk. 1.80.

THE notes on this book are, if not fuller, at least of a more critical character, where occasion requires, than those of the editor's previous editions of ii. (ch. 1—65) and vi. Müller rightly thinks that, if Thucydides is to receive in the curricula of German gymnasia attention commensurate with his worth and dignity, a commentary must have in view not simply the explanation of difficulties in the syntax and the sense, but must also help to a thorough understanding of the contents of the book by discussing and grouping the matters of chief moment, by guidance in the analysis of the speeches, and by preparing the way for a good translation.

The text follows in the main that of Stahl's 'still unsurpassed *editio stereotypa*

1874,' deviations being indicated immediately below the text space. Very many, if not most, of the deviations simply follow, as Müller states, changes made by Stahl himself in the Poppo-Stahl edition of 1882. Notwithstanding his conservative standpoint the editor acknowledges—what every earnest student of Thucydides feels sooner or later—a growing respect for and confidence in Stahl's views, and this not in textual criticism alone.

Müller is however more conservative than even the Poppo-Stahl edition, rightly retaining the vulgate in the following (among other) important passages: 6 § 1 *προέλθοι*, Classen and Stahl *παρέλθοι*; 10 ὁ τῆς πόλεως, St. [ὁ τῆς πόλεως]; 12 § 5 *ἐξουσία*, St. [ἐξουσία]; 13 § 2 *αὐτονομίας*, St. *αὐτονομίας*; 29 § 4 *τῶν Θρακῶν*, St. [τὸ τῶν Θρακῶν]; 29 § 5 *οὐδεμιᾶς ἡσσω* *μᾶλλον ἑτέρας*, St. *οὐδεμιᾶς ἡσσω* [μᾶλλον ἑτέρας]; 31 § 4 *καταλύουσι τὸν πόλεμον*, St. [τὸν πόλεμον]; 36 § 5 *τῇ*

ἀντίπρωρον ξυγκρούσαι (with Cl. for vulg. τὸ), St. ἀντιπρῶρῳ ξυγκρούσει; 37 § 3 ἱππέας τε πολλούς, St. ἱππέας τε <τοὺς> πολλούς; 39 § 2 τῶν πωλουμένων, St. [τῶν πωλουμένων]; 42 § 4 and 86 § 2 omits ταύτην which St. inserts; 49 § 1 omits ὑποχείρια, which St. inserts; 52 § 2 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, St. [τῶν Ἀθηναίων]; 64 § 2 καὶ νῆες, St. [καὶ νῆες]; 69 § 2 αὐτοῖς, St. [αὐτοῖς]; 85 § 4 Σικελικῶ St. [Σικελικῶ].

Not to be commended perhaps is the bracketing with Cl. of ἐπτα ἢ ὀκτὼ σταδίῳ in 2 § 4, certainly not the adoption there with Cl. from *Vat.* of παρά for κατά, and the bracketing with Cl. of μέχρι in 7 § 1, as also with St. of ἐν ὁλκάσιν ἢ πλοίοις ἢ ἄλλως ὅπως ἄν in 7 § 3. In 16 § 2 Müller rightly inserts with St. καὶ ἑκατόν, as in 49 § 1 he reads with the same θάρσθησε κρατηθεῖς. In 57 § 8 ἐκ Ναυπάκτου, which St. and M. adopt from *Vat.*, seems to be decidedly preferable to Cl.'s ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ ἐκ Ναυπάκτου; and in 63 § 3 it seems better with St. and M. to bracket πολὺ πλεῖον, than with Cl. οὐκ ἔλασσαν; as also in 79 § 1 to bracket ελθεῖν with the former, rather than to defend it with the latter.

In 13 § 2 Müller has found no better explanation of ἐπ' αὐτομολίας προφάσει than Cl.'s 'on any (favourable) occasion for desertion.' No remedy is found for τινὰ τριχῇ in 32 § 2, nor for ὀλίγον in 75 § 4, except to bracket them. In 43 § 2 παρασκευὴν τοξευμάτων the difficulty is left unsolved. In 63 § 4 δικαιοῦσαν, St.'s emendation for δικαίως ἄν, is not adopted, the two words being simply bracketed, with Cl., as corrupt. In 71 § 2 διὰ τὸ * * ἀνώμαλον is considered 'corrupt and beyond remedy.' As the larger critical editions however have never satisfactorily solved these difficulties, we ought not to expect too much of a commentary of more modest pretensions. But in all these, as in other difficult passages, the student is at least fairly treated and informed of the various remedies that have been proposed.

In 25 § 6 Müller seems to be right in thinking that ἀνέκλων means *pulled out*, or, if *broke off*, that from the small boats ropes were put round the pales and these then wound up and broken off by windlasses on the ναῦς μυριοφόρος. For in drawing horizontally the small boats would be too light to break off the pales. See my note in Appendix on 25 § 25 (end).

In 28 § 3 Müller reads, μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπέizen ὅτι δύο πολέμους ἅμα εἶχον καὶ ἐς φιλονικίαν καθέστασαν τοιαύτην ἣν πρὶν γενέσθαι ἠπίσθησεν ἂν τις ἀκούσας, τό γ' αὐτοὺς πολιορκουμένους ... ἀποστήναι ... ἀντιπολιορκεῖν

ποῦναι, taking with St. the infs. as appos. explanation of ἣν. In l. 18 he rightly follows St. in taking ὅσον = *quatenus*, and ὥστε (not ὅμως δέ which Cl. conjectures) as correl. proper to τοσοῦτον.

29 § 5 καὶ ξυμφορὰ τῇ πόλει...δαινὴ the MSS. reading is retained, as shown above, and the passage rendered essentially as Jowett translates. 31 § 4 καταλύουσι τὸν πόλεμον is retained in the text and rendered 'abandon warlike intentions,' but in the Appendix mention is made of L. Herbst's conjecture, καταλύουσι τὸν πλοῦν, after vi. 34 § 6 καταλύσαι ἂν τὸν πλοῦν and (Pseud.) Dem. 4 τὸ μὲν πλεῖν καταλέλκα.

In 41 § 2 αἱ κεραῖαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔσπλων... ἐκάλουν, on account of the difficulty in understanding how the two cranes could work across an interval of two plethra, Müller thinks the ἔσπλοι here are probably not the intervals between each two ὁλκάδες, but the various *entrances* (as viewed from the sea side) or exits of the palisade itself, in front of each of which a merchantman carrying a dolphin-bearing crane on each side was placed just far enough out to leave on each side a space opening into the ἔσπλωνς about as wide as the ἔσπλωνς itself. In this way, it is true, the working of the crane becomes intelligible, but it is strange then that in 38 § 3 Thucydides so emphasized the distance of the ὁλκάδες from each other without mentioning that this was just the interval between the ἔσπλοι or exits from the palisade.

In the difficult passage 48 § 6 St.'s text is followed, καὶ μὴ, χρήμασιν ἔως πολὺν κρείσσους εἰσὶ, νικηθέντας ἅπιναι, 'and not, while they are far superior in point of money, to depart just after a defeat.'

In 50 § 3 παρεσκευασθαι, Abresch's emendation, is adopted with St., but with a slight difference in the rendering. Müller understands thus: 'the *strategi* of the Athenians proclaimed to *all*, i.e. all the troops without exception, the proposed departure, as secretly as possible from the enemy, and to hold themselves prepared, whenever the signal should be given, i.e. to be ready'; in other words, the announcement of departure is made to the army, and they begin at once secret preparations. The army is now in the 'alarm-state,' on the 'alarm-signal' (ὅταν τις σημῆνῃ) they make final preparations for leaving.

This is enough to give a fair idea of Müller's treatment of the most difficult passages. In the Critical Appendix considerable space is devoted to the results of the latest investigations, especially in refe-

rence to ship-building and naval matters. And in general it may be said that the editor shows a thorough acquaintance with the most recent as well as the older literature connected with book vii. An especial merit of his edition is the careful use made throughout of the *Topografia Archaeologica di Siracusa* by Halm and the two Cavallaris. The notes are below the text, on the same

page, as in the German editions generally and the American 'College Series of Greek Authors.' They are in general concise, clear, and to the point. It need hardly be added that the reviewer considers this a most excellent school edition.

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LUDWIG VON SYBEL ON THE *SYMPOSIUM* OF PLATO.

Platon's Symposion: ein Programm der Academie, von L. v. SYBEL. 1888. Marburg: Elwert. Pp. viii. 122. 3 Mk.

THAT the *Phaedrus* was a sort of inaugural discourse or Programme (whatever that may mean with reference to Athenian modes of life) is a suggestion with which scholars have been familiar from the time of Schleiermacher. In this 'Gratulationsschrift,' written to mark the Jubilee of his father the historian's doctorate, Herr von Sybel defends the like hypothesis respecting the *Symposium*. Not that he conceives the dialogue in the strictest sense to have celebrated the Opening of the Academy; for 385 B.C., the *terminus a quo* for the composition of the *Symposium*, is at least two years subsequent to the most probable date of the foundation of the school. But he contends with much plausibility for the position that this dialogue was in some way nearly associated with the early days of the Academy and conveyed to those most concerned an intimation (*φωτῶντα σφραγίζον*) of the life and doctrine to be looked for there. Whether the shrine of Eros, which in later times was so conspicuous amongst those olive woods, had existed in the earliest times or not, it may well be that the peculiar form both of the *Symposium* and of the *Phaedrus* was not unconnected with it. Be all this as it may, the writing now before us, a *brochure* of 122 pages, is well worth reading, and will sustain the author's reputation as a student of the highest literature as well as of the history of art.

The philosophical content of the dialogue, although clearly stated, is not treated as the principal thing, and the discussion of it towards the beginning of the little work is unfortunately less interesting and less satisfactory than what follows it. The author is not free from the tendency to over-systematization which is the bane of Platonic criti-

cism. His formal tabulations imply a preciseness of schematism which is foreign to Plato at his best.

It is in the second and third portions of the treatise, where he is dealing with the literary form and of the ethical spirit of the *Symposium*, that the genial force of this interpreter becomes clearly marked. Instead of the pedantic minuteness with which recent commentators have perplexed the student, by finding some rhetorical artifice or commonplace at every turn, till Plato's pages are with Rhythmik and Kolometry 'scribbled o'er,' Von Sybel justly throws into relief the special flourishes of Pausanias and Agathon. He estimates at its true value the frequency of anacoluthon, and assigns the proper reason for it:—

Die Sprache als Ausdrucksweise ist die beste Conversationssprache, welche im Bereiche des Griechischen jemals zu Papier gebracht worden ist. Ganz allein der Logik des Gedankens folgend bedient sie sich der möglicher Ausdrucksformen mit aller Freiheit. Zahllos sind im Symposion die Anacoluthien der Form, an keiner Stelle bleibt die Möglichkeit eines Zweifels am Gedankengang. Es ist ein Genuss den feinen Bewegungen dieser Sprache zu folgen (p. 97).

Our author has many subtle observations on the persons of the dialogue and their significance in leading up to, or in developing, the central thought. And he distinguishes with equal subtilty and accuracy between the husk and the kernel, the vehicle and the main lesson conveyed. It is impossible in a short notice to do justice to a work of which the parts are so intimately blended and so finely interlaced. Suffice it to say that in these few pages the contents of this important dialogue are enucleated and presented analytically in various novel lights with grace and skill, and that the whole interpretation is vitally suffused with a keen sense of the realities of Hellenic life, and of their world-historical significance.

Herr von Sybel's thesis—the *Symposium* an Academic Programme—whether substantiated or not, is at least suggestive. For it reminds us how revolutionary was Plato's plan of education:—not less astonishing one would imagine to the upholders of the old Righteous Cause (Δίκαιος λόγος) than it would have seemed to the Busbys and the Keates of modern England. Plato dares once for all at the outset to discard exhortation (νουθετητική) and to lay the foundation of the Higher Culture in sympathy. He is well aware that the new principle also has its weak side. But the one safeguard he requires is that sympathy should be informed with love of truth. Mere affection and mere knowledge taken apart (as witness Pausanias and Eryximachus) are corruptible and futile:—not so the passion, at once human and divine, which lifts companionship out of the trivial-

ities of human intercourse into energetic and practical communion with a noble ideal.

The *Symposium*, if read aright, is an inexhaustible well-spring of encouragement for the true teacher. It may remind him of his misfortunes—for did not Socrates fail with Alcibiades after all? But would 'Strict Age and sour Severity' have succeeded better? And how much worse a man would Alcibiades have been, had he never peeped under the Silenus-mask, or had he never known the 'oestrus' of Socratic enthusiasm, which all present at that bright gathering had in some way felt?

That all education, to be worth anything, must be creative in a sense, and that there can be no creation without sympathy nor without ideas—this is one at least of the many lessons of the *Symposium*.

L. CAMPBELL.

HEADLAM'S IPHIGENEIA AT AULIS OF EURIPIDES.

The Iphigeneia at Aulis of Euripides. With Introduction and Notes, by CLINTON E. S. HEADLAM, B.A. Cambridge University Press. 1889. 2s. 6d.

THIS is a book of the right sort. The matter of the notes and introduction, whether original or not, bears the stamp of thoughtful and enlightened consideration. The former contain many fresh and apt interpretations of single words and quotations of parallel passages, especially from Plato. As good instances I may mention the quotation from Theognis on v. 392 and the explanation (not to be found in Liddell and Scott) of the technical musical use of the word μεταβολή in illustration of v. 1101. Two passages in the text are emended by the editor. At v. 23 he reads λύπη for λυπεῖ—satisfactorily enough—making the same change in Machon's parody of the passage: and at v. 1310 Δαναΐδαις, σίνος κόρη for Δαναΐδαισιν, ὃ κόραι.

If the publication of selections from a play for school use can ever be justified it would be so in the case of the *Iphigeneia at Aulis*. Many scenes are very good, and large passages of the text are inconsistent with the good parts in almost every respect. Mr. Headlam has primarily had younger students in view and, as he has had to prepare for their use an edition of the whole of the text, his ingenuity has been here and there pressed into the service of an unwholesome conservatism. This remark applies in general to the unquestioning

retention of the second part (vv. 231—303) of the parodos, and the whole of the messenger's speech in the exodus: and in particular to the defence of such expressions as ὥστε τερφθείης (418—'opt. of wish'), and ἴνα πλῆξειεν ἄν (1579—ἴνα 'local'): to the assumption that ἀναψύχουσι θηλύπουν βάσιν (v. 421), which is translated 'they are easing their delicate feet,' is applied by Euripides to 'ladies and steeds alike': and to v. 678, where χώρει δὲ μελάθρων ἐντὸς ὀφθῆναι κόραις is taken to mean 'go inside, out of sight of the men,' lit. 'so as to be seen by maidens alone.' (It appears to me that it is the punctuation alone which has been at fault here, and that the two lines should be read:

χώρει δὲ μελάθρων ἐντὸς ὀφθῆναι κόραις
πικρόν· φίλημα δοῦσα δεξιάν τ' ἐμοί,

ὀφ. κ. π. being a parenthesis.)

There is very little in the book which can be criticised as careless work. The second; in v. 3 is a misprint, nor does the; in v. 725 harmonize with the explanation given in the notes. These, with the omission of an accent on p. 124, l. 20, are all the misprints I have noticed. 'Leave go' (on v. 310) is an objectionable expression, and the notes on vv. 358, 700, and 1017 may be thought to show a want of proper distinction between the different tenses: (on 1017 ἡ ἐπιθεῖτ' is translated 'in case you persuaded,' and no explanation is given of the use of the plural verb).

The introduction is interesting, though exception may be taken to the prominence given on p. xiii. fin. and f. to the 'idea of an inexorable fate' as a leading 'motive' in the tragedy. The peculiarity of Euripides in providing adequate *human* 'motives' is, I

venture to think, nowhere more conspicuous than in the *Iphigeneia at Aulis*.

If for the 'Chronological Table' at the end of the introduction a table of the choric metres had been substituted it would have been a distinct gain to the book.

E. B. ENGLAND.

CORAY'S NOTES ON HESYCHIUS.

Adamantii Corais opera posthuma. Vol. vii. containing notes on the Lexicon of Hesychius. Edited by N. M. DAMALAS. Athens 1889 (Pp. 152). 4s.

THE valuable jottings which the eminent Coray inscribed in the margin of his copy of Alberti's Hesychius—lately discovered at Chios—have found a judicious editor in M. Damalas, a Professor of Theology at Athens. The standard edition of Hesychius now is that of Mor. Schmidt, and M. Damalas has added Schmidt's notes in brackets, so that, without the trouble of turning from one book to another, the reader can compare the acuteness of the German with the acuteness of the Greek.

That a scholar of Greek nationality is in a much better position in some respects than a scholar of any other to edit a Greek glossary is brought home to us by this posthumous work of Coray as much as by his other writings. The knowledge that vinegar is called euphemistically *γλυκάδι*, *γλυκάδιον* prevented him from suspecting any serious corruption in the gloss *ἀδύθεμον* ὄξος. He merely writes *ἀδυθμόν*, but he would have done better if he had not attempted to emend; *ἀδύθεμον* is just as likely as *ἀδυθμόν*, and, as it stands in the text, we are bound to accept it, if we have no conflicting evidence. Again, on *βρόγχος*· *ρούφισμα*, *ρούφισμα* est ex Neograecorum lingua, so that Schmidt's conjecture *ρόφημα* (in itself unlikely) is disposed of. *ἀφιλοκάλητον*, a gloss on *ἀκατασκεύαστον*, means 'unswept,' cf. modern Greek *ἀφλοκάλητον*, *ἀφροκάλητον*. Similarly *λόγγη*· *τάφος* (I will not quarrel with Coray for reading *τάφος*) is illustrated thus, 'apud nos hodie *Λόγγος* (gen. masc.) est saltus.' On *φύμα*· *ψώρα* he notes that the modern compound *ψωροφύτης* *la teigne des enfants* comes from these words.

Like most students of Hesychius Coray is too fond of 'emending.' The only corrections proposed by him which I should feel inclined to accept are two. (1) In the diffi-

cult gloss *ραδάνη*· *κρόκος*. ὁμοίως *ροδάνη*, his knowledge that 'les Grecs modernes donnent au rouet les noms de *ροδάνη* et *τζικρίκι*' enabled him to suggest *κρίκος*. *τζικρίκι* would come from *κρίκος* as *τζικνίδα* from *κνίδη*. This emendation, though by no means certain, may lay claim to probability. (2) For *λία* (*κρίνα*. ἄνθρ. ἰα) he neatly proposes *λίλια*, that is, Latin *lilia*, which suits the alphabetical order. If this is right it is a good instance of a well-known source of textual error.

As a specimen of Coray's ingenuity I may call attention to his conjecture on *βρόγχος*· *ἀγκύλη*. *Δημόκριτος*. Observing that *Δημόκριτος* occurred in the previous gloss he proposes *δημόκοινος*, *minister publicus*. The hangman might be called a rope, by the so-called figure of metonymy. This ingenuity is misplaced. For the hopeless *γύγαι*· *πάμποι* he would read *γῆναι* (or *γῆναι*)· *κάμποι*, which is certainly better than Perger's *γυγαί*· *πάπποι*.

He is right in defending the gloss *γλοιός*· ἡ *κακοήθης ἵππος καὶ πολυδίκη*. *πολυδίκη* is from *δικεῖν*, to *throw*, and is not an explanation of *γλοιός* (slippery-footed) but 'potius innuit *γλοιόδα* praeterea et *πολυδίκην* ab aliquibus dictam fuisse.' On the other hand, there is no reason to call in question, as Coray does, *ἄπροπον*· *ἄτροπον*, *ἀπρεπές* (he suggests *ἀπρότροπον* for *ἄπροπον* at the expense of the order). We should rather be grateful for an indication that *προπος*, related to *πρέπω* as *τρόπος* to *τρέπω*, really existed. Again, the valuable gloss *αἰόν*· *μάταιον* would get scant mercy from Coray, who proposes *αἰόλον* (rightly as far as sense is concerned). *αἰός* is the adjective of which *αἰόλος* is the diminutive (*φασίος* = *varius*). If Coray had been more familiar with Aeschylus he would have spared us the conjecture *τέλη* for *στέφη* in the following quotation: *αἰθρία*· ἐν τῷ στίχῳ τοῦ Κρατίωνος ὑπερβορείου *αἰθρία τιμῶντας στέφη*. Compare *Choeph.* 95, τοῖσι πέμπουσιν τάδε στέφη (= *χοάς*), which shows in what a wide range of sense *στέφος* was used.

On the interesting gloss
ἐξήμαρ· *ἐπέρασεν*

Coray usefully compares ἀμαρέων διοδεύων and ἀμάρην-πόροις, but he spoils all by wishing to emend. He proposes ἐξήμαρεσε. Why should this have been corrupted? If the gloss is to teach us anything, it is to teach us this that ἐξήμαρε, which can only be the second aorist of ἐξαμαίρω, meant *passed beyond*. Taking this in connexion with the glosses cited by Coray we infer the possi-

bility that ἀμάρα, a ditch or trench, is connected with ἀμαίρω. If we assume that the radical meaning was division or separation, ἀμαίρειν (in Pindar *Pyth.* vi. 27, ἀπ. εἰρ.) and ἐξήμαρε (intrans.) are related in sense somewhat as νοσφίζειν and νοσφίζεσθαι, while ἀμάρα was originally a ditch *dividing* plots of ground.

J. B. BURY.

NEW EDITIONS OF THE *MENAECHMI* OF PLAUTUS.

T. Macci Plauti Menaechmi, editio altera a F. SCHOELL recognita (Leipzig, Teubner, 1889). 5 M. 60.

The Menaechmi of Plautus, edited on the basis of Brix's edition, by HAROLD NORTH FOWLER, Ph. D. (Leach, Shewell and Sanborn, Boston and New York, 1889).

THE editors of Ritschl's Plautus are to be congratulated on the completion of their third volume; fifteen plays have now been produced, and it is to be hoped that the *Casina*, *Cistellaria*, *Miles*, *Mostellaria* and *Persa* will be forthcoming before many years are over. That the present edition of the *Menaechmi* is a learned and thorough piece of work goes without saying. And though it would be too much to say that Schoell everywhere maintains the attitude of enlightened conservatism, which produces such happy results in many difficult passages, yet the general principles on which the text is constructed are sound. The edition is provided with a very complete critical apparatus and an appendix in which recent and ancient conjectures are tabulated and criticized, and will be found indispensable to students of the text of Plautus.

Among many passages in which Schoell has rendered service to the cause of Plautine criticism either by a return to the MSS., or by conjectures of his own, may be mentioned 36 *b*; 75 *habitat*; 110 *f*., where the anapaests of Spengel are rightly rejected; 114, where dactyls are introduced (after Wagner); 200 *PE.*; 295 *Cunilindrus* (from *cunila*, cf. Trin. 935); 356 *malost* (with MSS.); 442 *dierectum* (with MSS.), the insertion of *ecum* or any other word being in Schoell's view unwarranted¹; 495 *homini hic ignoto, insciens* (with

B² and Camerarius); 571—575, where the way of printing the *bacchiaci continuati* is very good; 827 *molestiaest*; 836 *Euhan*; 839 *squalus*; 859 *assulatim viscera* (with MSS.); 872 *f*. (with MS. reading, which is unobjectionable so far as it goes, *di uostram fidem* being put into the lacuna which was pointed out by Ritschl).

In the following the readings adopted by Schoell do not carry conviction to my mind: in 12 is not the 'monstrum verbi' *sicilicissimat* good enough for a Prologue? It is true that we have no other instance of a frequen-

ence of *dierectus*, as a Latin word, to be impossible, defends the trisyllabic scansion of Ritschl and Brix, and derives *dierectus* from *derectus* (*deirectus*); so too the late Mr. Onions (*Journ. of Phil.* XIV), whose premature death leaves a gap in the ranks of English students of Plautus. Prof. Palmer (*Hermathena* X) with Prof. Ussing (on Bacch. 577) and Prof. Seyffert (*Jahresbericht*, 1883—85, p. 29), starting from the question of scansion, find that in the large majority of the 13 passages of Plautus in which the word occurs it is quadrisyllabic. It is to be regretted that Prof. Georges has not noticed the word in his new *Lexicon der lateinischen Wortformen*. The etymology seems to me in this case to be a less safe basis to work upon than the scansion: Prof. Nettleship himself says he can imagine that *dierectus* may be 'some bastard issue of διαπρήννυμι.' I therefore hold by the quadrisyllabic scansion which I accepted in my note on *Mostellaria* 8. The only passage in Plaut. where it must be scanned as three syllables, according to our MSS., is Trin. 457, and this can be easily emended (*Abin dierecte* or *Abi hinc dierecte*, Palmer): in Capt. 636 the MSS. have *Quin quiescis dierectum* (4 sylls.) *cōr meum ac suspende te*; the editors, including myself, have all held that emendation is required, and have accepted the insertion of *i* from Guliellmus, with which *dierectum* would naturally be three syllables. It would however be quite as easy to read *Quin quiesce* (cf. Most. 172, 187, &c.), *i dierectum* (4 sylls.), &c. Or possibly no emendation is required: Seyffert points out that the vocative *cor meum* ought to come immediately after the command; perhaps we may take *quin quiescis dierectum* = 'be quiet and go to hell,' 'be quiet and a plague upon you.' For the combination of *quin quiescis* and *suspende* Seyffert compares Most. 815 *Quin tu is intro, aliqua otiose perspecta aedis*.

¹ *Dierectus*, that 'crux philologorum,' has been much discussed of late. Prof. Nettleship, in the *Journal of Philology and Contributions to Latin Lexicography* (1889), starting from the question of the etymology of the word, and holding the exist-

tative from a verb in *-isso*, but the *ἄπαξ λέγ.* may be a comic formation, and *scilicisso* itself may come from the adj. *Σικελικός*, as Ussing says.—85 *tum* (MSS.) is defended, I think with success, by Brix.—98 The adverb *illi* seems unsuitable.—283 *Certe hic insanus* *homo* is unsuitable in the mouth of the cook, who does not venture to call his betters mad until v. 310 ff., and then only in an indirect fashion.—311 ff. I prefer Ritschl's order of lines, to which the curious way in which the passage is written in *B* may point; and Schoell's *habes* (for *dare*) does not appear to give the right sense, an imperative being demanded.—316 Bentley's reading *Heu hercule hominem* suggests *Heu hercle hominem* (cf. 731, 871); the hiatus after *hercle* and before *hominem* may be justified (cf. Seyffert in *Berliner Phil. Wochenschrift*, X. 7, 213), and this reading is far nearer to the MSS. (*Tu hercle hominem*) than Schoell's *Ineptum hercle hominem*.—407 *quem nosti* is not a happy insertion.—428 *eadem dignorabitur*; but cf. 468: Brix's insertion of *et* before *eadem ignorabitur* (*BD*), or Ritschl's *eadem ea ignorabitur*, seems preferable.—451 Would not *popli* be a better way of completing the line than *poplum*?—526 *pondo unam unciam*; but ought we not to recognize the power of the vanished ablative *d* to prevent hiatus (*pondo unciam*, with MSS.)?—537 *oculto* is hardly probable.—541 f. Read with the MSS. *inauris da mihi faciendas pondo duum nummum, stalagma* 'have ear-rings made for me of the weight of two drachmae, eardrops': for *dare* with the gerundive in this sense cf. 657 ff., 733, Aul. 96.—722 *tum* for *tu* (with Bothe and Ritschl); but cf. Rud. 213, 580, 1106, etc., in which the first member of a dependent question stands without an interrogative particle.—744 Why *arbitrere* for *arbitrare* (MSS.)? The indic. in dependent questions is very common in Plautus.—750 The MSS. reading *Negás nouisse mé? negas patrém meum?* has been needlessly changed to *Negás nouisse? mé negas et meúm patrem*. The three iambic words at the end of the line, dropping one by one from the lips, are expressive of the wife's astonishment.—762 The scansion *Quídnam hoc sit negóti quod filiá*, the word *negóti* being divided between the two trochaic members, is strange: contrast Rud. 229 ff.—763 *b* *Quid uelit?* (with MSS.). But is this potential subjunctive 'what can she wish?' Plautine?—809 *disertatis* should be restored, even though it appears only in *D*² (*D*¹ says Goetz in *Archiv* ii. 3, p. 347); it has quite the character of a *vox Plautina* and is more

suitable to the context than the *dissertatis* of the other MSS.—814 *atque abstulisse*.—*MA. peierat* (Schoell): the MSS. have *atque*¹ *abstulisse delurat*: the previous line requires a *neque* here: we might then read *néque abstulisse déiero*: cf. Aul. 645 *Quíd abstulísti hinc?*—846 *enim censeo* is very doubtful; the MSS. point to *enim haereo*.—849 If as Schoell argues there is no reason to suspect the phrase *magnum crucem* though it does not occur elsewhere in Plautus, why not read *in magnum malam crucem*²? The MSS. have *in malam magnum crucem*.—854 Ritschl's *qui cluet Cucino patre*, adopted by Schoell, raises a question of principle: should we depart from a reading in which the MSS. agree and which is in itself unobjectionable in favour of a quotation in some grammarian (here Priscian³), who may be quoting from memory? Prof. Jebb in his *Antigone* and Mr. Roby in a recent article in the *Classical Review* say no: in the present case the MSS. have *cycno* (*B CYC-NO*) *prognatum patre*; the name can be easily emended.—869 *qui stat* (with MSS.): *qui astat* would be a slight change and an improvement.—896 The interjection *oe* rests on rather an insecure foundation (cf. 282 Schoell): if we retain *suspirabo* = 'I shall groan' (with labour), it is simplest to read with Lambinus *plus sescenties die*.—913 *Nón potest haec rés ellebori iumento* (or *iugmine*) *optinérier*: the MSS. have *ellebori iungere* (*-ere* corrected by *B*² to *-uine*) *optinerier*. As Schoell says, *unguine* 'with ointment' is unsuitable. But can *iumentum* mean 'a waggon-load'? Elsewhere in Plaut. it has the usual sense of 'beast of burden' (*Amph.* 327 f., *Epid.* 209). Schoell quotes *ἐλλεβόρου ἄμαξαν* (Plato *Euthyd.* p. 299 B), but *ἄμαξα* is one stage nearer to the sense 'waggon-load' than *iumentum*: in Latin *iugum*, *quadrigae* etc. may mean 'waggon,' but hardly 'waggon-load.' I believe Plautus wrote *iugero*: 'this matter cannot be cured by an acre of hellebore,' a whole *Anticyra*, as Horace might have said.—922 *SE. Occidís fabulans*; since Acidalius all editors have given this speech to the old man (with *FZ*); I propose to give it to Menaechmus: *CD* omit the name of the speaker, *B* has *ME*, only in the wrong place.

¹ Here Schoell's apparatus corrects that of Ritschl, Ussing, Wagner and Vahlen.

² The two iambic words at the end of a *senarius* are allowed in this and similar phrases.

³ No doubt Priscian may be here quoting the Ambrosian 'recension,' as he often does; but in the absence of the direct testimony of *A* in this place, we cannot be sure; and in any case it does not follow that the Ambrosian recension should be preferred to the Palatine.

Space forbids the discussion of further passages; I will merely add that I fear Schoell's readings in 89 (*homo homini*), 249 (*ne edis* 'lest you have to eat it'), 461 (*halatum oluisse* 'that its fragrance has breathed its last') will not commend themselves to future editors.

A word on Schoell's sporadic peculiarities of spelling. Plautus presumably spelled the same word in the same way; at any rate we have no evidence to the contrary. Schoell's method is to introduce the spellings of *A* wherever *A* is legible, and not elsewhere. Thus we find *dedei* 535 *f.*, *dedi* 600, 653, 684; *deixei* 591, *edixi* 784; *nostei* 294; *uxorei* 515, elsewhere *uxori*; *eibo* 875, elsewhere *ibo*; *mei* (vocative) 361, 541, 676, *mi* 382, 775; *mieis* (= *meis*) 202; *heic* 375, *hic* 362, 495; *quei* 451 (where *A* has *QUI*), *qui* 337, 454; *sei* 460 etc., generally *si*; *ni*¹ (= *ne*) 881, generally *ne*: cf. *puerei*, *ludei*, *seruei*, *mieis*, *proloquei*, *comedereis*, *comfragosas* (591). I suppose it would have been inconsistent with the general plan of the series to introduce the headings of the scenes as given in the MSS. and demanded by Spengel (*Scenentitel und Scenenabteilungen*, 1883) *e.g.* in I. 2

MENAECHMVS
ADVLESCENS

PENICVLVS
PARASITVS

I have noticed a few misprints besides those mentioned by Schoell p. xxii.: 59 the full stop, 182 '*Anime*, 515 the comma, 608 *dis*-

¹ Spelling was made for man, not man for spelling. *Ni* may possibly be the right form of the prohibitive particle in Plaut., for it was not till the beginning of the eighth century A. V. C. that *ni* was limited to conditional functions, leaving *ne* in possession of the field of prohibition, which it had occupied during the sixth century. But if so, *ne* should be abolished altogether in our texts; the reader would then be prepared for the ambiguity of *ni*. In Rudens 810 Schoell spells the conditional particle *nei* (after Pareus).

simulât, 611 '*At*, 784 '*Ecce*, 831 *últro*, 957 '*Abit*.

The edition by Fowler belongs to the 'Students' series of Latin Classics' edited by E. M. Pease of Bowdoin College, and 'based for the most part upon approved German editions.' The present volume follows Brix very closely in the text, and the notes are in general a translation and abbreviation of the same excellent commentary. In a few passages the American editor contributes something of his own or of other scholars, *e.g.* on 160 where Prof. F. D. Allen's interpretation of *per solum* 'through the eye socket' coincides with Schoell's note and seems undoubtedly right. In some passages a little more explanation would have been desirable for the class of students for whom this edition is intended, *e.g.* 181 on *mille passum* (confusion of time and place); 194 on *imperant* (plural); 158 and 844 on the deliberative present indicative; 198 on *palla*; the note on *eccam* though it suits line 183 is stated too generally; *tam* in 387 probably means 'just as much'; in 442 it should not be stated that *dierectus* is always trisyllabic; in 542 a note is wanted on *pondo duom nummum*; in 778 'in good health and spirits' does not give the right sense (Brix '*bei gutem Wohlsein*'); 're-editing' is not the same as dittography (387); in 301 the unnecessary indecency of the first part of the note might well have been suppressed; in 543 'the maid's request has its foundation in the nature of lovers' reads funnily. In the matter of spelling it would have been better to be uniform (cf. *mei* for *mi*, 185), and in the printing the use of a different fount for letters which bear an accent is not pleasing to the eye. But in general the notes are very suitable and the prettily got up edition will do good service in schools and colleges.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

A MANUSCRIPT OF CATULLUS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF PARIS.

Catulle. Manuscrit de St. Germain-des-Prés.
Photolithographie de MM. Lumière.
Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1890.

THIS is the first of a forthcoming series of reproductions by photo-lithography of important classical MSS. in the National Library of Paris. The eminent paleographer, M. Émile Chatelain, has written an introduction in which a brief account of the MS. is given.

So much controversy has raged over this MS. of Catullus, especially since the claims of the Canonici codex in the Bodleian have been brought into competition with it (claims which M. Chatelain indignantly repudiates, Introd. p. vi.), that it may fairly be expected to find its way into the hands of many students. The price (7s. 6d.) is truly moderate. A schoolmaster who wishes to initiate his boys in a branch of philology, than which none is more essential to the

equipment of a competent scholar, is here presented with an opportunity of showing by ocular demonstration the remoteness of a printed text from the actual transmission of that text as it has descended to us from the Middle Age. For instance let him read with his highest form the *Coma Berenices* and exhibit the Germanensis, as here reproduced, verse by verse. The process can hardly fail to be stimulating: as little can it fail to teach *criticism*, by which I mean the art of judging what is probable or improbable in reconstituting ancient authors. Any boy who, taking our transcript in hand, reads through the *Coma* in it will grasp in a few hours what no amount of allusion to MS. variants from his master will succeed in impressing upon him—the completely different *look* which this poem with its barbarized spellings, its corruptions of words (especially and more or less invariably of proper names), its wrong division of one word from another, its absence of the familiar marks of punctuation, presents as compared with any *printed* text of the same poem. That such a mode of lecturing on a classical author will add an infinity of yet unknown interest can, I think, be doubtful to no one. It ought *a fortiori* to come into even wider and more extensive use in the more advanced classes which our University lecture-rooms collect. Certainly, were I lecturing on

Catullus, I should wish every student attending to keep the transcript before him: for where could a better check be found on the extravagances of criticism? Meanwhile, in addition to the above-mentioned gain *philologically*, the boy or youth will be learning insensibly how to read medieval hand-writings—an acquisition which may lead him on to investigations far removed from classical authors, to the history of the Middle Age, or its literature, or the study of the languages in which that literature is conveyed.

The MS., which I have often seen, comes out clearly enough in its photographed reproduction. It is of course true that the doubts which the actual codex from time to time raises as to any word or letter are rather more doubtful in the copy: but these are exceptional and, as a rule, extend only to the smaller-hand variants added above the lines.

I cannot help hoping that some of those who read this notice will try the experiment which I have ventured to suggest. It seems monstrous that with such admirable opportunities as M. Chatelain and his *collaborateurs* are yearly placing at our disposal we should any longer lag behind our brethren on the Continent in this all-important branch of philological training.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

PETER'S FASTI OF OVID.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum libri sex. Für die Schule erklärt von HERMANN PETER. Dritte verbesserte Auflage. (2 parts.) Leipzig, Teubner, 1889. 3 M. 60.

A THIRD improved edition of Dr. Peter's well-known and excellent commentary on Ovid's *Fasti* will be universally welcome. The merits of the book are too well known to need any praise. It is enough to say that Dr. Peter has been wonderfully successful in meeting the requirements of all classes of readers. We read with pleasure that he has not seen his way to expunge certain remarks which went beyond the range of an ordinary Untersecunda or fifth form. It is from such books as Peter's *Fasti* that the young student as well as the scholar really increases his knowledge of Latin and of his author, and learns at the same time what is best worth learning, the method by which exact

and trustworthy information and opinions can be arrived at; that it is idle to look for any short and royal road to knowledge, which *ἐμπειρίας δὲ καὶ χρόνον*, and the straining after which tends too often to produce superficiality and bad scholarship; and that there is little educational value, as Dr. Vogel, quoted by Peter, expresses it, 'in giving to grown-up youths only light food quickly digestible.' The introduction and commentary have been revised and brought up to date by reference to the latest literature. Whatever has been written has here received careful consideration from a specialist of ripe experience and sober judgment. Thus for instance Dr. Peter justly refuses to believe that Ovid ever wrote more than six books of the *Fasti*, and explains the apparent reference to a later book in Servius (*Geor.* I. 43) by supposing the words *sic Ovidius in Fastis* to be an interpolation (i. p. 11). He holds

that Ovid used Varro directly in opposition to Winther's contrary contention (p. 17). The whole of the valuable chapter on the Roman year has in many respects been made more explicit and complete. Into the details of the commentary, which remains substantially the same as it was before, it is unnecessary to go. I have noticed many traces of addition, though, by a certain amount of excision, the former limits have been pretty well maintained. The new matter is chiefly mythological, topographical and geographical; for mythology the works of W. Mannhardt and Roscher, for topography Jordan's *Tempel der Vesta*, for chronology the treatises of Hartmann and Th. Bergk especially have been used. The valuable Appendix has been increased largely by discussions of variations of reading, which will be welcome in the absence of a satisfactory critical edition. The publication by Riese of Keil's accurate collation of the Codex Petavianus (A) has afforded a basis for a systematic revision of the text. But whereas Riese followed this MS. almost entirely, Peter adheres to the principle which he successfully supported in his *Disputatio critica* (Meissen, 1877), the main conclusions of which he reprints at the beginning of the Appendix. He holds that the quantity of genuine readings due to the Petavianus alone is very small, and that the tradition of the other MSS. has preserved at least as many correct readings; and further that it is not necessary to suppose that these latter are everywhere the product of the ingenuity of copyists, a notion too prevalent in some quarters, which, as regards the text of Ovid at any rate, I believe to be quite mistaken, and which if it were true would raise the obscure copyists of our MSS. to a position of critical dignity at least as high as that of

Bentley or N. Heinsius, of Cobet or Blaydes.¹

Besides the Petavianus (A) Dr. Peter uses the Vatican Ursinianus (U), and the Munich Mallerstorfiensis (D), the last collated by himself. Each of these three he considers preserves a certain number of correct readings apart from the other two, but is not free from corruptions and interpolations peculiar to itself. Of inferior MSS. he has himself collated and employed with occasional advantage Vossianus 87 (B) in Leiden, a collation by Voss of a lost MS. (C), Leidensis 137 D (L), Vossianus 123 (V), and some others already published. He argues against Krüger (*De Ovidi Fastis recensendis*, 1887) that a position of unique preeminence cannot be assigned to A to the exclusion of other MSS. Still in particular passages he has occasionally restored the reading of A where it had been abandoned by Riese and Merkel. None of the daring conjectures of Merkel in his last Teubner edition have been received into the text, though Dr. Peter pays a tribute of well-earned admiration to that learned and brilliant scholar who has done so much to advance our knowledge of the text of Ovid.

S. G. OWEN.

¹ M. Émile Thomas in a courteous review of my edition of the *Tristia* (*Revue Critique*, January 20 1890, p. 45) maintains in opposition to Peter, Sedlmayer and myself that where the inferior MSS. preserve a right reading we must recognize merely a happy accident or felicitous conjecture. I do not believe in the capabilities of copyists for making such felicitous conjectures, or, as I should prefer to call them, restorations: the happy accident view seems to me more reasonable; happy such readings frequently are, though whether they can be said to be due to accident, or, as I rather believe, to a genuine tradition of an inferior group of MSS., is a question of the greatest critical nicety. It is certainly easiest to dispose of them as accidents: but is the easiest course in matters critical always the wisest?

DÜRR'S LIFE OF JUVENAL.

Das Leben Juvenals, von Professor Dr. JULIUS DÜRR. Ulm: 1888. Programm, pp. 29. 1 M. 20.

THIS, the latest monograph on Juvenal's life, is an important addition to the literature on the subject, for Dr. Dürr not only brings to bear a fresh method in criticising the material already at our disposal, but is also fortunately able to contribute new material of considerable value. As is well known, the traditional account of Juvenal's life is em-

bodied in a number of lives, prefixed or appended, sometimes singly sometimes two or three together, to the various MSS. of the *Satires*. Of these lives Otto Jahn in his edition of 1851 gives 7, and it is from his edition and according to his numbering that they are usually cited. This is however far from being the complete number. Besides the life published by Rühl in 1854 from a Harleian MS. of the 15th century (Cod. Harl. 3301), Dr. Dürr here prints five other shorter lives and one longer one which he has himself dis-

covered in a MS. at the Palazzo Barberini at Rome (Cod. Barb. viii. 18). Of these lives the origin is unknown, but the oldest of them (Jahn's no. 1), found in Valla's MS. and added in a later hand to P., almost certainly belonged to the so-called Probus-commentary, which again dates back to the third or fourth century. Some of the other lives and especially the shorter ones, now published for the first time by Dr. Dürr, seem on the other hand to have belonged to the Cornutus-commentary, which dates from the Carolingian period. The difficulty with regard to these lives is twofold. (1) It is impossible to regard them as so many independent witnesses, since in a number of points they agree so closely together, and the verbal similarity is so great, as to leave no doubt about some kind of common origin. (2) On the other hand, they cannot have been derived from the earliest of them by successive copying, for in other points the contradictions are as striking as the agreements. Dr. Dürr has arrived at a hypothetical solution of the problem for which very much may be said. A close examination of the lives shows that they may be divided into five groups, the members of which closely resemble one another and differ in more or less essential points, either as regards matters of fact or verbal expressions, from the other groups. Now supposing that there was some one original life, Dr. Dürr supposes that all the extant lives may very well have attained their present form, if various grammarians had abbreviated this life for their own purposes, and then others again had given it what they considered a more symmetrical form by interpolations, some perhaps of their own invention, others more probably suggested by various passages in the *Satires* themselves. In this way it might easily come about that statements or phrases originally unconnected in the early life might be brought together in these later versions in such a way as to constitute statements untrue and unhistorical. Thus one of the apparently earliest lives says that Juvenal was 'oriundus temporibus Claudii Neronis' and that 'ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit.' A later version confused these two into the manifestly untrue statement that 'aetate media declamavit tempore Claudii Neronis.' This is only one instance out of many. Of course to discover out of these versions, which have grown *ex hypothesi* in this unsystematic and uncritical way, what belonged to the original account is difficult, but there are two criteria, which perhaps may help to solve the problem. (1) State-

ments which occur in all or almost all the lives probably came from the archetype: e.g. the birth at Aquinum, the command of an auxiliary cohort, the exile, etc. (2) Statements of a very definite character, not to be explained by anything in the *Satires* themselves, may be supposed to have come down from some ancient source. Applying this method, Dr. Dürr has attempted the hypothetical reconstruction of the original life, which is certainly ingenious and, I believe, at any rate gives the facts of Juvenal's life with correctness. We have however only space here to deal with one point, viz. that of the banishment. Most of the lives say that Juvenal was banished under pretence of commanding an auxiliary cohort to Egypt. Two lives on the other hand say that he was banished as 'praefectus militis contra Scotos qui bellum contra Romanos moverant.' Now this is an extremely definite statement, and probably few will be found to assert that it could have been suggested merely by the lines in *Sat.* ii. 159—160 'arma quidem ultra Litora Iuvernæ promovimus et modo captas Orcadas, ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.' Moreover it is a statement almost certainly confirmed by the inscription (*C.I.L.* x. 5382) in which Juvenal is described as praef. (or trib.) coh. (I. or II.) Delmatarum. The number of the cohort is not quite clear, but it is almost certainly I. or II. But there is epigraphical evidence that the cohortes I. II. and IV. Delmatarum were in Britain at the beginning of the second century (*C.I.L.* vii. 1195, 760, 1193,) and, as Hübner points out (*Hermes* xvi. p. 567,), there is a strong probability that cohortes I.—V. were all there for some time previous as the auxiliaries attached to the Pannonian legion, IX. Hispana, so that it is so probable as to be almost certain that Juvenal was in Britain as praefect of a cohort. But if so, it was certainly in the earlier portion of his life, for the praefecture of a cohort was a definite grade in a definite military career (the militia equestris), and the story that an old man of 80 was for the first time put in such a position is on the face of it absurd; and besides, the statement 'qui bellum contra Romanos moverant,' while it would suit the year 81 A.D. (*Tac. Agric.* 23), would not, so far as I know, suit any other during the reigns of Domitian, Trajan, or Hadrian. Dr. Dürr therefore supposes that the original life contained two statements (1) that Juvenal served as praefect against the Scotch, (2) that as an old man he was banished to Egypt. These two episodes, though neither of them quite forgotten, in the course of a century or two be-

came confused, so that on the one hand the exile was connected with the praefecture in Britain and the mention of Egypt dropped, or on the other hand the praefecture was connected with the exile in Egypt and the mention of Britain dropped. One other point is, I think, finally settled by Dr. Dürr, and that is the much discussed date of Juvenal's birth. The new life discovered by him in the Cod. Barb. begins thus :—'Iunius Iuvenalis Aquinas, Iunio Iuvenali patre matre vero Septumuleia ex Aquinati municipio, Claudio Nerone et L. Antistio consulibus natus est.' So definite a statement is a survival in all probability, however preserved, from the original life, and the date 55 A.D. while agreeing with the statement in several of the lives 'temporibus Claudii Neronis' corresponds with all that we know of Juvenal's life. I should venture, not quite in agreement with Dr. Dürr, to put the leading points hypothetically as follows. Supposing that he entered the military service as centurion at the ordinary time, *i.e.* about 72 or 73 A.D., he may very well have attained the rank of praefectus cohortis by 81 A.D. when he went to Britain. If he returned with Agricola in 84 A.D. he may have passed through the municipal offices (implied by the inscription) at Aquinum between that date and 88 or 89 A.D. He then probably migrated to Rome (perhaps seeking for the next military preferment which he never

gained) and as we know contracted a friendship with Martial (Mart. vii. 24 and 91), probably devoting himself mainly to declamation till after Domitian's death in 96 A.D. He may have begun to write his *Satires* at any time after this, but he probably did not publish the first book till about 106 A.D., a date which corresponds with sufficient closeness to the statement 'ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit.' He would be an old man when he wrote *Sat.* xi. (see line 194), the fourth book which contains it being probably published between 121 A.D. and 127 A.D., and also when in 127 A.D. he wrote *Sat.* xiii. (see line 17 etc.), where his tone to Calvinus, a man of 60, is that of an older to a younger friend. After this he may probably have been banished by Hadrian, for a cause which, as Teuffel shows (*Studien u. Char.* p. 410), may receive an explanation from Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carm.* 9, 270 foll.), at the age of 80, *i.e.* in 135 A.D. : and the last two *Satires* we may assume him to have written in utter ennui during his exile and shortly before his death. Of course much of this is hypothetical, but at least, I think, sufficient evidence is collected, not for the first time however, in this monograph to dismiss once and for all the theory, of which Prof. Nettleship is the ablest exponent, that the *Satires* were written under Domitian.

E. G. HARDY.

HELMREICH'S MARCELLI DE MEDICAMENTIS LIBER.

Marcelli de medicamentis liber. Edidit GEORGIUS HELMREICH. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri. 1889. 8vo, pp. vi, 414 (Bibl. Teubneriana). 3 Mk. 60.

FEW more welcome presents to the students of lexicography or of folk-lore could have been offered than this new addition to the unremunerative section of Teubner's library. Georges and Paucker have partially examined the ancient writers of medicine, but still much of their vocabulary remains unregistered. To Valentine Rose and Woelfflin we owe a knowledge of Cassius Felix and his Latinity, to Rose also editions of Anthimus, the so-called Plinius, Gargilius Martialis and Soranus. The editor of Marcellus, Helmreich, had already given us one of Marcellus' main authorities, Scribonius, and in a table at the end of his new book compares Marcellus with that author and with the Pseudo-Pliny.

The book has a useful index of proper names (2pp.), and a select *index verborum* (23 pp.). The latter by no means contains all the words still wanting in our lexicons, while some words appear that are not at all rare. As the lines are numbered, the book will be no doubt cited by page and line ; yet Helmreich's citations are by chapter and section. A strange oversight, considering that most chapters run to several, one to more than thirty, pages, is that there is no indication in the headings, no table at beginning or end, of the beginning and end of the chapters. The diligent reader is condemned to the mechanical drudgery of making a table for himself or of numbering the chapters on each page.

The editor's work seems to be admirably done. The only known ms. (cod. Laudunensis 420, antea 326, saec. ix) is imperfect, and for the missing portions the ed. princ. of the

learned friend of Erasmus, Ianus Cornarius¹ (Bas. 1536), reprinted in the collections of Aldus (Ven. 1547), and Stephanus (Par. 1567), is the sole authority. The manuscript used by Cornarius has disappeared, but it closely resembled that at Laon.

Any one who will turn over a few pages of a lexicon will see that Marcellus is the sole authority cited for many words. Few lexicographers, probably, have personally examined any one of the three old editions, so that the necessarily loose citations in process of transcription have been much corrupted, as I have found in registering the vocabulary of about a seventh part of the book. Various old translations from the Greek (e. g. Oribasiu; Hippokrates *de hebdom.* in Littré IX 430 seq. and *prognost.* in Hermes XXV 123—137, both from the Ambrosian library cod. G 108; Dioskorides cod. Monac. lat. 317, of which book one has been edited, very uncritically, by T. M. Auracher in Vollmöller's *Romanische Forschungen* I 49—105, Erlangen 1883) deserve to be made, with the Latin medical works already named, and new editions of Sextus Placitus and Theodore Priscian,² the subject of exhaustive study in the interests of folk-lore, of natural science especially botany, and of philology. A concordance to the whole, renouncing absolute ex-

haustiveness in the case of the commonest words, might be contained in a single volume, and would render signal service to lexicographers. Thus Lewis and Short under *lanula* say 'perh. only in Celsus.' Marcellus has it at least three times pp. 103 20, 349 34, 352 7. *Rosa canina*, 'dog rose' occurs (306 23). *Farina lini seminis* (343 13, 351 15; cf. 321 21) suggests our familiar *linseed*.

Jacob Grimm read before the Berlin Academy 28 June 1847 a very interesting paper on Marcellus (4to, Dümmler). After collecting what is known of his life, Grimm cites the Celtic equivalents which he gives for Latin or Greek plant-names; but the body of the essay is taken up with charms and amulets, whose efficacy Marcellus attests. For one charm Grimm endeavours to give an Irish origin. On p. 58 he ventures on a universal negative, which is proverbially rash. After enumerating the animals used in the *materia medica* of Marcellus, he says: 'Bär, hirsch, eber, hahn, und viele andere kommen hier nicht vor.' Yet *fel aprunum* (349 1), *finus aprunus* (349 18), *stercus aprugnum* (356 18), *st. aprunum* (356 34), *pulmo cervinus* (350 19), *sebum cervinum* (354 6), *medulla cervina* (340 15, 354 5, 356 20, 377 4), *gallinaceus vitellus* (332 3), *gallinacea ala* (340 10), *gallinaceus testis dexter* (341 20), *adeps gallinaceus* (355 20), *fel ursinum* 353 7, *adeps ursina* (356 30, 358 19),—evidences drawn from a few pages,—prove that every one of the four animals excluded by Grimm from the list appears upon it several times.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

ALLEN'S NOTES ON ABBREVIATIONS IN GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

Notes on Abbreviations in Greek Manuscripts, by T. W. ALLEN, Queen's College, Oxford, Craven Fellow. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1889. 5s.

THOSE who open this little book with the expectation of finding in it a manual of Greek abbreviations will be disappointed. The work is in fact exactly what it professes to be. It comprises a collection of notes on abbreviations which the writer has been able to bring together in the course of patient investigations of the Greek MSS. of the Bodleian Library and the British Museum, and has considerably augmented in his wanderings, as Craven Fellow, among the libraries of the Continent, and particu-

larly in Italy. The results of Mr. Allen's labours are placed before the reader in a modest text of only forty pages accompanied with eleven carefully drawn plates. In his introductory remarks he states his position at once. Holding up Lehmann's manual, *Die tachygraphischen Abkürzungen*, almost as a warning, he first quotes the opinion of the late Charles Graux who insisted upon the necessity of a careful collection of material before the history of Greek abbreviation can be written; and in his own words he continues: 'The science of Greek Palaeography, or at least that portion of it which deals with contractions, has reached a point at which what is necessary for its progress is not the production of all-inclusive handbooks with

an immediate practical aim, where conclusions are laid down with all possible definiteness and width, but rather a series of observations of the actual usage of manuscripts, noted with all available accuracy by investigators whose occupations have given them familiarity with the ways of scribes and the possibilities of Greek writing.'

The shortcomings of Lehmann's book are mainly due to the scantiness of the material of which he made use, and to his tendency to expound 'Palaeography from Facsimiles' as Mr. Allen calls it. And yet Lehmann's work was an immense advance on what had gone before; it is indeed a 'meritorious handbook'; and full use is made of it, and full justice is done to it, in the work before us. In fact Mr. Allen assumes in his readers an acquaintance with Lehmann's manual even so far as to refer quite generally to his opinions on different points, whether for confirmation or correction; and connects his own work so closely with it that the two books become complementary to each other—with this distinction, however, that the one is in German and the other in English. And we are not ashamed to confess that we find English pleasanter reading than German, and a book on palaeography in our own tongue quite refreshing. We can accept it, however, only as an instalment and earnest of what it is to be hoped Mr. Allen will one day accomplish—a complete handbook of Greek contractions.

The difficulties which beset the study of Greek compendia are mainly due to two causes: the twofold system of tachygraphy, if it may be so termed, in use among the scribes of the middle ages; and the confusions arising from itacism.

An ancient system of tachygraphy appears to have originally existed, from which certain symbols were borrowed to do duty as forms of abbreviation or contraction. These by usage became the recognized or ordinary signs regularly found in MSS. But a later system was afterwards compiled, which in its turn came to be used more or less by professional scribes; and thus was introduced into the Greek writing of the middle ages a new set of compendia commonly called tachygraphic signs, which in many instances have the same values as those of the older system. The new tachygraphy appears to have found special favour among the monks of the order of St. Basil, and in particular at Grotta Ferrata near Rome, a centre from which most of the extant MSS. remarkable for extensive contraction on the new system have issued. Mr. Allen describes several of

these MSS. and devotes two of his plates to the illustration of various tachygraphic compendia found in them.

As to itacism, we have it running in two courses: the main one which may be styled authorized, and which usage has reduced to certain laws; and the other unauthorized, in which scribes follow their own fancies.

It is helpful to remember that the signs for certain syllables which can be phonetically grouped are themselves of one origin, as for example that the sign for $\eta\upsilon$ is doubled to represent $\epsilon\upsilon$, and differentiated by dots when it stands for υ ; and that, in the same way, the signs for $\eta\varsigma$, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, and $\iota\varsigma$ form a group. But there are also certain puzzling complications which, arising in error, have yet become sanctioned by long usage. Let us take the first example of Mr. Allen's alphabetical series of compendia. The letter α was properly represented by a horizontal stroke and is so found in early MSS. Then, probably to give the sign more prominence, a dot was often added on either side, $\div$. Now the double dot is properly the tachygraphic sign for τ ; hence $\div$ should, as indeed it often does, represent $\tau\alpha$. But the idea had gained a footing that it was the sign for α ; hence $\tau\div$ was also written for $\tau\alpha$; and still further, the two dots were also employed in conjunction with other letters in the sense of α . And yet, alongside this usurpation of the first letter of the alphabet, the legitimate application of the double dot for τ still continued.

We should class as instances of unauthorized itacism, due to the individual caprices of scribes, such compendia as those grouped under α , in which the sign for ϵ is also employed for that syllable; and under $\alpha\upsilon$, where the same symbol appears for $\alpha\upsilon$, as in $\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$, and for $\alpha\gamma$ as in $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\kappa\eta$. These instances are not numerous or universal enough to be recognized as established by usage.

In conclusion, attention may be specially directed to one or two peculiar signs: to the symbol for $\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$, hitherto little known, but of which Mr. Allen has succeeded in collecting several examples; to the curious one for $\delta\mu\omicron\upsilon$, an explanation for which is not yet forthcoming; and lastly to the strange fact that one of the symbols for $\iota\pi\acute{o}$ is identical in shape with the symbol for $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$ so largely used by the Grotta Ferrata School, and only distinguished from it by the breathing, or in fact, where the breathing is ambiguous or incorrect, by the context.

The solution of such puzzles we may anticipate from Mr. Allen's further researches.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

TREUBER'S HISTORY OF THE LYCIANS.

Geschichte der Lykier, von Dr. OSKAR TREUBER.
8vo. pp. viii, 247. Stuttgart: Kohl-
hammer, 1887. 5 Mk.

THIS is one of those excellent monographs which are so invaluable to the historian, not only for the information contained in them, but for the references which they give. Dr. Treuber, who has been a student of the subject for twenty years, has collected everything which is to be found in ancient authors on the history of the Lycians, and he is not less familiar with the results of modern exploration and numismatic studies. Beginning with a description of Lycia—of which a good map is given from the hand of Kiepert—he goes on to discuss the ethnological position of the Lycians, and their oldest ‘contacts with foreign nations’—notably with the Greeks. Then he goes straight through their history till the time when Lycia became a Roman province, with a special chapter on ‘the Institutions and Tombs of the Lycians.’ On the alphabet, language and archaeology of the nation he hardly touches, considering that the interpretation of the language is at present too doubtful to allow historical conclusions to be drawn from it, and that the archaeology is best left to those who have made it a special study.

Readers will naturally turn to the chapter on Institutions and Tombs, pp. 117–134. Dr. Treuber thinks that the ‘Mutterfolge’ described by Herodotus (and later by Heracles, Nicolaus, and Plutarch) as characteristic of the Lycians, ‘is a mark of the antiquity and conservative character’ of the nation. He has however to admit that in the only passage in which Herodotus mentions a Lycian’s descent he calls him the son of his father—Cyberniscus, the son of Siccas (vii. 98), and that the ‘Mutterfolge’

is not found in inscriptions whether native or Greek, though he claims to find some traces of it (p. 123). The first difficulty is met by assuming that in their dealings with foreign nations the Lycians not only dropped the native style and ‘did at Rome as Rome did,’ but that the ‘Mutterfolge’ even in the time of Herodotus was neither strict nor universal (p. 118); the second, by regarding the inscriptions as late and belonging to a time when the custom in question had died out.

Those who are sceptical about survivals will perhaps take another view of these facts. It is easy to suggest that there is no proof that the matriarchal system ever extended to the whole nation:—the contrary is more probable. But if it only extended to a part, it may have arisen from special circumstances, such as those which gave prominence to the women of Epizephyrian Locri. It is worth while, at any rate, to remember that even in the history of Argos and Sparta the calamities of war brought about the association of men of a lower rank with women of a higher. May not something of the same kind have happened in Lycia?

Dr. Treuber is not inclined to admit that the Lycian federation, of which Strabo has preserved an account, was in existence at the time when Lycia became a part of the Persian empire, though he admits ‘an ancient Amphictyony round the temple of Apollo, which gave the city of Xanthus a pre-eminence, more ideal than real.’ From this beginning the federation slowly grew up (p. 113ff.).

I may add that the section on the art of Lycia in MM. Perrot and Chipiez’ new volume is a good supplement to the work of Dr. Treuber.

EVELYN ABBOTT.

KUBITSCHKE'S IMPERIUM ROMANUM TRIBUTUM DISCRIPTUM.

Imperium Romanum tributum descriptum, by
J. W. KUBITSCHKE. 8vo. pp. iv, 276.
Leipzig: Freytag, 1889. 12 Mk.

It is in ordinary cases perhaps somewhat invidious to say that one book has been superseded by another, but when two monographs are written on the same subject and that a

very special one, the later being based on more recent and more extensive sources of information than the earlier, the phrase can hardly be avoided, and it therefore implies no disrespect to Grotefend’s *Imperium Romanum tributum descriptum*, which I think Mommsen once described as an epoch-making work, to say that the book before us must

for the future take its place as the authority on the subject. When Grotefend published his book, the *Corpus of the Latin Inscriptions* was hardly commenced, and, as the subject is one which depends absolutely on epigraphical evidence, the treatment it received at his hands, if exhaustive twenty-seven years ago, is far from adequate now. Dr. Kubitschek has already made the subject of the Roman tribes his own by the very able treatise which he published a few years back 'de Romanarum tribuum origine ac propagatione,' a book which if it contained, as it undoubtedly did, not a few theories which must be pronounced questionable, and some which are undoubtedly erroneous, was yet a very thorough and systematic piece of work, which if not destined to be the standard authority on the subject can certainly not be left out of account by future investigators. On one only of the results arrived at in this earlier work perhaps a word may be said, since the author restates it with additional argument in the present volume. It concerns the distribution of the Italian allies into the thirty-five tribes after the Social war by the lex Julia and the lex Plautia-Papiria. The former is generally supposed to be alluded to by Appian (*b. c. i.* 49), the latter by Velleius Paterculus (*ii.* 20.). Dr. Kubitschek, by reading δέκα πέντε for the difficult δεκατέοντες in the former passage, asserts that by the former law the faithful allies were distributed into fifteen tribes, *i.e.* a minority of the thirty-one *tribus rusticae*, while by the latter law referred to by Velleius the revolted allies were distributed into eight, *i.e.* one half of the remainder, and this arrangement he supposes—and indeed this is the essential feature of his theory—was a permanent one. This view, though suggested by the two passages of Appian and Velleius, rests mainly on epigraphical evidence, which our author has collected with great diligence, and by which he tries to show that the eight, so to say, penal tribes were Arneneis, Clustumina, Fabia, Falerna, Galeria, Pomptina, Sergia and Voltinia. The objections however to this ingenious theory are two-fold. (1) The evidence of inscriptions, besides being by the very nature of the case incomplete, breaks down, as Mommsen as shown (*Hermes* xxii. p. 101 foll.), in several points, since not only are revolted allies in tribes other than the eight mentioned above, *e.g.* in Horatia, Cornelia, Oufentina etc., but the faithful allies are shown not to be limited to any fifteen tribes, but to be spread practically over all 31. (2)

Whatever may have been the original distribution into tribes, the restrictions were certainly only temporary. Complete equality for the new citizens became part of the democratic programme, and, apart from the abortive attempt of Sulpicius, Cinna, apparently twice (*Liv. Epit.* 80 and 84), gave them the equal franchise, and Sulla acquiesced in the arrangement (*Liv. Epit.* 86).

In the working out of the 'tribuum discriptio' Italy is by far the most important part of the empire, and as the epigraphical materials are here much more extensive and plentiful than elsewhere it naturally occupies the greater portion of the book. Unlike Grotefend, Dr. Kubitschek arranges Italy according to the Augustan regiones and this part of the work is very admirably and fully executed and throws all the light that it is now possible to obtain on the methods by which newly enfranchised civitates were brought within the tribal system. We are glad to think that we have now heard the last of the inference formerly drawn that Ostia and Puteoli belonged to the urban tribe Palatina: an inference depending on the numerous inscriptions relating to individuals in these great commercial emporia who belonged to that tribe. Dr. Kubitschek shows that Ostia really belonged to Volturia and Puteoli to Falerna, whilst the prevalence of Palatina in both is sufficiently explained by Mommsen (*Staatsrecht* iii. p. 443).

In regard to all the provinces, and particularly perhaps to the Danubian provinces and Asia, Dr. Kubitschek has added much to the materials supplied by Grotefend, whilst the instructive article of Mommsen in *Epigraphica* (iii. p. 230 etc.) 'de tribubus imperatoriis' receives much illustration and confirmation. I may mention too that the view of Wilmanns (*C.I.L.* viii. p. 284) and Mommsen (*Hermes* xix. p. 10), that those who were born 'in canabis' were assigned to Pollia, is confirmed by inscriptions from the great camps at Lambaesis, Carnuntum, Aquincum and Troesmis. The value of the book for purposes of reference is much increased by the Indices at the end: (1) Index tribuum xxxi rusticarum, a list being given under each tribe of the civitates belonging to it in Italy and the provinces; (2) an index civitatum, giving the page on which each civitas is to be found, a very necessary help in the case of Italy unless the reader has the exact boundary-lines of the regiones at his finger ends.

E. G. HARDY.

HAIGH'S 'ATTIC THEATRE.'

The Attic Theatre. A description of the stage and theatre of the Athenians and of the dramatic performances at Athens. By A. E. HAIGH, M.A., etc. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1889. Pp. 330. 12s. 6d.

MR. HAIGH has here found and well used a good opportunity. The subject of the Greek theatre is one, as he says,

which has been practically revolutionised during the last half century, partly through the labours of various scholars in interpreting the notices of the old grammarians, but more especially owing to the rich discoveries of inscriptions relating to theatrical affairs, and the information supplied by excavations in the old Greek theatres.

A convenient re-statement in English has been much wanted. As it is impossible to discuss here the multifarious topics contained in the book, I will first say generally that Mr. Haigh has in my judgment supplied the demand. His work is judicious, careful, and pleasant to read and to use. This said, I shall occupy my space, as seems most profitable, with a single subject, which may be brought within moderate compass.

Of all the questions which fall within the scope of the book the most important, both in itself and for its bearings upon present research, is that which relates to the construction of the stage in the theatre at Athens during the fifth century B.C. The Attic theatre is chiefly interesting to us because it was the scene of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, and so far as it affects our conception of their works. If those who consult the book for direction in this matter come away, as it is to be feared they will, disappointed, this is the fault rather of the evidence than of the author. The practical conclusion of Mr. Haigh (pp. 157, 158), that we are without positive information on the subject and must be content with conjecture, is only too true. Nevertheless every reader of the tragedians must and will come to a provisional opinion, and it is worth while to carry the discussion a little further, if only that our conjectures may not be unlawfully limited.

The problem is this. In the Greek theatre of late Hellenic and Hellenistic times, represented to us by the canons of Vitruvius, the stage proper, or *λογεῖον*, was for general purposes entirely cut off from the orchestra, being placed twelve feet above it, at the top

of a wall which received architectural decorations and was therefore meant to be exhibited. It is held by some and denied by others that the theatre at Epidaurus (built *circa* 350 B.C.) is an extant example of this arrangement. This however is a side-issue and not very important, I think, for this reason. Some part of the antiquarian tradition about theatrical matters, from which our *scholia* etc. are derived, mounts continuously through the Alexandrian scholars as high probably as the time of Aristotle. Scanty as the tradition is, if in or after this time any marked change had taken place in anything so universally notorious as the general form of a theatre, we might expect to hear something of it. At all events let it be supposed that the 'Vitruvian' arrangement, or something like it, had become general before the end of the fourth century. Now on going back from this time two centuries we find a wholly different arrangement: the actor of Thespis, when he was to be distinguished from the chorus, mounted upon what is described as resembling a *table* or *dresser* (*τράπεζα, ἐλεός*), that is to say a very low wooden stage such as could be reached or quitted with ease. Between these two dates lies the whole period which for the purpose of extant literature is of much interest to us, and the vital question is this—How soon or how quickly was the change effected? Was the stage of Euripides 'Vitruvian,' or the stage of Sophocles, or above all the stage of Aeschylus?

I have said above that the Vitruvian stage was for general purposes entirely cut off from the orchestra; and I wish rather to insist upon this point, because Mr. Haigh, I think, makes too little of it, and too much of the means by which stage and orchestra might be temporarily connected. We hear that in the Hellenistic theatre steps or ladders (*κλίμακες*) were sometimes placed against the centre of the stage for actors to mount by, though we do not know when, or how often, or in what sort of plays, these steps were used. But such a makeshift does not affect the essential character of the plan. Either the steps must have been so steep that no man, much less a body of men, could mount them with speed or with grace, or else they must have stretched far into the orchestra and have much abridged its utility as a space for the movements of a chorus.

Whenever and by whomsoever the stage for actors was set twelve feet above the orchestra for chorus, the intention must have been that the two performances, or the two parts of a performance, should be sharply distinguished and separated. Now as the whole question is just this, whether such was the intention (let us say) of Aeschylus, the κλίμακες may be put out of the discussion.

For the same and stronger reasons we may put aside the modern fiction of a 'chorus-platform' higher than the orchestra and lower than the stage. With all that Mr. Haigh says upon this subject I entirely agree.

Neither are we at all concerned with another theory, which Mr. Haigh is at some pains to demolish, that there was a time in the fifth century when the Athenian theatre had no stage at all, and when the actor always stood upon the same level with the chorus. Such a conception would be equally inconsistent with practical convenience, not to say possibility, and with the historical data, which give for starting-point the Thespian τράπεζα. It would be gratuitous to suppose that this germ of the stage, in the course of development to the 'Vitruvian' type, actually disappeared altogether. Mr. Haigh, in refuting this view from considerations *a priori* and from the evidence of extant drama, attributes it to Dr. Dörpfeld; but as to this, we shall be more certain when we have a complete and authentic statement from Dr. Dörpfeld himself. At any rate the true question is not whether Aeschylus and his immediate successors used a stage, which may fairly be taken as certain, but what that stage was like.

Having thus disembarassed the question of what is immaterial, what evidence have we to answer it? Briefly, so much as we can draw from the extant plays; that and no more. The ruins of the theatre at Athens furnish no evidence; for it is now settled that there is no stage-building there which can with certainty be assigned to the fifth century. Good authorities go farther, and assign the remains positively to the building of Lysicrates in the fourth century, but the more limited and safer proposition is only too sufficient. To the literary evidence therefore we turn, and it is upon this that something material remains to be said. In the treatment of it by Mr. Haigh (pp. 152 foll.) and generally, so far as I have noticed, in recent discussion, the fundamental assumption seems to be, that the literary evidence is homogeneous and may be taken

all together; that in a general way the witness of Aeschylus Sophocles and Euripides as to the relation which subsisted in their times between chorus and actors, and consequently as to the natural relation between stage and orchestra, is uniform. In stating his general conclusion Mr. Haigh says indeed very truly: 'We have no reason to suppose that the height of the stage was definitely fixed at that time; it may have varied at different periods.' But this proposition is not applied or developed in detail, and the illustrations are drawn from all the dramatists indifferently.

But in truth the evidence of the great tragedians is not for any one conception of the stage and orchestra as having prevailed throughout the fifth century, but for a total change in that conception. It is scarcely too much to say that the difference between the τράπεζα of the infant drama and the λογεῖον of Vitruvius is not greater than that which separates the Aeschylean treatment of the chorus and actors from the Euripidean. This difference is not to be measured by the reduced amount of lyric in later tragedy as compared with earlier, nor by the number of occasions, more or less, at which the chorus mounts the stage or the actors descend. It goes to the whole idea of a play and of the dramatic art. Of Euripides, speaking generally, it may be said that the chorus in his works is a mere survival. Its presence may be explained historically and justified or palliated by the literary skill expended upon the choric parts; but it has ceased to serve any vital function, and for once that it aids the purpose of the poet is many times a visible embarrassment. The two factors of dramatic interest in Euripides are the varied intrigue of the story and the pathos or subtlety of personal emotions. Nothing could be less adapted to either object than the perpetual presence of the same spectators upon the scene of action.

Take such a play as the *Medea*. The purpose of the murderess is such, that to broach it even to the trustiest confidant would be dangerous. The chief interest of her situation lies in the conflict of her own feelings, and the finest scene in the play is a soliloquy. She is living almost alone, among those whose natural sympathies are much more with her enemies than with herself. Nothing but an imperious external necessity could have induced the author of such a drama to admit in it at all a chorus of the Greek fashion. The difficulties thus created are insuperable, nor has Euripides, perhaps wisely, made any effort to surmount

them. He simply requires the audience to suppose, in defiance of reason and moral impossibility, that his 'women of Corinth' are in fact such passive creatures of Medea's will as they must be if the action is to proceed; and he trusts for his indemnity to convention. Or take again a play of a different class, the *Phoenissae*; take the scene, wonderfully touching and skilful after its kind, in which Jocasta fondles and 'dances about' her banished and recovered son. It is a scene fit only for an inner room. That it must needs be enacted as if in a public place is in itself disadvantageous enough, but the presence of the chorus aggravates the disadvantage tenfold. And the whole play is full of such matter. On this occasion the playwright has actually tried to cut the knot by a device which it is hard either to admire or to condemn. As a 'chorus' there must be, and as the chorus cannot but be irrelevant, Euripides takes it as such, and brings into the orchestra a body of persons quite alien from the action, who are present in the place by mere accident and have no more real connexion with the Theban personages who figure on the stage than the Athenian spectators who sit in the auditorium. Other examples may be found in Euripides *passim*; in fact, with the exception of the *Bacchae*, there is perhaps not one of his plays in which the chorus has a dramatic interest, and very few in which the story might not have been conducted better without the chorus than with it. For all this the poet deserves blame as little as he deserves praise; it was the inevitable course of development.

Now when drama had arrived at this stage, when (if a homely metaphor may pass) it walked with its chorus attached like a chick with the shell upon its back, it was only to be expected that the form should gradually adapt itself to the substance; and that the scene, like the tragedy, should be severed in two. A more or less 'Vitruvian' stage would not indeed make the *Medea* natural, because no device whatever could do so; but, as compared with a 'Thespian' stage, it might well appear the better symbol of the convention upon which the action depends. If in the dialogue between the Nurse and the Corinthian women the elevation of the player might be a little awkward to the eye, the sacrifice would be more than repaid when, in the later and far more important scenes, the audience were assisted by a barrier of stone or timber to do what somehow they must do, and to regard the chorus as practically outside the field of

action altogether. Whether the Vitruvian type of stage was or was not actually developed as early as 431 B.C., dramatic art had then already reached a condition conformable to it; and as the art never went back on the track, it is no surprise to find that this type of stage became in the fourth century established and permanent.

But when we turn to Aeschylus, the case is wholly different. Nothing but overwhelming evidence (and there is none) should make us believe that the stage was 'Vitruvian', when the art was essentially 'Thespian.' The drama of Aeschylus really is, what the drama of Euripides, and to some extent that of Sophocles also, only pretends to be, a choric drama; that is to say, a performance of which the scene is properly laid in a public place, and which is designed to be executed throughout by a large number of persons playing together and to each other. If we except the *Prometheus*, a work *sui generis* and not really compassable by any stage, high or low, all his remaining plays are of this kind: speakers, singers, and mutes, all are indissolubly connected and equally essential to the action, so that to subtract the singers, or to sever them in any way from the whole body, would be as improper and as contradictory to the nature of the art as to put a barrier between the two actors in a dialogue. In Aeschylus the relations between the chorus and the actors are as close and as important to the plot as those of the actors to each other. In the *Septem* the fate of the brothers is caused and determined by the behaviour of the Theban maidens, without whose action the plot of the play would be destroyed. In the *Agamemnon* the fate of the king is bound up with the fate of the elders, and their conduct, not his, is the pivot of the dramatic machinery. In the *Persae* we may almost say that there is nothing but a chorus; the actors are for the most part little more than chorus-leaders. But the best marked example of all is the *Eumenides*. We have said that not only would the *Medea* or the *Phoenissae* admit a 'Vitruvian' arrangement of the scene, but such an arrangement, however unnatural in itself, would in the unnatural state of the drama have a certain corresponding utility. To say that the *Eumenides* could not be played in a 'Vitruvian' theatre would be too much. Probably it was sometimes so played by way of revival, with such help as might be from κλῆρακες and the like, and with the co-operating indulgence of the audience. But there is not a moment in the action when the 'Vitruvian'

relations of stage and orchestra would not be felt as a gross inconvenience. That the back part of the scene should be somewhat higher in level than the front would be in the *Eumenides*, as always, practically necessary; but it is an equally plain condition that the whole scene should be one to the eye and one for the purpose of inter-action and inter-communication. This is no place to illustrate the matter fully, and I must leave it, with this statement, to the consideration of the reader.

It is chiefly with reference to Aeschylus that this question is important, but its importance for Aeschylus cannot be over-rated. The 'Vitruvian' conception of the scene, which really belongs only to choric drama denaturalized and on the point of becoming non-choric, when referred without warrant to the truly choric drama of Aeschylus, has caused more trouble than can be exhibited in the course of a review. His works all suggest to us (and there is nothing to set against their evidence) that in his time nothing like the 'Vitruvian' stage had yet been seen or projected.

How soon it appeared we cannot say. Mr. Haigh counts in the forty-four extant plays of the great period fifteen places where the chorus appear upon the stage either momentarily or for a length of time. To me this seems a very large number, and enough to show that the 'Vitruvian' arrangement was not fully developed during the period which these plays embrace. Authors dominated by that conception would have taken good care never to bring their chorus on the stage at all. On the other hand I am not greatly impressed by the evidence cited from this literature for the existence in the fifth century of an obstacle between the chorus and the stage. In the examples adduced (Soph. *Ai.* 328, Eur. *Hec.* 1042, *Androm.* 817) it appears that the poet, however free to make his chorus ascend, might well have preferred in practice to prevent the needless movement by an opportune entrance or other like device. All we can say is that in Sophocles, and much more in Euripides, the motives which produced the typical theatre are seen actively at work, and at any time in their days may have begun to produce the outward result. Choric drama was but an unstable moment in the evolution. By far the greater part of dramatic material refuses choric treatment of the Greek fashion, or submits to it only by compulsion and compromise. Aeschylus alone works in the fetters almost unconscious. Sophocles knows himself limited and conforms to his limita-

tions, though perhaps even his marvellous dexterity sometimes achieves rather a relative than an absolute success. Euripides is simply defiant, and the strange 'Vitruvian' theatre is a translation of Euripides into stone.

It is noticeable that the later writers sometimes erroneously extend the name *ὀρχήστρα* to the 'Vitruvian' *λογεῖον* (Haigh, p. 626, n. 3). Aeschylus would probably have held his stage to be merely a part of the orchestra elevated for convenience, and the later use may thus be rather a belated survival than a gratuitous blunder.

Space forbids me to enter into other matters at present. Mr. Haigh is everywhere careful and temperate in statement, and for the most part I have nothing to object. Very much to the point are the remarks (p. 174) on the rules of the Hellenistic antiquaries about stage-doors. Neither Sophocles nor Euripides, it is shown, were really bound as Pollux and Vitruvius would bind them. It is never to be forgotten that most of our Greek and Roman authorities about the drama were not only 'schematizers' by habit, but were treating, in this particular case, of a skeleton or anatomical preparation, whereas we are really concerned with the creature alive and growing.

Even modern writers sometimes show to Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople a more uncontrolled respect than those *musea* did in fact deserve. 'The question has been raised whether the actors ever made their exits and entrances by the passages into the orchestra'; but, as Mr. Haigh himself shows, we have no proof that any dramatist of the fifth century had the means of understanding why such a question should be raised; and we have, I think, very strong reasons for believing that to Aeschylus it would have been unintelligible. So long as orchestra and stage were essentially one, it was in each case merely a matter of convenience in which part the actor should first appear; and, so far as can be judged from the extant plays of Aeschylus, his actors entered upon the level almost as often as upon the platform. For example in the *Seven Against Thebes* (369 foll. Dindorf), any one reading the scene would naturally suppose that Eteocles and the spy both enter in the place where the chorus are, and by entrances, such as the *πάροδοι*, full in their view; nor are we in any way bound to deny that they did so.

In the section on changes of scene (p. 178) I note that Mr. Haigh allows only two scenes to the *Eumenides*. But there seem to be three, Delphi, the Acropolis, and the Areo-

pagus. In general Mr. Haigh is rather for the simplicity of Greek scenery, and perhaps he is somewhat too parsimonious for the highest period of Athenian splendour. The *Peace* of Aristophanes, for example, suggests considerable elaboration; and I should be interested to learn how Mr. Haigh would suppose it to have been set.

From what I have said about the stage it may be inferred what line I should take respecting many other parts of the subject. May we not modestly venture to doubt whether one half of the 'rules' about this

and that, which we find in the Hellenistic tradition, were really known as rules to the great creators of tragedy in the fifth century? I agree with Mr. Haigh in thinking that some of the modern attempts to illustrate these rules from the dramatists have been sterile, if not mischievous. If Mr. Haigh should have, as is to be hoped, an opportunity of revising and republishing his useful work, I only hope that he will be still bolder, and his book even less 'Alexandrian' than it now is.

A. W. VERRALL.

Xenophon's Anabasis, Books I.—IV., with an Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary, by F. W. KELSEY, Ph.D. and A. C. ZENOS, M.A. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1889. [12mo. Map, plates iv. plans vi. pp. 404 + 160.]

THE most noteworthy feature of this school-edition of the *Anabasis* is an introduction, extending to fifty pages, which deals in a comprehensive and interesting manner with those general subjects that have a bearing upon the 'intelligent study of the *Anabasis*.' Thus we have a geographical sketch of the Persian empire; a historical sketch, extended to the time of Alexander's conquest and more briefly to the present day; civilization of the Persians, and the Persian army; the expedition of Cyrus; the organization of the Greek army and methods of fighting; life and writings of Xenophon. While parts of this may seem too far away from the main theme and too long drawn for an elementary book, nevertheless it marks a wholesome contrast to a barren grammatical treatment of the *Anabasis*. With so many excellent first-books available boys should be able on taking up the *Anabasis* to read it with some facility and so to enjoy its narrative and have some appreciation as well of its significance as history; for such this introduction cannot fail to be helpful and stimulating. There are also four pages of plates illustrating costumes and implements of war, coloured conventionally to show the different materials in them, a cut of a Greek war galley, a map, and six pages of battle and marching plans. The account of Xenophon is in the main fair and discriminating. The charges of lack of earnestness of moral purpose, of lack of patriotism, of selfishness, are not new, but are not to be admitted without qualification. The editors accept the improbable Delium story, and with it 444 B.C. as the date of Xenophon's birth and ninety years for his life against the weight of scholarly opinion and with no discussion of the matter. In the list of Xenophon's writings the *Rep. Ath.* is given as a genuine work of Xenophon's. The statement that Xenophon 'speaks of himself as writer in the first person, but as doer in the third' rests on the slight basis of a single first person plural in the final summarizing section, VII. viii. 25, generally admitted to be not genuine. We miss some reference to Themistogenes (*Hell.* III. i. 2), and the interesting question whether Xenophon simply issued his work anonymously or whether he did not assume a pseudonym.

That Cobet's text is 'clear and consistent' will scarcely be thought good reason for passing by Arnold Hug's recension, based on the Paris MS. 1640, the

pre-eminent excellence of which is generally recognized, though Cobet in his late editions made but superficial use of it.

In the notes grammatical annotation, with the hints on construction, references to grammars, and queries propounded to the pupil, is overdone even for beginners. Something should be left to the intelligence of the pupil and to the guidance of the teacher. A note on the first line of the *Anabasis* gives a reference to the grammars 'for the principal parts of γίγνομαι.' On II. i. 2 a reference is given to the paradigm for an ordinary periphrastic tense-form, while a series of eight abnormal indicatives for optatives passes unnoticed. The exegetical and illustrative notes are uniformly clear and interesting, if sometimes a trifle exuberant, as when at I. i. 9 the mention of Abydos gives occasion to introduce the story of Leander, with Lord Byron's hackneyed feat as a sequel. Of a piece with this is the allusion to a popular 'religious novel' at I. viii. 20.

A short list of helps is furnished: Dakyns' admirable essay on Xenophon in the volume *Hellenica* is noted, but we miss Roquette's life. Editions both of Rehdantz and Vollbrecht later than those noted were issued between 1886 and 1888.

Eight pages of idioms and phrases constitute an excellent feature. The vocabulary covers all seven books. The words are analyzed and the meanings are carefully developed, so that in a measure it avoids the common objection to special vocabularies, that of being a school-boy's 'crib.' The book as a whole hits its mark as the most attractive and the best equipped edition for school use.

S. R. WINANS.

Princeton College, New Jersey.

The Student's Cicero, by the Rev. W. Y. FAUSET, M. A. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1889. pp. xiii, 237. 5s.

THIS little book is by no means without its merits. It is a handy little volume giving a life of Cicero and analysis of his works which offer—if that be a merit—very little to dissent from; it is almost entirely free from serious blunders; it is fairly readable; and it has a really good frontispiece portrait, reproduced by the type-etching process from the famous bust in the Uffizi Gallery. But it is difficult to say what place the book is intended to fill, and it is quite certain that it has no sort of claim to such a title as *The Student's Cicero*. It is simply a translation of the chapter, or section, on Cicero in the first volume of Dr. Munk's *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, with

a few very slight notes added by Mr. Fausset, who has already done better work in his edition of the *Pro Cluentio*.

Dr. Munk's article is so entirely bloodless that it is hard to state what view he takes with regard to the cardinal questions of Cicero's acts, position, and influence, though on the whole it may be said to be probably that to which the majority of English scholars incline, as a compromise between the unscrupulous admiration of Middleton and the unqualified attacks of Mommsen and Drumann. The text of the book is about equal in length to Professor Ramsay's article in the *Dictionary of Biography*, and is of little more than the dictionary character; but it certainly does not sum up the results of criticism so well for 1889 as Professor Ramsay's did for 1873, since few authors have had so much done to illustrate them as Cicero in the intervening sixteen years. Mr. Fausset's translation for the German part of his work seems to be satisfactorily done throughout; in the quotations from Cicero (where he curiously explains that he 'thought well to go direct to the originals') he renders any ordinary passage fairly and carefully enough, but fails in almost every crucial test. Thus *o tempora! o mores!* he actually leaves untranslated altogether. The famous *abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit* becomes 'he has [*sic*] gone, departed, escaped, broken loose.' *O fortunatam natam me consule Roman!* for which a dozen vigorous translations might have been used, is rendered 'Rome by my consulate born anew to weal!' (p. 67), though with a late repentance (p. 235) he quotes Gifford's masculine rendering. In minor details Mr. Fausset is generally accurate: such spellings as *Caius* and *Mithridates* may perhaps pass by their common use, but *Cneius* (p. 32) was too much even for Mr. Froude. To call Asinius Pollio 'Cicero's chief rival in antiquity,' besides giving a wrong impression of Pollio's position, misdates him by a whole generation. Pollio was twelve years old in Cicero's consulship.

G. E. JEANS.

Ausgewählte Gedichte des P. Ovidius Naso.

Für den Schulgebrauch herausgegeben von H. S. SEDLMAYER. Leipzig: Freytag, 1889. 1 M. 20 pf.

THIS well-printed little volume consists of 187 pages of selections from Ovid without notes, the first part from the *Metamorphoses*, the second from the elegiac poems. At the end is a mythological-geographical vocabulary of 37 pages. The introduction (pp. xvii.) contains a brief account of Ovid's life and works, and a clearly written section on the prosody and metre of the hexameter and elegiac couplet. It seems well suited for the object for which it is intended, a school reading book, and is supplemented by a *Schulwörterbuch* (1 M. 60 pf.) by Jurenka. At the end of the introduction are a collection of *versus memoriales* or 'tags,' upon which the beginner may practise his unfledged wings, deriving at the same time therefrom much sapient moral counsel. Thus he is taught courage (*Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito*): he must pursue virtue for its own sake (*ipsa quidem virtus sibi met pulcherrima merces*), and spurn pleasures (*sperne voluptates: nocet emptum dolore volup-*

tas). He is consoled with the thought that if successful, *donec eris sospes, multos numerabis amicos*; but alas! if the reverse be his lot his plight will be indeed pitiable, for *crede mihi: miseros prudentia prima relinquit*. At the same time he learns his prosody, as the scansion of some of the lines is marked, and in a footnote is initiated into the mysteries of elision and apharesis.

S. G. OWEN.

Die Kirchengeschichte des Theodoret von Kyrrhos. Eine Untersuchung ihrer Quellen von Dr. A. GÜLDENPENNING. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1889. pp. 101. 2 Mk.

THIS investigation is conducted in a clear and satisfactory manner, and leads to some substantial results. About a few of the sources from which Theodoret drew his materials there is no doubt, for he names them. Athanasius is by far the most often mentioned, and his *Apologia de fuga sua* is the treatise most often used. Besides him he quotes or alludes to Eusebius once or twice, citing the *Life of Constantine*. The archheretic Arius and Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, are also quoted; and he seems to have known the writings of other Arians. He had seen some of the letters of Chrysostom, and one or more of his orations: at least he mentions them. He tells us also that he got some of his information at first hand by word of mouth. But when all these are added up together, they cover only a small portion of the ground.

It can be shown, however, that he uses Eusebius, Athanasius, and probably Arius, in other places where he does not name his authority. Can it be shown that he makes use of other sources without ever naming them? Valesius believed that he used both Socrates and Sozomen. Holzhausen contended that all three are quite independent. Our author is satisfied that Sozomen made use of Socrates, but Theodoret makes use of both. He dates the three works as follows, arguing from internal evidence; Socrates, A.D. 439-443; Sozomen, 434-447 and probably 443, 444; Theodoret, 441-449. He gives good reasons for believing that Theodoret certainly made use of Rufinus: thirteen instances of similarities are examined. Three coincidences between Theodoret and Socrates are pointed out, and eight between Theodoret and Sozomen. Dr. Guldenpenning pronounces them to be fatal to the independence of Theodoret. Reasons are also given for placing the epitome of Philostorgius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, and Ephraem Syrus among the unnamed sources of Theodoret.

Just a third of the treatise (pp. 62-96) is taken up with a most useful summary of the evidence in a tabulated form. Theodoret is taken chapter by chapter, and the supposed source of each passage that is not independent is indicated. The conclusion drawn is, that Theodoret has not told us much which we should not have known equally well without him; and that he would have done far better had he described the events of his own time instead of re-telling a thrice-told tale.

A. PLUMMER.

NOTES.

EUR. *Rhesus*, 59 60.

εἰ γὰρ φαεινὸν μὴ ξυνέσχον ἥλιον
λαμπτήρες, οὐκ ἂν ἔρχον εὐτυχοῦν δόρυ.

The use of the same verb in its primitive and com-

pounded form leads one to give to it in each case a similar meaning. 'For had not the bright rays of the sun withdrawn themselves, I should not have withdrawn my conquering spear.'

162. παντὶ γὰρ προσκείμενον
κέρδος πρὸς ἔργον τὴν χάριν τίκτει διπλῆν.

'For an appointed reward for every work makes the favour double,' i.e. makes it *mutual*, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 14, διπλῇ χερσὶ. Dolon was going to bestow a favour on the Trojans by undertaking the task of a spy, and if they rewarded him for his work he would consider the reward, if a handsome one, as a favour conferred on him.

318. ἔρπει κατάντης ξυμφορὰ πρὸς τὰγαθὰ.

Paley's explanation of κατάντης is: 'downwards, i.e. by an easy and expeditious way.' In that case the metaphor would be more applicable to things inclining to a worse state ('facilis descensus Avernī'). I think that the metaphor alludes to the scales of the balance.

339. καὶ σὺ καίριός σκοπεῖς.

Does not this mean that the messenger had kept an opportune look out in having so carefully observed the approach of Rhesus and the numerous army of allies?

492. οὐκ ἔστ' ἑκείνῳ θοῶρον ἐντάξει δόρυ.

'Gainst him thou canst not point thy furious spear.'

Rhesus could not have gathered from such a remark that Achilles himself was prevented from taking part in the war. Yet this was the inference, or rather, the plain meaning which Rhesus attached to the sentence. The proper rendering I believe is this: 'It is not possible for that man to interpose his furious spear.' The answer of Rhesus shows that he understood him in this sense. 'And yet (notwithstanding what you say) there was a report that he sailed to Ilium.' Then Hector explains the cause of his absence.
(the late) C. E. PALMER.

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DIFFICULTIES IN JUVENAL, *Sat.* I.—At the end of this satire Juvenal announces his intention for safety's sake of using those who lay buried along the Flaminian and Latin roads as examples in attacking the vices of his own time. This is, I suppose, the meaning of vv. 170, 171. He cannot surely mean that he intends deliberately to scourge dead people simply for their own vices. And he seems to have acted in this cautious spirit all through this satire. For the persons to whom he alludes, so far as we can identify them, were either dead, or at least quite powerless to retaliate if affronted. Now the first question suggested by this precaution on the poet's part is, 'What was the danger that made it necessary?' He himself gives us his answer, I suppose, in vv. 155 fol. He says there that it was as much as a man's life was worth to speak truth about great men. 'If,' he says, 'for example I portray a court favourite, I shall run the risk of the *tunica molesta*.' That is to say, it was just as dangerous to speak unpleasant truth about courtiers in Trajan's reign, as it had been in the reign of Nero. This is an answer, no doubt. But is it one that can be accepted? Is it credible that in a time, of which Tacitus wrote his famous sentence about the *rara temporum felicitas*, there was the same or anything approaching to the same danger in satirizing a courtier as in Nero's reign? Tacitus in writing the history of comparatively recent times probably ran the risk of offending great men of the day. At any rate he proposed to himself without any misgivings to write a history of his own time, in which he could scarcely avoid giving offence to some powerful people. Pliny and Martial bear witness to the same security. Yet this poet declares it to be as dangerous to speak truth now as it was under the tyrant *par excellence* of the early Empire!

But another question is suggested. Is it credible that a satirist or rather preacher of the Juvenalian type could be content in his denunciations to use ghosts for examples, to take his types from the burying-ground, and to lash himself into indignation among tombstones? The received answer to this question would, I suppose, be based on Madvig's *dictum*, that Juvenal takes no pains to distinguish between the vices of his own and previous times, and therefore takes his examples with equal satisfaction from those former times, *quoniam universa foeditas, in uno exemplo cminens, ad omnem illam aetatem pertineat*. But this will hardly carry us through all the difficulty which this satire presents in this respect. The remark may hold true of the poet's treatment of evils more or less common to the whole period. But surely no satirist of any self-respect or who expected to be listened to could go so blindly for the evils of his age, as to shut his eyes to a most conspicuous difference between two portions of it. A satirist or preacher in William the Third's reign might denounce plenty of evils in terms (so to say) of Charles the Second's. But he could hardly denounce the court for a treacherous intention to reintroduce Popery. Now we have ample evidence that delation had ceased in Trajan's time. Yet some of the people gibbeted by this satirist are informers of a former reign, and delation appears as a rampant evil which rouses his indignation as much as any other! One word more about the passage vv. 155—157. As I have said, the poet there uses Tigellinus as a typical court-favourite and the possible consequences of portraying him as typical of the danger of meddling with a courtier in the poet's own time. Now there are times later on in the Empire when one could understand such a representation being made, especially if the writer were a Christian or a friend of Christians. But why, in the name of all that is perversely exaggerated, use Neronian favourites and Neronian punishments as typical of Trajan's courtiers and their mode of revenging personal affronts? A man intimately acquainted, as he professes to be, with Roman life must have known what was possible and impossible under Trajan, even if the incident narrated by Pliny (*Ep.* vi. 31) had not yet occurred, when Trajan made the famous remark about his freedman, *neque is Polycletus est, neque ego Nero*. Could he in the face of such knowledge seriously and *bona fide* use Tigellinus and the *tunica molesta* as types of Trajan's officials and their doings? I submit that these considerations, especially when combined with the serious difficulty of Juvenal's allusions to the *sportula*, suggest that we do not know the whole truth about the time at which these satires were written, or the object which the writer of them proposed to himself.

H. M. STEPHENSON.

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Juv. viii. 192 :

quantū sua funera vendant
quid refert? vendunt nullo cogente Nerone
nec dubitant celsi praetoris vendere ludis.

In spite of all that has been written on this passage, some difficulties, I think, remain. Mr. Mayor paraphrases: 'Be it so, that they are well paid: what of that?' But surely Juvenal would never have represented the degraded nobles excusing themselves on the plea that 'the jingling of the guinea helps the hurt that honour feels.' Plainly, they excused themselves on the plea of compulsion, as did the speaker in the passage Mr. Mayor quotes from Epict.: 'if I do not play a part on the stage, I shall lose my head.' Munro, whose citations from Tacitus throw so much light on the passage, explains '*funera*

vendant (if I understand him aright) as = *vitas vendere* i.e. save their lives by consenting to act, comparing the common phrase *'redimere aliquid vita'*: and he renders *quanti* 'at what price' or 'at what cost,' by which he seems to mean 'at the cost of their own disgrace.' At least this is what appears to be implied in his remark: 'Juvenal in his indignation does not choose to distinguish between their actual degradation and what he thinks they ought to feel.' Against this, I urge three objections: (i) if *funera vendant* means 'purchase life,' then *vendant* in next line must have a different sense, for Juvenal's own contemporaries were under no compulsion to act; (ii) *vendere* is not convertible with *redimere*, but is plainly identical with 'locasti' (185) and 'vocem venditis praetoribus' (vi. 380, quoted by Mr. Mayor s.v. 'praetoris'), i.e. hire themselves out to act for pay; (iii) *quanti* has the same syntactical relation to 'vendant' as 'cogente Nerone' has to 'vendunt': therefore its meaning is probably the same. Perhaps then Madvig's view of *funera*, though rejected by Mr. Mayor, Munro, Conington and Maclean, may after all be not far wrong:—'Nam Fabios, Mamercos, Aemilios, ceteros patricios et nobilissimos homines, quum scenae operam locent, non se vendere dicunt, qui iam nulli sint, extincta hoc scelere nobilitate illa, sublato genere, nomine paene deleta, ut potius funus sumum et reliquias mortuas tanti generis vendere videantur' (*Opusc.* p. 546). So explained, the lines involve an oxymoron 'ipso Iuvenale iuvenalius.' Under the circumstances, execution would have been a 'nobile letum,' a 'funus nec funus': as it is, the titled player lives a *blos áblwtos*—'dignus morte perit,' as the satirist elsewhere says. The meaning of the whole passage will then be:—'It is no excuse (quid refert) to say, that it was to avoid execution (quanti) the nobles under Nero made traffic (vendant) of their suicide (sua funera): we see them making the same traffic under Trajan or Hadrian without any such fear of execution (nullo cogente Nerone): they do so at the praetor's, not the emperor's, stage-plays.'

W. T. LENDRUM.

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PERSIUS, *Sat.* 1. 133. Si cynico barbam petulans nonaria vellit.

The word *nonaria* seems not to occur elsewhere. It is generally explained (as equivalent to *meretrix*), 'because not allowed to appear in public before the ninth hour.' So Conington, Lewis and Short, &c.

I do not know whether I have been anticipated in what seems a far more likely explanation of the word. In Plutarch's *Camillus*, 146 (xxxiii), an account is given of the holiday held at Rome on the Nones of July called 'Capratinae,' in which these words occur: *ἐπεὶτα κεκοιμημένοι λαμπρῶς αἱ θεραπαινίδες περιᾶσι παίζουσαι διὰ σκαμμάτων εἰς τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας*. Surely Persius's *nonaria* is one of these *θεραπαινίδες*, 'a nonces-girl,' who meets a cynic, and flouts him simply as a part of the day's business. On the other theory there seems no particular reason for her incivility, but on this it is naturally and sufficiently accounted for. Whether the supposed law about the 'ninth hour' is a mere inference from the supposed meaning of the above passage, or whether it rests on any external corroborative testimony, I have not succeeded in discovering. Conington's reference to Hor. 1 *Ep.* 7. 71 merely shows that the ninth hour was, as he says, 'the hour of dining.' But in any case, I submit that the name *nonaria* refers to the Nones of July, and not to *nona* (*hora*), and that it does not necessarily imply any reflection on the character of the person to whom it is applied.

F. D. MORICE.

ὁ δείνα.—The forms δέls, δέν (οὐ-δέls, οὐ-δέν) imply a feminine δείνα (Aeol. * δέννα), and this has survived in the Attic colloquialism ὁ δείνα, 'So-and-so,'—Tom, Dick or Harry. The original phrase was δείνα κεφαλῇ, compare the Homeric φῖλη κεφαλῇ. In course of time the natural abbreviation δείνα ousted the full expression, and was treated as an indeclinable.

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νήδυμος. For want of any better explanation most recent editors of Homer are inclined to acquiesce in the derivation of this word from *νή δύω* and regard it as a synonym of *νήγρετος*. This derivation is κατὰ Ἀρίσταρχον, and seems to me no better than the other old connexion with *ἡδός*. Mr. Leaf (see his note on B 2) solves the difficulty by reading *ἡδυμος*.

Let us suppose that the word were given to us without any knowledge of its actual use. What conjecture would, in that case, be naturally suggested by the mere form? We should probably divide *νη*—*δυμος*, and bring the second part into connexion with the words which denote multiple progeny at a birth—*διδυμος*, *τρίδυμος*, *τετράδυμος*. This termination -*δυμος* is obscure, but it seems to me that it must have connoted a fertilized ovum; *διδυμος* implies two fertilized ova, *τρίδυμος* three, &c. In that case *νήδυμος* would mean not born of an impregnated egg; in other words, born without seed, fatherless.

In Homer *νήδυμος* occurs only as an epithet of *ὕπνος*. Now it is remarkable that an adjective meaning *born without father* would be, from a mythological point of view, an epithet peculiarly appropriate to Sleep. For the notable circumstance about *Hypnos* was that he was born of Night and had no father. See Hesiod, *Theogony*, 212. According to this view *νήδυμος ὕπνος* should be translated *unfathered Sleep*. Popular etymology gradually obscured the original meaning of *νήδυμος*; it became confused with *ἡδυμος*, and in a Homeric hymn (xvii. 16) it is an epithet of *μοῦσα*.

* *

οὔτας. In reading Mr. Verrall's recent edition of the *Agamemnon*, I was struck by his suggestion on l. 720—

(ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος
ἱνὺ δόμοις ἀγέλακτον
οὔτος ἀνὴρ φίλῳ μαστον)—

that *οὔτος* has usurped the place of a word meaning *shepherd* and derived from *οἶς*; *οὔτας*, which he restores, is both better in sense and from a critical point of view more satisfactory than Wecklein's *βοῦτας*. But is *οὔτας* the true form? Mr. Verrall's note shows that he contemplated but on phonetic grounds rejected *οὔτας*, which palaeographically would be a neater emendation than *οὔτας*. It is of course quite true that, regularly, *οὔτις* would become *οἶ-*, but there may have been a special reason for *οὔτις* becoming *οὔτας*. The close association, in thought and in speech, of oxherds and shepherds would be sufficient to account for an exception in favour of a sound which produced such a telling jingle as *οὔτας* and *βοῦτας*. In other words, *βοῦτας* may have constrained *οὔτις* to become *οὔτας*.

The form of this hypothetical word interests me, because, if *οὔτας* were established, a difficulty in a celebrated episode in the *Odyssey* might be cleared up. I have always felt that the story of the deceim of Polyphemus by the name 'Noman' is unsatisfactory. Suppose it were an English legend, we can hardly imagine any child being taken in by the name 'Nobody'; the name is so improbable. It seems equally unnatural

that Polyphemus should so readily accept Odysseus' statement that his name was Οὔτις, unless οὔτις suggested some other meaning than οὔτις. If οὔτις was in use for *shepherd*, Οὔτις would have sounded perfectly natural as a man's name, and the whole tale obviously gains in point.

J. B. BURY.

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χλωρῆς in *Od.* xix. 518.

In an interesting note on *Georg.* iv. 511 in a recent number of this *Review* (vol. iv. p. 50) Mr. Warde Fowler touches also on the epithet χλωρῆς applied to the nightingale. I fully agree with him in regarding as unsatisfactory the explanations of Buchholz and Keller; and the view which he puts forward—that the leaf-shadow gives the apparent colour—though open to the objection that it supposes the poet to see the nightingale always in shadow, never on a projecting bough or flying, is the best that has been suggested, if we are bound to explain the word of colour. But are we so bound? When we look to the use of the word in χλωρὰ βέεθρα (strangely included by L. and S. under the head 'greenish-yellow'), χλωραὶ ἔεσσαι, χλωρὸν αἶμα, χλωρὸν δάκρυ, we are surely justified in giving it here a meaning unconnected with colour. The idea in the above epithets, derived from the springing of the grass, not from its colour, is probably *fresh, living, gushing*; and I think we may employ some kindred epithet to express the Homeric χλωρῆς. It seems to me that

Keats, who is more likely than any one else to catch intuitively a Greek idea, has expressed it by—

'In some melodious plot
Of beechen green and shadows numberless
Singest of summer in full-throated ease.'

The same idea is probably intended by the contrast of 'liquidæ avium voces' with 'levia carmina cantu' in Lucret. v. 1379; and the same effect aimed at by the imitators of the nightingale who, whether in Pliny (*H. N.* x. 84) or in Hans Andersen, put water in their mouths or their flutes.

This partnership of sight and hearing in the use of words is common enough: for example, in λαμπρός, παῖαν λάμπει, ὅσσα δεδῆει, &c.; and it may possibly explain why ξουθὸς is applied to a song, a wind, a grasshopper's note, as well as to the nightingale and the bee (Mr. Rutherford has collected the authorities in his note on the ξουθὴ χελιδὼν of Babrius, 118); but at the same time it is quite possible that in the nightingale and the bee also it describes sound only and *not* colour: if the word ξουθόπτερος is pressed as to the πτερόν, it must bear this meaning for the bee, and in *Agam.* 1142, οἶα τις ξουθὰ ἀκρότερος βοᾷς will translate oddly if the first epithet refers to colour. Nor is there any difficulty in supposing the idea of Keats's 'full-throated' to belong equally to the χλωράχην of Simonides and the δια ξουθῶν γενέω of Euripides rather than Matthew Arnold's 'tawny-throated.'

G. E. MARINDIN.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

PROTOGENES OF KAUNOS.

PLINY, xxxv. 101. *quis eum (Protopengen) docuerit, non putant constare, quidam et navis pinxisse usque ad quinquagesimum annum: argumentum esse, quod eum Athenis celeberrimo loco Minervæ delubri propylon pingeret, ubi fecit nobilem Paralum, et Hammoniada, quam quidam Nausikaa vocant, adiecerit parcolas navis longas in iis, quæ pictores parerga appellat, ut appareret a quibus initiis ad arcem ostentationis opera sua pervenissent.*

The meaning of *parergon* in this passage may be inferred from a phrase employed by Strabo, xiv. 2. 5, in describing the Satyr, another picture by the same painter. In this picture, he says, the satyr was leaning against a post, and on the post there was a partridge; and when the partridge was admired more than the satyr, Protopogenes was vexed because his *ergon* had become *parergon*. In a picture, then, a *parergon* was an additional object beside the principal object.

The Paralos and the Ammonias were two war-ships maintained by the Athenians for particular service. The names of more than two hundred and fifty of the Athenian war-ships are known from the inscriptions, *C. I. A.* vol. ii. nos. 789—812, but the name of Nausikaa is not among them; nor is that name assigned to any ship by any ancient author. Nausikaa here would naturally be the heroine in the *Odyssey*. Paralos, how-

ever, could not possibly be the Athenian hero of that name; for he would certainly have been associated with Ammon, the deity, and not with the Ammonias, the war-ship.

In the pictures the Paralos and the Ammonias must have been personified; for otherwise the Ammonias could not have been mistaken for Nausikaa. And if they were personified, the meaning of the personifications was appropriately indicated by the addition of a little war-ship beside the figure in each picture. As these additional war-ships are expressly described as little, they must have been represented in the distance, out at sea; so that the figures in the foreground must have been represented upon the shore. A picture of this sort might easily be interpreted of Nausikaa upon the shore watching the ship bearing Odysseus homeward. And the Greeks did paint pictures of this sort: for example, a fresco from Pompeii, No. 1222, *Helbig*, now in the British Museum, represents Ariadne upon the shore and the ship of Theseus out at sea.

Protopogenes, according to certain critics, painted ships till he was fifty years old. But by this they clearly meant that he painted pictures of ships, for they sought to prove their story by showing that he subsequently painted pictures of ships: and this fact

would afford no proof that he ever literally painted ships.

The custom of dedicating little pictures as thank-offerings for escapes at sea was well established a century before the time of Protogenes; as Cicero shows, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 37, by an anecdote about Diagoras the Atheist. At a large seaport like Rhodes, where Protogenes generally resided, such pictures must have been constantly in demand. And if they were executed as roughly as the more durable thank-offerings which have been recovered from the ruins of ancient temples, they certainly were among the meanest works of the ancient painters, and incomparably inferior to the masterpieces on the Acropolis. Ships must have figured in these votive pictures, either as the principal object, or as an additional object beside a figure of the dedicator or the deity: and possibly it was in these pictures that Protogenes used to paint ships.

CECIL TORR.

THREE BOOKS ON LATIN EPIGRAPHY.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum; voluminis tertii supplementum; fasc. prior (Berlin: Reimer). Folio, pp. 172.

Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane, di Ettore di Ruggiero. Fasc. 1—15: abacus—annona (Roma: Pasqualicci). 8vo.

Cours d'Epigraphie Latine, par R. Cagnat. Deuxième édition entièrement refondue (Paris: Thorin). 8vo. pp. xxvi. 436. 12 fcs.

OF late years English scholars have vigorously prosecuted the study of Greek inscriptions. Money has been subscribed, grants made by learned bodies, expeditions sent to the east, extensive excavations set on foot. Every fragment found has been carefully edited, public lectures have been given, handbooks and manuals compiled by experienced authors. All this contrasts strangely with the state of Latin epigraphy in England. The work done by Mr. A. H. Smith and Prof. Ramsay in Asia Minor and by Mr. A. J. Evans in Illyricum is indeed most admirable, but it stands alone. Even the inscriptions found in our own island have been left to antiquarian societies, and, though one or two of these, like the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, produce good results, they cannot as a whole be taken to represent trained English scholarship. Hardly any professed scholar in England has troubled himself about the inscriptions

recently found at Chester; no university has voted money to assist in the completion of the excavations there. This is perhaps natural, for the charm of Hellenism is apparently infinite. Yet one cannot help regretting that classical archaeology should now mean to our scholars nothing more than Greek archaeology, and that the fashion should count a Hellenic potsherd of more value than a Roman city.

Fortunately, this view does not obtain abroad. In Germany, France, and Italy, the editing and elucidation of inscriptions goes steadily forward. The *Corpus* itself has now reached a noteworthy stage, by the publication of the first supplemental volume. Supplements, technically styled *addimenta*, have from time to time appeared in the *Ephemeris*, but supplementary material has now accumulated in sufficient amount to justify the issue of supplemental volumes, ranging in size and shape with the original folios. It is only fitting that the first of these supplements should continue the third volume of the *Corpus*, though that volume was not the first of the series in order of publication, for it represents one of the most colossal achievements of modern scholarship. Most volumes of the *Corpus* reach an extremely high level of excellence; the third seems to stand by itself. The preface is striking enough—its last paragraph is perhaps the finest piece of Latin written by a modern scholar—and the work itself, embracing half, and that the least explored half, of the Roman world, exhibits a singular mastery over difficulties which were hardly involved in the preparation of the other volumes. It is fitting too that the larger part of the supplement should be edited by Mommsen. No one needs to be told that Mommsen has done more for Latin epigraphy than any other scholar, living or dead. He has himself edited eight volumes of the *Corpus* and has contributed the lion's share to the *Ephemeris*, and, besides all this, his hand is visible, emending and elucidating, throughout the whole of these epigraphic publications. The present volume contains about a thousand inscriptions, collected from Egypt, Asia, and the Greek provinces of Europe. All of this is Prof. Mommsen's work, except the inscriptions from Moesia Inferior, which have been edited by Prof. A. von Domaszewski, one of the ablest of the younger German epigraphists. A second *fasciculus* will contain the inscriptions of Dacia and Illyricum by Hirschfeld and Domaszewski, who have made extensive journeys for the purpose of gathering up and verifying the texts. The greater

part of the inscriptions in the *fasciculus* now issued have, as is natural, appeared already in the *Ephemeris*, and, so far, the present supplement merely puts them into a more convenient shape. But there are many new ones. One (n. 6813) from Antioch in Pisidia contains a curious though probably unimportant exception to the rule which excluded from Egypt men of senatorial rank. Another (n. 7000) supplies the corrected reading of the rescripts of Constantine from Orestus (*C.* iii. 352). A third (n. 7090) gives an instance of Claudius' substitute for the consonant V, in the shape of a tall narrow E reversed. A fourth (n. 7401) deals with the famous inscription on 'Pompey's pillar' at Constantinople, which has been discovered and copied by J. H. Mordtmann. To the many travellers who visited this pillar in earlier days should be added the Earl of Sandwich (*Voyage round the Mediterranean* by John Cooke p. 136, compare *Gent. Mag.* 1799, 772, 855). He apparently read a fourth line...CVR...which is given by no other writer and is therefore almost as unlikely as it unfortunately is unimportant. If genuine, it might be a trace of some formula like *ponendum curavit*. There are also important inscriptions from Pergamum and not a few from Tomi and other sites in Moesia.

While the edition of texts proceeds thus rapidly, an Italian scholar has undertaken the task of compiling an epigraphical dictionary. Inscriptions deal with every conceivable branch of Roman life, and the work is therefore in reality, an extensive Dictionary of Antiquities, and the editor has increased the work by including all the geographical names mentioned in inscriptions. A few instances will show the scope of the undertaking. The first three articles deal with *abacus*, *abalienatio*, *Aballava*, the last being an obscure fort in Cumberland. Further on, fourteen pages detail the history of Achaia, and fourteen more that of Egypt, the names of their magistrates and officials and the status of their towns. *Adiutria* includes an account of the two legions which bore that title, and *Ala* describes the troops thus styled, and gives a list of the *alae* known to us. In general, the execution seems excellent. Original theories are naturally excluded, but the known facts are carefully collected and adequately summarized. Small faults are inevitably discoverable. The second inscription quoted under *abacus* should be quoted from the *Corpus* (vi. 10237), not from Orelli, and a reference added to Wölfflin's *Archiv* (i. 430). Possibly, too,

the *ala Classiana* was not 'composta da ex-classiarii,' but owes its name to some Classius who founded it, like the *Indiana*, the *Proeu-leiana* or the *Longiniana*. But it is as unfair as it is easy to criticize a dictionary in detail, particularly one which covers so vast an extent of ground as the one before me. The work is really one which should find a place in all libraries. I am only afraid that it is likely to try the patience of private subscribers. Four hundred and eighty pages have only carried it down to *annonæ*, and unless the publication proceeds very rapidly, its end must be far off. Meantime, I hope that some librarian will invent a satisfactory method of fastening together in usable shape the loose 'fascicules' which are not ready for binding. Bundles of loose octavo sheets are intolerable nuisances. They are worse than the Sibyl's leaves or a heap of school-boys' exercises.

M. Cagnat's *Cours d'Épigraphie* is a less gigantic and a much handier book. I briefly noticed the first edition in this *Review* (i. 430) and, like other reviewers, commended it warmly—so far as it is not an impertinence to commend the work of a scholar like M. Cagnat. The second edition, now before me, is greatly enlarged, as indeed the omission of *élémentaire* from the title shows, and it deserves even greater commendation. It is perhaps particularly worthy of remark that the book may well be of considerable use to students who are not epigraphists. For it contains much valuable information in a lucid and connected form. M. Cagnat, for instance, describes fully the equestrian and senatorial careers, subjects which must surely interest any Oxford student of Roman history. He gives, too, a chronological list of the emperors with all their titles and magistracies. One need not even trouble to calculate which was the tenth year of Nero's tribunician power, and imperial consuls and 'imperators' are all detailed in full. Only I wish that M. Cagnat had said more about the army and the gods, even if this had entailed the suppression of something now included.

F. HAVERFIELD.

P.S.—The Earl of Sandwich (A.D. 1718—92, one of George III.'s ministers between 1763 and 1784) made the conventional 'tour' in 1738—9. His diary was edited, with a memoir prefixed, by John Cooke (*A Voyage performed by the late Earl of Sandwich round the Mediterranean, written by himself*. London, 1799. pp. xl, 539. 4to). The volume contains several inscriptions:—

(1) Roman—

p. 53 CIL III. 549 (omit in v. 2); p. 59 CIL III. 552 (SYLLE v. 6); p. 127 CIL III. 737; p. 531 CIL II. 3709,

3710; p. 529 CH. II. 3417 (REGIS v. 2, GAUD v. 3, MASSINISSAE, v. 4.

(2) Greek—

Athens (pp. 49, 53, 57—9, Plates I.—III.); Colouri (p. 70); Megara (pp. 77—8); Eleusis (pp. 81—3); Delos (pp. 98—100); Stanchio (Doric) (p. 327).

THE SHARK AND THE WHALE.—Aristotle in his *History of Animals* speaks somewhat ambiguously of the *pristis*. He says, vi. 12. 1, that the dolphin, the whale, and the other large marine animals that have spiracles instead of gills, are viviparous, and likewise the *pristis*. He thus implies that the *pristis*, though viviparous, has gills. Previously he has said, iii. 1. 13, that the sharks and the other viviparous animals with gills are strictly ovo-viviparous. But he now proceeds to say, vi. 12. 1, that 'they' are all viviparous like human beings, and not ovo-viviparous. It must be that he is referring solely to the animals with spiracles, which he next proceeds to discuss, and not to the *pristis*, which he has mentioned by an afterthought. There is an epitaph by Leonidas of Tarentum in the *Palatine Anthology*, vii. 506, upon a sailor, who had been diving to recover an anchor, and was just being hauled into the ship again, when the lower half of his body was bitten off and swallowed by a *pristis*. The *pristis* here is unmistakably some kind of a shark.

The seventh edition of Liddell and Scott describes the *pristis* as a large fish, probably of the whale kind. Its name is there explained as the *spouter*: and yet Aristotle distinctly implies that the animal has no spiracles. The name is to be explained quite simply as the *biter*.

CECIL TORR.

THE GORTYNA INSCRIPTIONS.—English students of these early Kretan documents will be interested to learn from the following statement by Signor Comparetti that 'the definitive edition of the Gortyna inscription and of all the archaic inscriptions from the same town has not yet appeared. I have just published some new archaic fragments, and very shortly Signor Halbherr will publish all the non-archaic inscriptions found by him in Krete. As soon as ever this publication is completed, I shall take in hand that of all the archaic inscriptions of Gortyna.'

C. S.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. January—February, 1890. Athens and Paris.

1. Holleaux; excavations at the temple of Apollo Ptoos; the inscriptions later than B.C. 350; the constitution of Acreaphiae, as evidenced in inscriptions. Specially interesting is no. 10 of his list, which gives the end of an Amphiktyonic decree, and an oracle issued from the cave of Trophonios at Lebadeia, both relating to games in honour of Apollo; and the bequest of a sum of money for the celebration of these games. There are besides two new arbitration cases; and interesting evidence as to the games called Ptoia. 2. Fougères; excavations at Mantinea 1887—8. (i) The wall of enceinte and the topography.—The varied constructions of the city gates show considerable strategical invention and skill; plate and several cuts. 3. Cousin and Diehl; inscriptions of Halicarnassos and Myndos; among them is the signature of an artist Daïdalos, probably a Graeco-Roman copy of the signature of that artist. The authors explain the formula Νίκη followed by a name in the genitive (see

Newton *Halie*. &c. ii. p. 787) as a Christian phrase in which Νίκη becomes the equivalent of the tomb; cf. 'Death is swallowed up in Victory.' 4. Lechat; Archaic statues of Athens: publishing a statue of the Akropolis (two plates); and a detailed criticism of two others, (*Musées d'Ath.* pl. ix.; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1888, pl. vi.); these he thinks are Samian work of the sixth century: they show the influence of metal technique, though still recalling wooden ξόανα; and reflect, possibly through the medium of Samos, the style of Egyptian art. 5. Carapanos; publishes in a preliminary form four inscribed plaques (questions asked of the oracle) and six bronze statuettes from Dodona not included in his book. 6. Berard: twelve inscriptions from Telmessos. 13. Foucart; part of an Athenian decree soon after 450 B.C., ordering an architect to prepare an estimate for a construction intended to prevent fugitive slaves and robbers (λαποδύται) from entering the Akropolis.

C. S.

Revue Archéologique. July—August, 1889. Paris.

1. Deloche: signet rings and stamps of the Mero-vigian period, continued: several cuts. 2. Vaillant: some Roman glass work of Boulogne sur mer; publishes three pieces of a series excavated here 1888—1889: cut, two plates. 3. Berger: ceramic inscriptions of the Punic necropolis of Hadrumetum, part i.: three Phoenician inscriptions painted on vases, apparently sepulchral: plans and cuts in text. 5. Monceaux and Laloux: restoration of the pediments of Olympia: (fragment of a work now in press, entitled 'Restauration d'Olympie') three double plates. 6. Blanchet: tesserae, theatrical and otherwise, continued, nos. 51—74; tesserae with Latin and Greek numerals, nos. 1—14: numerous cuts. 7. Reinach: Chronique d'Orient: compte rendu of current archaeological events. 8. De Kersers: monumental statistics of the department du Cher: history of architecture, concluded. Meetings of Societies. Correspondence. Review. 9. Cagnat: review of epigraphical publications relating to Roman antiquity.

C. S.

The same. September—October, 1889.

1. De Morgan: note on the usage of the Assyrian system of weights in Russian Armenia in the pre-historic age: three cuts and table. 2. De Chatellier: the treasure of Saint Papu (Finistère), discovered in 1889. Roman coins and three silver vases, which can be dated at the middle of the fourth century A.D. He also (p. 193) describes two similar finds at Lanrivoaré and Pont-l'Abbé, showing the disturbed state of N. and W. Finistère at that period: four cuts. 4. Berger: ceramic inscriptions of Hadrumetum continued (nos. 4—18): these inscriptions throw interesting light upon Phoenician palaeography and burial customs. 6. Blanchet; tesserae, theatrical and otherwise, concluded; Latin and Greek numerals 15—36. He suggests that possibly Greek was the language *par excellence* of the theatre, and hence the Greek traces in Roman tickets. 7. De la Blanchère: Provincial art in Roman Africa. 9. Baux: note on metallurgy of copper in Sardinia.

Obituary: Baron J. de Witte. Meetings of Societies. News and correspondence. Bibliography.

C. S.

The same. November—December, 1881.

1. Deloche: signet rings, and stamps of the Mero-vigian period, continued: several cuts. 2. Reinach: translation of Sayce's memoir on the Tel el Amarna cuneiform tablets. 4. Mowat: inscriptions (1—15) of

the civitas Lingunum. 5. Collignon: catalogue of the Greek and Italo-Greek vases exhibited in the exposition of 1889, the collection of M. Bellon, drawn up by MM. Chamonard and Couve. 6. Lechat: marble head of the Acropolis museum at Athens; assigns it to the first years of the fifth century, B.C.: plate. Meetings of Societies. Review: Rayet's *Études d'Archéologie*. Review of epigraphical publications relating to Roman antiquity: with three cuts in text.

C. S.

Athenische Mittheilungen, 1889, part 3. Athens. pp. 217—328.

1. Reisch: the drawings of Cyriacus in the Codex Barberini of Giuliano di San Gallo. 2. Lolling: the sanctuary of Artemis at Antikyra (Paus. x. 37. 1): describes a carving in the rock near Antikyra which recalls Asiatic models, and is unique in Greece: new evidence for the accuracy of Pausanias: plate. 3. Petersen: describes the methods adopted by the Greeks for preserving sculpture and architecture from injury by birds. 4. Cichorius: forty Greek inscriptions from Bithynia, Lydia, Lesbos, and Eresos. 5. Wolters: Mykenaeen vases from North Greece: describes a series of vases found together in tombs at Volo (pl. viii.—x.): some from near Volo pl. xi.; and some from a site not far from Antikyra. 6. Strzygowski: the Akropolis in early Byzantine times; nine cuts. 7. Treu: the east pediment at Olympia: refutes Graef's suggestion (*ante*, vol. 13, p. 402) that the head of the kneeling girl (O) belongs to the kneeling boy (B) and that the head of (B) belongs to the kneeling man (C). 8. The same: the gravestone of Metrodoros of Chios: argues for painted decoration on the front of this and similar monuments (*see ante*, vol. 13, p. 160, pl. 3). 9. Dörpfeld: the building of which the foundations have been discovered between the Propylaea and the Parthenon is not the Ergane temple, but the Chalkotheke. 10. Mordtmann: notes on *ante*, vol. 12, p. 168 &c. 11. Kontoleon: inscription of Kolophon. 12. The same: inscription of Magnesia. 13. Graef: traces of painting on the Nike of Archermos. 14. Wolters: inscription from the theatre of Dionysos.

Bibliography: New discoveries (W. D). Addendum to p. 239 (E. P).

C. S.

Archäologisches Jahrbuch. Part i. 1889. Berlin.

1. Richter: Roman orator's platforms (rostra): treats in detail (i) the façade; (ii) the ships' beaks; (iii) the side elevation; (iv) the staircase; (v) decoration and monuments on the rostra; nine cuts. 2. Treu: examines in detail the traces of colouring and toning on a marble head in the British Museum; concludes that the ancients did not tone the flesh parts of marble statues with wax alone: the alternatives are either gleaming white or a definite (either transparent or opaque) tone of colour: coloured plate. 3. Holwerda; takes five cups in the Leyden

Museum as the starting-point for some notes on Attic vases of the transition style: these vases reflect the spirit of the Parthenon age, and offer fresh evidence for the new vase-chronology: three full-page cuts. 4. Furtwängler; gems with artists' signatures, concluded; Aspasio, Skylax, Koinos: Greek artists with Roman names: signers of campos: genuine inscriptions which are not artists' names, but have been copied as such by forgers: forged names: historical divisions: *Nachtrag*: cuts in text. 5. Conze: the similarity between a relief in the Museo Nazionale at Naples representing Orestes and a gem representing Diomedes (*ante*, vol. iii., p. 314) had been already remarked: concludes that the gem was inspired by the motive of the relief. Furtwängler replies with further reasons for attributing the priority to the gem: plate.

Anzeiger. Wilcken: the Hellenistic portraits from the Fayoum of the Graf collection; whereas no example as yet points to an origin in Ptolemaic times, several details are found in favour of attributing them to the second and third centuries A.D. Meetings of the Institute. Bibliography.

C. S.

The same. Part ii. 1889. Berlin.

1. Assmann: on the construction of the ancient ship: ten cuts. 2. Weizsäcker: Herakles epitrapezios: a bronze statuette, which Keller described as a Satyr or Seilenos, is from an examination of other examples attributed to this type: plate. 3. Hauser: the 'Narcisso' of Pompeii is in its present pose out of drawing, the wedge under the right foot being modern; the weight should rest on this foot, throwing the body more back: it is probably a type of Dionysos: two cuts. 4. Marx: the bull on the Tiryas wall painting is not a group of an acrobat: from a comparison of certain types on the coins of Katane and Gela, it may represent a river-god in the form of a charging bull, over whom a demon in human form hovers: three cuts. 5. Bie: the wrestling of Pan and Eros, relief on a terracotta vase in Berlin (Cat. no. 2900): traces the origin in the third century of this type, which became famous in Roman times: cut. 6. Richter: the Augustus buildings on the Forum Romanum; (i) reconstruction of the Caesar temple: (ii) history of this temple: (iii) triumphal arch of Augustus; (iv) rearrangement of the Roman Forum: fourteen cuts, and plan of the excavations on this site in the spring of 1888. 7. Sauer: Pausanias and the western pediment of Olympia; an attempt to reconcile the arrangement of the sculptures with the description of Pausanias, whom Treu thought to be in error. 8. Studniczka: discusses Treu's alteration in the arrangement of the figures in the western pediment of Olympia: cut.

Anzeiger. Annual report. Meetings of the Institute. Bibliography. Correspondence between Furtwängler and Beudorff with reference to the Eleusis (Eubuleus) head.

C. S.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Philologus, xlvii. 1, 2nd half, contains:—

VII. A. Wiedemann, *Die Ehe des Ptolemaeus Philadelphus mit Arsinoe II.* Assigned to B.C. 273-2 by a stele (Pithon). Theocr. xvii. to be placed between this and 266.—VIII. O. Gruppe, *Äthiopien-*

mythen, I. Connects the Andromeda, Leucothea, Derceto, and Phaethon myths with the story of Jonah and Genes. vi. ff.—IX. H. Landwehr, *Die Forschung über die griechische Geschichte*, 1882-86. A summary of results arranged in epochs.

Miscellen:—

1. R. Peppmüller, *Metrische Inschrift von Metapont*. Discusses scansion and grammar of Cauer² 227. Takes half-line as metrical unit, *Fin* as dative, and supposes nothing lost.—2. L. Holzapfel, *Die ursprüngliche Stelle des Pentakontactie in thukydideischen Geschichtswerk*. 'I. 118 ff. must have followed c. 18 originally, because knowledge of the facts is assumed in cc. 40, 42, &c. Transposed by Thuc. to mark its importance in exciting war.'—3. L. Schwabe, *Der Tod des Dichters Helvius Cinna*. Maintains against Ribbeck that the Cinna slain by the mob was not the conspirator.—4. Ed. Stroebel, *Zu Cicero de inventione*.—5. *Zu Cornificius ad Herennium*. Collation of two MS. fragments.—6. S. Linde, *In Senecam Rhetorem*. Emendations.—7. A. Häckermann, *Zu Juvenal*, v. 146–8. 'Sed is not adversative but intensive.'—8. G. F. Unger, *Die Blüthezeit des Alexander Polyhistor*. Additions and corrections. Cf. xliii. 528 ff.—9. Id., *Die Regierungszeit des Hieronymos von Syrakus*. 'In Polyb. vii. 7. 3 read *τριῶν καὶ ἡμίσεος* for *τριῶν καὶ δέκα*.'—10. O. Crusius, *Thierfabeln auf antiken Bildwerken*.—11. Y. Makedonsches bei Lasos von Hermione?—12. O. Bachmann, 'Ortyas in der Komödie.'—*Excerpte und Mittheilungen*.

Notes:—R. Ellis, *Ad Alcaicum*, fr. 41. 'For αἰ τὰ I. αἰρέ τε.'—A. Eussner, *Zur Aegritudo Perdiccae* *Poet. Lat. Min.* v. 254. For *famem* l. *vesca*.

The same, xlvii. 2, contains:—

X. M. Treu und O. Crusius, *Griechische Sprichwörter*. Excerpts in cod. Pal. gr. 129, with remarks on their relation to other collections.—11. C. Cron, *Zu Heraklit*. 1. On the interpretation of 'Εν τῷ σοφῶν μόνον λέγασθαι, κ.τ.λ. 2. On αἰ ψυχὰς ὁσμῶνται καθ' ἄσπην, supporting this reading. 3. On 'Panzoismus' as a term for his philosophy.—XII. O. Crusius, *Zu den Anakreonceen*. 1. *Die Schluss-Länge im Anaklomenos und Anakr.* 2^a, 50, 2. *Die Entstehungszeit von Anakr.* 21–32.—XIII. A. Bauer, *Poseidonios und Plutarch über die römischen Eigennamen*. 'In *Marius*, c. 1, and *Coriol.* c. 11, Plutarch is drawing from a treatise of Poseidonios on Roman proper names.' Inferences as to Plutarch's method of work.—XIV. Fr. Haussen, *Die Aktivbedeutung der Adjectiva auf -bilis im archaischen Latein*. Classified lists of examples with conclusion that active force does not exist.—XV. W. Friedrich, *Zu Cicero's Partitiones Oratoriae*.—XVI. C. Häberlin, *Questiones Vergilianae*. Attempts to trace order of composition and later additions in books of Aeneid.—XVII. J. Jessen, *Witz und Humor im Juvenal*. xiii. 40, l. *saccato*, i. 116, l. *fico*; vii. 42, l. *porcas*; vii. 115, '*bubulcus* alludes to the slaughter of the cattle by Aiax'; x. 109, l. *signa* for *flagra*, cf. *Lucan, Phars.* v. 349; xiii. 184, l. *Cratetis* for *Thaletis*; vi. 237, l. *his* for *ut*; iii. 46, allusion is to the thieving left hand.—XVIII. O. Gruppe, *Aithiopenmythen* 2. *Die Erzählung des Hygin*. Continuing the investigation of the Phaethon group of myths, with especial reference to the authorities of Hyginus.—XIX. A. Wiedemann, *Die Forschungen über den Orient*.

Miscellen:—

13. O. Bachmann, *Zu Aristophanes, Av.* 1212, 'for οὐ I. πᾶς and give πᾶς λέγεις; to Iris.' *Ib.* 375, defends δῆτα. *Ib.* 1579 on τῖς with imperatives. *Vesp.* 941, 'for οἶμ' ἐγὼ I. οἶμαι καὶ.—14. G. F. Unger, *Zu Theophrast*.—15. W. Schmid, *Emendationum ad Aristidem Specimen*.—16. H. Belling, *Ad Tibulli elegiam*, II. 4.—17. O. Crusius, *Δήλιος κολυμβητής*. On parallels to this proverb in *Diog. Laert* (II. 22).

Notes:—O. Crusius, *Z. d. homerischen Hymnen*, 'xxix. is to be ascribed to the author of xxx. and xxxi.'—C. Häberlin, *Zu Aischylos, Suppl.* 55, read *ἐγγαίος ἐπ' οἶκτον ἄλων*; 256, for *μνηταί ἄκη* read *νηλέα δάκη*.—M. Petschenig, *Zu Apuleius Met.* xi. 9, reads *comministrarent*; xi. 19, for *probe meis et, meis pro re et*; *Apol.* II. (p. 4, 6), for *subito tacerem* reads *subitū tacere in*; *Apol.* lxxiv. (p. 85, 2) supports 'commentator.'—O. Bachmann, *Zu Aristophanes, Av.* 1080. 'Retaining πᾶσι after δέικνυσαι, read *kakoi* for *λυμαίνεσθαι*.'—S. Linde, *In Senecam Rhetorem Controv.* II. 12 (p. 159, 5 sqq), reads *quamvis timetis sperare* and retains *levatum*.

Excerpte u. Mittheilungen.

Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. April, May, 1889.

ON THE LITERATURE OF OVID, 1885–1888, by Dr. Hugo Magnus:—

A. Biese, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Römern*. Ovid treated of, pp. 105–120, 'interesting.'—J. Huber, *Die Ursachen der Verbannung des Ovid*, does not bring us a ny further.—A. Lüneburg, *De Ovidio sui imitatore*, deals with the subject-matter more than with the language.—A. Draeger, *Ovid als Sprachbildner*, 'not complete enough.'—H. St. Sedlmayer, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Heroïdes*, 'indispensable for the study of the *Heroïdes*.'—R. Ehwald, *P. Ovidius Naso. Ex Rudolphi Merkelii recognitione* Vol. I. This is the new Teubner edition [*Cl. Rev.* sup. 212].—A. Gudemann, *De Heroidum Ovidii codice Planudeo quae supersunt*, the translation of Pl. is 'not quite useless, but must be used with caution' [*Cl. Rev.* sup. 269].—G. Wartenburg, *Der codex Bernensis 478 der Heroïdes des Ovid*, 'this new collation is a very meritorious piece of work.'—H. Gilbert, *Ad Ovidii Heroïdes quaestiones criticae et exegeticae*.—Bernh. Eschenburg, *Wie hat Ovid einzelne Wörter und Wortklassen im Verse verwendet?* a continuation of the valuable *Metrische Untersuchungen über die Echtheit der Heroïdes des Ovid* (Lübeck, 1874), concludes that of Heroid. 1–14, Ovid wrote earlier the eight letters generally recognised as genuine, viz. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, and the others at a later time.—J. Tolckien, *Quaestionum ad Heroïdes Ovidianus spectantium capita VII.*, of the first 14 none are spurious.—N. Barbu, *De Sapphus epistula*, concludes 'epistulam Sapphus, quae nunc lecitatur, Ovidii ingenio et indoli (sic) dignissimam esse neque aliam fuisse, quae Am. II. 18 commemoratur.'—H. Magnus, *Die Metamorphosen des P. Ovidius Naso*, with an appendix containing a life of Ovid and general remarks on the language of the Roman poets.—J. Siebelis and F. Polle, *Selections from P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoses*, Part I. 14 ed., Part II. 12 ed.—Charles Simmons, *The Metamorphoses of Ovid*, Books XIII. and XIV. 'More adapted for the use of teachers or for private study than for schools.' Mr. R. Ellis's critical contributions are severely handled [*Cl. Rev.* I. 199b].—O. Eichert, *Wörterbuch zu den Verwandlungen des Publius Ovidius Naso und Kleines Schulwörterbuch zu den Metamorphosen des Ovid*. The larger dictionary is practical and convenient, but wanting in accuracy and solidity. The smaller is almost worthless, and confined to those parts of the *Metamorphoses* which are found readable in schools, but which be they?—R. Ellis, *Notes of a fortnight's research in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris*, in *Journ. of Phil.* xv. 30, 'interesting for Ovid. The most important part is the description and collation of fragments of the *Metamorphoses*.'—A. Zingerle, *Kleine philologische Abhandlungen*, Part IV.—H. Magnus, *Studien zu Ovid's Metamorphosen und Zu den Metamorphosen des Ovidius*

(*N. Jahr. f. Phil.* 1887) to be read together.—F. Polle, *Zu Ovidius* (*N. Jahr. f. Phil.* 1885), and *Zu Ovidius Metamorphosen* (ib. 1888).—G. Knaak, *Quaestiones Phaethontaeae*, shows that both *Ov. Met.* II. and Nonn. *Dion.* XXXVIII. are taken from the Epyllion of an unknown Alexandrine writer.—Ad. Ebert, *Die Anachronismus in Ovid's Metamorphosen*, 'interesting, but goes too far'.—A. Schmekel, *De Ovidiana Pythagorae doctrinae culumbratione*. On *Ov. Met.* XV. 60-478 Varro is generally Ovid's authority.—F. A. Paley, *P. Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum*, Books I. and II., III. and IV., 2 vols. The text is Merkel's text of 1841, but the explanatory notes are good.—S. G. Owen, *Ovid's Tristia*, Book I., 'written with good judgment and knowledge of the subject' [*Cl. Rev.* I. 234].—A. C. Maybury, *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Tristium*, lib. I., 'absolutely worthless and swarming with blunders'.—F. Krüger, *De Ovidii Fastis recensendis*, an excellent dissertation.—M. Cl. Gertz, *Notae criticae in Ovidii Fast.* III. 523-710.—H. Winther, *De fastis Verrii Flacci ab Ovidio adhibitibus*. Ovid had recourse to the *Fasti Praenestini* which are derived from Verrius Flaccus, cf. Suet., *Gramm.* 17. In II. 568 is the excellent emendation *deas* for *diis* of codd. where edd. read *pedes*. At the conclusion is an essay by G. Wartenburg on the *Date of Composition of the Tristia and Epp. ex Ponto*. The writer seeks to show that Ovid left Rome the latter part of A.D. 9; the *Tristia* were composed during the time Dec. A.D. 9 to Jan. A.D. 13. The first three books of *Ex Ponto* were probably published together; they come close after the *Tristia*, but some of the letters were earlier. Book IV. was probably not published by Ovid.

Litterarisches Centralblatt, 1889, 1890.

1889. No. 51. *Aristophanis Ranae* ed. Blaydes. Like the preceding volumes of Aristophanes by B.—Kock, *Comicorum atticorum fragmenta*, Vol. III. Contains Menander and the rest of the comic poets in excellent editions. It is to be regretted that Kock has not embodied in this collection his masterly reconstruction of prose-fragments saved by Aleiphron and others (*Hermes*, xxi.).

No. 52. Fraccaroli, *Alcuni luoghi controversi di Pindaro dichiarati*. Valuable contributions to Pindaric exegesis.—Marx, *Griechische Märchen von dankbaren Thieren*. A good collection of the material.—*Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* ed. Goetz. IV. Contains (1) a glossary of Cod. Vatic. 3321 (saec. vii.): (2) the abba-glossary of Cod. Sangallensis 912 with *var. lectt.*; (3) four glossaries of Cod. Leidens. 67 F (saec. viii.-ix.). Grouping, classification, and selection make the *Corpus* one of the most prominent works of modern diplomatic criticism.

1890. No. 1. Knoke, *Die Krieggzüge des Germanicus in Deutschland. Nachtrag*. A defence of his views published in 1887. K. has an excellent knowledge of the locality, but he overvalues Tacitus as a historical source. In his refutation of Ranke's suspicions against Dio's account he seems to be unsuccessful, and his hypothesis (Iburg as place of the battle of Varus) improbable.—Vogrinz, *Grammatik des homerischen Dialektes*. A worthless compilation.—Allen, *Notes on Abbreviations in Greek MSS.* A good collection of abbreviations of minuscule MSS. His hypothesis about a 'scuola di S. Nilo' seems to be without good foundation.

No. 2. Mahler, *Chronologische Vergleichungstabellen*. I. A handy and useful book of reference.—Whibley, *Political Parties in Athens during the Peloponnesian War*. An excellent essay. It contains much that is new, and deserves careful perusal.—Manferin, *Gli Ebrei sotto la dominazione romana*. I. Contains a vast amount of material. Pp. 1-283

introductory, pp. 281-307, 'i Romani in Giudea.'—Papageorgios, *Scholae in Sophoclis tragicodias vetera*. Although as regards the text not everything is as yet settled, P.'s collations are certainly valuable. The reviewer cannot agree with the severe criticism of the *Cl. R.* 1889.—*Platonis dialogi secundum Thrasylli tetralogias dispositi*...rec. Wohlrab. II. 1. The praefatio contains a defence against criticisms of W.'s textual procedure. Regarding his method, nothing can be said until the rest of the work with the commentarius criticus has appeared.—P. Nigidii *Figuli reliquias* coll. em. enar....Swoboda. A careful collection, with many emendations of the text of the 130 fragments. In his 'quaestiones Nigidii,' he deals with N.'s commentarii grammatici (at least 29 books), de diis (written before 47), and gives a number of happy conjectures.

No. 3. Miodowski, *Anonymus adversus aleatores*. After a careful revision of the text, M. concludes that Cod. M. deserves the preference. He gives therefore an edition based on Cod. M. with translation, commentary, and introduction.—Troost, *Inhalt und Echtheit der Platonischen Dialoge*. T. examines the Platonic dialogues from the stand-point of a logical analysis, and finds that the *Charmides* is spurious and unworthy of Plato.—Prellwitz, *Die argivischen Inschriften* (Griech. Dial. Sammlung). P. deviates from the practice of the first volumes of the collection in using the Attic accentuation. The volume contains much that is interesting: F, Φ, Η = σ, &c.—*Dionysii Halicarnassensis de imitatione oratoriae, epistulaeque duae* ed. Usener. The first half is a reprint of the Bonner Kaiserprogramm. The second contains a careful and definite recension of the letter to Ammaeus, *περὶ τῶν Θουκυλίδου ιδιωμάτων*. An epilogue gives the outlines of the *κριτική*.—*Dionysii Halicar. antiquitatem Romanarum quae supersunt* ed. Jacoby, II. J.'s textual criticism is eclectic. The adnotat. criticae are frequently insufficient.—Buechner, *De neocoria*. A careful investigation, leading in the main to Mommsen's and Ekhel's results.

No. 4. *Ovidii Nasonis Tristium libb.* V. rec. Owen. The main value of this excellent edition, which seems to be destined to form a basis for all further investigations, lies in the chapter 'de codicum inter se rationibus.' As none of these MSS. are free from interpolations the textual criticism is necessarily eclectic.—*Inventio Sanctae Crucis*...ed. Holder. An exact copy of Cod. Paris. saec. vi.-vii., followed by *var. lectt.* of five other MSS.

No. 5. Παπαδημητρακόπουλος, *Βάσανος τῶν περὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς προφορᾶς ἑρασμικῶν ἀποδείξεων*. A violent attack against Blass and his followers. On account of the author's learning the pamphlet, although not convincing in its main parts, deserves a careful study.—*Σακελλαρίου βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ λαοῦ*. Collection of modern Greek novels, published by Σ. at a very moderate price (50 lepta, half a franc, each volume).—Benndorf and Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölboschi-Trysa*, I. (34 plates). Careful description of this exceedingly interesting Lycian monument, which is now at Vienna.

No. 6. v. Grünewaldt, *Historische Stammtafeln*. Worthless.—*Hesiod's Mähnelieder an Perses* v. A. Kirchhoff. 'Hesiod's Erga consist of two entirely different parts: (1) addresses to H.'s brother Perses and "the kings," and (2) passages of a general nature.' The present edition gives the traditional text, but marks (1) by larger and (2) by smaller print. K. shows plainly the personal character of the Erga. Whether, however, all passages of a general nature are to be regarded as spurious remains very doubtful.—Rothstein, *Quaestiones Lucianae*. Contains some happy emendations.—Hoffmann, *Der*

Codex Medicus, pl. xxxix. U. 1. des *Vergilius*. An excellent collation for Eclog., Georg., Aen. I. and VI. —Valentin, *Ueber Kunst, Künstler, und Kunstwerke*. A collection of interesting essays on practical aesthetics, classical archaeology, and history of modern art.

No. 7. Holm, *Griechische Geschichte*, II, 5–6. To the archonship of Euclides. Although in scientific respects not inferior to Vol. I., a certain dryness and a total absence of any poetical and rhetorical element is to be noticed. In using his sources H. is careful, sometimes perhaps too careful. —Zarnke, *Die Entstehung der griechischen Literatursprachen*. A suggestive work, pointing out the development of the Greek literary languages and their relation to the different dialects. —Kaib, *Das Juristenlatein*. (2 ed.). Covers the time from Alfenu Varus and Labeo to Modestinus (240) and Hermogenianus. Of no small importance for historical grammar.

No. 8. Stoll, *Wanderungen durch Altgriechenland*. Compiled for the use of colleges from the works of Bursian, Curtius, Vischer, &c. It will answer its purpose, although some views and maps are antiquated. —*Album academicum der kais. Universität Dorpat*, bearb. von Hasselblatt und Otto. Contains the 'Universitätsmatrikel' of this university. —Landgraf, *Untersuchungen zu Caesar*. L.'s hypothesis that Pollio was the author of *De Bello Africano* is very probable. Less probable is his view that Pollio supplied and edited *B. G.* viii., *B. C.* iii. 108–112, and *B. Alex.*

No. 9. Pappenheim, *Der angebliche Heraklitismus des Skeptikers Ainosidemus*. An unsuccessful attempt to show that Ain. followed Heraclitus in nothing. —*Demosthenis orationes ex rec. Dindorfii*, ed. IV. cur. Blass. vol. I.–III. B.'s great familiarity with Demosthenes' style has enabled him to improve the text considerably. Too much influence however has been attributed to the indirect tradition (testimonia) and the 'rhythmical law,' as well as the great freedom used in applying the law of rhythmical correspondence of cola —*Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi* denuo...ed. Dieterich. A good edition, with index grammaticus and index rerum magicarum. A good introduction to this kind of literature. —Pallu de Lessert, *Les Fastes de la Numidie sous la Domination romaine*. A careful collection of the epigraphic material, of which good use has been made. On the whole, the list of praetors can be regarded as critically settled.

No. 10. Fügner, *Lexicon Livianum partim ex Hildebrandi schedis*, fasc. I. Articles like *a*, *ab*, and *ac* show that F. is thoroughly qualified for his task. —Cagnat, *L'Année Epigraphique*. A collection of C.'s bibliographical reports on inscriptions found in 1888. Very valuable because the material is much scattered and many periodicals hard to obtain. C.'s comments are considerate. The Egyptian inscription (p. 61) *con. scvt. c. r.* is not to be changed, but = *cohors scutata civium Romanorum*: cp. *C.I.L.* III. suppl. 6610, and *Notitia Dignitatum* (or. 31, 59).

**Sitzungsberichte d. philos.-philol. und hist.-
for. Classe d. königl. bayer. Akademie d. Wis-
senschaften zu München, 1888.**

Heft. I., pp. 1–53. Schöll, on The Trial of Phidias: a review of the ancient authorities concerning the time of the trial, with the conclusion that it occurred before the residence of Phidias in Elis, to which place he fled to escape execution of sentence, and where he ended his life in great honour.

Pp. 87–139. Weeklein, on Fragmentary Tragedies of Euripides: an attempt to reconstruct from existing fragments the plot and movement of the following

plays: *Andromeda*, *Bellerophon* (and *Sthenoboea*), *Dictys*, *Phaethon*, *Philoctetes*.

Bd. II., Heft I., pp. 79–122. Von Reber. Contributions to the knowledge of the Architecture of the Heroic Age, especially by an examination in detail of the indicated structure of the Palace of Tiryns in the light of other remains.

Bd. II., Heft. II., pp. 171–200. Von Brunn on Gable Groups: a discussion of the picturesque composition and artistic effect of the groups in the pediments of the Aegina temple, the Parthenon, and the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

Pp. 201–254. Römer, Studies on the Text of Aeschylus and earlier critics thereof. The Alexandrians often did not indicate apostrophe and diastole, and the Cod. Med. shows many traces of this practice, of which certain are specified. The same cod. shows also many Ionic forms, and it is a false criticism that has tried to substitute later forms for these, on the ground that they were but reminiscences of Homer on the part of Alexandrian editors. Aeschylus stands in regard to Ionic forms on a different plane from Sophocles and Euripides and requires different treatment. The exegetical scholia furnish sometimes efficient help toward the restoration of the text, but are always encumbered with much that is absolutely worthless. A much more helpful source is the paraphrase, where that has survived without contamination or mutilation. A characteristic of the archaic style in Aeschylus consists in the repetition of the same word within the space of a few lines, or, more rarely, in the next succeeding line. regard to this teaches care in conjectural emendation. The article concludes with a defence of Bamberger's conjecture of *ῥ' ἀντιδῶναι* for *ῥ' ἀντιδῶναι* in *Choeph.* 94 (Dind.), and some general aesthetic criticism of the great Greek tragedians.

Pp. 255–278. Sittl, on a MS. of the *Iliad* in the National Library at Rome (Codex Graecus, 6). The MS. is in minuscules of the 9th century, and contains 167 leaves, breaking off with v. 373 of Book Z, beyond which the leaves are lost. First stands the famous catechism on the *Iliad*, and then a life of Homer, with valuable references to authorities (text given by Sittl in an appendix), followed by the *Ἀριστάρχεια σημεία*. But most valuable of all is a grammatico-lexicographical commentary on the *Iliad* as far as Z 373. The MS. in all points of orthography and the like shows the marks of great antiquity. A list is given by S. of all readings therein found that were formerly known only through citations from grammarians, and of all readings peculiar to this MS., which contains more such readings than any other.

Bd. II., Heft III., pp. 305–348. E. Oberhummer. Text (with notes) of Greek Inscriptions collected by himself during a journey in Cyprus, 1887.

Pp. 349–398. Von Christ on Etna in Greek Poetry. Thuc. (3, 116) in mentioning the eruption of Etna in 425 speaks of two previous eruptions. The former of these occurred in the time of Hesiod, and is commemorated in his picture of Typhoeus (Hes. 5, 820–880). The latter (in 475) is more important for the history of Greek literature, since it and the contemporaneous founding of the city of Aetna were celebrated by Pindar (*Pyth.* 1) and by Aeschylus ('Aetnaean Women' and 'Prometheus'). Aeschylus surely did not come to Syracuse till after 472, the year in which the 'Persians' was presented at Athens; he possibly came in 470 on the invitation of Hiero after the departure of Pindar, and soon after his return to Athens in 468 wrote his 'fire-tragedy,' and wove into it the picture of the outbreak of Etna. Pindar wrote *Pyth.* ii. and iii. before visiting Syracuse, but came thither in the autumn of 474 to share in the Pythian festival at the city of Aetna, and remained till the

autumn of 472, writing there *Ol.* 1, 2, 3 and 12. A full chronological table is appended.

Pp. 399-443. West, on the Extent, Language, and Age of Pahlavi Literature. There are three classes of texts: 1. Pahlavi translations of Avesta texts; 2. Pure Pahlavi texts on religious subjects; 3. Pahlavi texts on miscellaneous subjects. The total

extent of all these is about equal to the Old Testament. The language is one whose most essential words are Shemitic without many signs of Shemitic inflection, while most of the syntax, much of the inflection, and some of the less essential words are Iranian. The earliest distinct specimen of the language is on a coin of a satrap of Cilicia, about 400 B.C.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The CLARENDON PRESS will publish in the course of the summer the following books:—

The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, edited with critical notes by Ingram Bywater.

The Republic of Plato, edited with critical notes and introductory essays by Profs. B. Jowett and Lewis Campbell.

The Memorabilia of Xenophon, edited with introduction and notes by John Marshall.

A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect, by D. B. Monro, second edition, revised throughout.

Horace, with a commentary. Vol. ii. The Satires Epistles, and De Arte Poetica. By E. C. Wickham.

Cicero pro Roscio, edited with introduction and notes by St. George Stock.

Cicero de Oratore liber. II., edited by A. S. Wilkins, second edition.

Virgil Aeneid I—III., edited with introduction and notes by T. L. Papillon and A. E. Haigh.

And Messrs. MACMILLAN will publish in their classical library:—

The Nemean Odes of Pindar, edited with introduction and notes by J. B. Bury.

The Iphigenia in Aulis of Euripides, edited with introduction and notes by E. B. England.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

Aristophanes. Birds, with Introduction and Notes by W. W. Merry. 12mo. 190 pp. Frowde. 3s.

Benfield (M. A.) Latin Prose for Lower Forms: being a series of Exercises adapted to the new and first Latin primers. Post 8vo. 184 pp. Cassell. 2s. 6d.

Cicero De Finibus. Edited for London University B.A. Examination, 1891, by S. Moses and C. S. Fearnside, text and notes, 3s. 6d.; translation 2s. 12mo. Clive.

Demosthenes. Speech against the Law of Leptines: a revised text, with an Introduction, critical and explanatory Notes, and an autotype facsimile from the Paris MS. by John Edward Sandys. 8vo. 172 pp. Cambridge Warehouse. 9s.

Horace. Odes. Book II. A translation by S. Moses. Cr. 8vo. Sewed. Clive. 1s.

— Odes. Book II. Vocabulary and Test Papers. Cr. 8vo. Sewed. Clive. 1s.

— Odes. Book II. Edited for London University Matriculation, January 1891. By A. H. Allcroft and B. J. Hayes. 1s. 6d. Text and Notes, 2s. 6d. Clive.

Nasmith (D.) Outline of Roman History from Romulus to Justinian, with special reference to Roman Jurisprudence. 8vo. Butterworth. 25s.

Plato. Euthyphro. With Introduction and Notes by J. Adam. 12mo. 138 pp. Cambridge Warehouse. 2s. 6d.

Sophocles. Antigone. With Introduction, Notes, &c., by A. H. Allcroft and B. J. Hayes. 12 mo. 84 pp. Clive. 4s. 6d.

— Antigone. A Vocabulary and Test Papers by the Tutors of University Correspondence College. 12mo. Clive. 1s.

Terence. Adelphi. A translation by A. F. Burnet and J. H. Haydon. 12mo. 56 pp. Clive. 2s.

Pausanias. Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens, being a translation of a portion of the 'Attica' by M. de G. Verrale, with Introductory Essay and Archaeological Commentary by Jane E. Harrison. Illustrated. Pp. clvi, 635. cr. 8vo. Macmillan and Co. 16s.

FOREIGN BOOKS.

Anthologia lyrica sive lyricorum graecorum veterum praeter Pindarum reliquiae potiores post T. Bergkium quartum edidit E. Hiller. 12mo. xxi, 381 pp. Leipzig. Teubner. 3 Mk.

Aust (E.) De aedibus sacris populi Romani inde a primis liberae rei publicae temporibus usque ad Augusti imperatoris aetatem Romae conditis. Dissertatio. Marburg. 8vo. 55 pp.

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The Classical Review

JUNE 1890.

PERSIUS MSS.

Cod. Bodl. Auct. F. i. 15 (formerly no. 2455) Jahn's β ; *Cod. Trin. Coll. Cantab. O. 4. 10* (referred to below as ω).

By the kindness of the authorities of Trinity College, Cambridge, I have now been able to put these two MSS. side by side and compare them.

Mr. Madan and Mr. Macray have been good enough to look at them carefully with a view to fixing their date and nationality more certainly. They think

(1) That in the Cambridge MS. the original text is late tenth century, the small hand used in glosses, which Prof. Conington thought to be by the same hand as the text, dates from about 1000 A.D. or soon after, and the larger marginal scholia perhaps from late eleventh century.

(2) That the text of the Oxford MS. dates from a little after A.D. 1000, and its scholia (and most of the *vv. ll.* which I had thought to be by the same hand as the text) from say 1050.

(3) That both MSS. were entirely written

in England, but that the Oxford one is in the *text* much more under foreign influence than the Cambridge one.

As to the connexion between the two MSS. it is closer than I thought. I was very wrong in accepting Prof. Conington's edition as an adequate authority for the readings of ω . It fails to notice a great number,¹ and is sometimes positively wrong.

Those, then, who have this edition, and wish to have a full account of ω 's readings, should note the following addenda and errata. (I have not noticed all the mere trivial misspellings of ω , such as *Prol.* 2. *sompniasse* for *somniasse*. These are plentiful. Where I have noticed trivialities my reason is that Conington has noticed similar trivialities in other passages, and therefore invited the inference that when he is silent these slight differences do not exist.)

¹ *E.g.* in the two passages, I. 57, III. 78, where I noted in my February article an important difference between ω and β , there is none, but Conington had failed to note ω 's reading.

ADDENDA.

	Con.'s text.
I.	7. quæsiveris
	32. hyacinthia laena
	34. Hypsipylas
	57. extet
	106. unguis
II.	41. Poscit
III.	73. nec

78. sapio sapis est
84. nihilo nihilum

NO. XXXIV. VOL. IV.

ω .
quæssieris
iacinthina lenna
his pipylas
extat
unges
Poscit
neque
satis est sapi ^o a
nihilo nihil

	Con.'s text.	ω .
IV.	29. veterem	ueteris
	33. ac	at (fortasse ac prius)
V.	7. Helicone	ilicone
	17. dicis	dicas
	71. cantum	canthum
	98. hac [error typograph., credo]	hoc
	128. nec quicquam extrinsecus	nequicquam extrinsecus
	136. ex	et
	140. oenophorum	inophorum
	142. Luxuria	luxoria
	145. quod	quam
	146. tu	tun
	149. nummos [error typograph., credo]	nummi
	155. huncine	hunc cine
	183. thynni	tinni
VI.	14. vicini	Vicino
	15. ditescant	Ditescant (ex -unt)
	17. lagoena	laoegenia
	24. tenuis sollers	tenues solleris
	28. inops	inobs
	37. incolumis	incolomis
	urguet	urget
	48. dis	Diis
	79 deciens	decies

ERRATA.

	ω ap. Con.	ω .
I.	44. fas est in margin.	uel fas est in margin.
	91. compossitas	conpossitas
IV.	7. callidae	callide
	8. (tur in ras.)	(tur linea erasum)
V.	111. fexum e fixum ut vid.	fexum
	120. litaberis	litaberis (is alia manu additum)
	123. satira	satiri
	156. dominus	dominus in -os conversum
VI.	56. Cliviumque uirbii	Cluiumque ad uirbii

I now proceed to give an account, which I believe to be complete, of the differences between β and ω .

With regard to trivialities, they differ :—

- (1) Varying between *e* and *ae*, 38 times.
- (2) Varying between single and double consonant, e.g. *s* and *ss*, *t* and *tt*, 35 times.
- (3) Varying between *es* and *is*, 3 times.
- (4) Varying as to presence of *h*, 8 times.
- (5) Varying between *g* and *gu*, 5 times.
- (6) Varying between *i* and *y*, 5 times.

(7) Varying as to presence of assimilation, e.g. *ff*)(*df*, 5 times.

Considering how erratic both MSS. are on these points, so small a list of differences argues very strongly, it seems to me, for a close connexion. On no one of the points is the difference consistently or nearly consistently in the same direction. ω seems a little fonder of *e*)(*ae* than β .

I add a collation which will show to those acquainted with ω 's readings the exact readings of β in all points except the seven mentioned above.

	ω	β
<i>Prol.</i>	6. semipaganus	[in marg.] uel semipaganus
	14. Pegaseium	semipagus
		Pegaseum
		vel ue
I.	6. ue	que
	7. quessieris	quessiuieris
	34. his pipylas	ypsiphylas

ω.

β.

I.	36. At sensere poeta ^c	Adsensere poetæ	
	41. indulgeas	indulges	
	44. vel fas est (in marg.)	aliquid (glossa, credo,) quod legere nequeo, supra 'feci' scriptum et erasum	
	adūso (so in ras.)	aduerso	
	50. nabe't	habet uel quid	
	56. qui	qui	
	58. pinsit	pinxit	§
		uel ri	
	59. imitata est	imitata est	
	63. sermo	sermo est	§
		[uerbum superscript. et erasum]	
	69. docemus	uidemus	§
	u		
	71. ros saturam	rus saturum	
	72. fumosa	fumosa uel cum	
	74. quem	quem	
	dictatorem	dictaturam	§
	77. uerrucosa	uerrucosa ex uerrucosa	
	85. qui	quid	‡
	90. uer [s. eras.] um	uerum	
	95. Si	Si ^c	
	105. lab [s. eras.] is	labris	
	s		
	106. rapit	sapit	
	107. uero uel su	uero [litura 3 litt. sequitur]	
	s		
	112. inquit	inquis	
	114. mejete (sic)	meite	
	120. ipse	ipsi	≠
	125. et	ad [in lit. ?]	
	131. insecto	secto [post lituram 2 fortasse litt.]	
II.	6. prumptum	promptum ex prumptum	
	10. ebullit	ebullat ex ebullit	
	patris	patrus ex patris	
	13. expungas	expunga	≠
	14. conditor	conditur	
	17. [qi. eras.] est	est	
	18. est	est ^{ue}	
	19. taio.	staio	§
	22. taio	staio ex taio	
	26. ergannaque	ergennaque	§
	35. manibus ['in' eras. et in ras. 'quatit']	manibus quatit	
	37. Nunc	Hunc	
	40. rogabit	rogabit ,rit	
	41. Poscit	Poscis [s. credo, in ras.]	
	45. arcessis	accersis [ex accessis, credo]	
	a		
	59. aere	aera	
		a	
	70. uirgine	, uirgine	
	73. animo	animi ex animo	
III.	3. Stertimus (r. in lit.)	Sertimus	
	17. pappere	pappare [a in ras.]	
	21. maligne	maligne	
	n		
	37. ingeniom	ingenium	
	43. quid	quod [o in ras.]	

	<i>α.</i>	<i>β.</i>	
III.	52. ^u deprehendere	deprehendere	
	63. ⁿ tīmebit	tūmebit	
	68. datur qua fluxus	datus ex datur quam flexus.	†
	77. ^o centurionum	centurionum	
	78. ^o sapia	sapio	
	80. lumine	^a lumine ^d	
	81. rapiosa	rabiosa ex rapiosa	
	84. nihilum	nichilum	
	104. crassis	crassisque	†
	109. pecunia	pe [t eras.] cunia	
	114. haud	haut	
	116. iram	ira [rasura sequente]	
IV.	2. Di cere	Dicere	
	8. loquere ex loqueretur	loquere	
	16. Anticiras [ex -rus]	anteciras	
	merecas	meracas	§
	25. nectidi	[ras.] uectidi [ras.]	
	26. oberrat	^{uel a} oberret [^a re in ras.]	
	28. ^e comp ^a ta	competa	
	35. hi penemque	in ex hi penem	
	36. buluas	nuluas	
	46. cume [e in rasura, quae longius extenditur]	cum me	
	59. nequicquam	nequiquam	
V.	2. optare	obtare	
	4. educentis	ducentis	§
	5. rubusti	robusti	
	7. ilicone	elicone	†
	8. ^e progn ^s [prior pars n in ras. Prius s uel f]	prognēs	
	11. primis	premis	†
	13. stōloppo	stloppo ⁱ	
	15. teris	terēs	§
	17. dicas	^{al. dicis} doceas	§
	18. plebeaque	plebeiaque	
	23. tibi	^{uel e} tibi	
	26. his	^c hi ^s	†
	33. umbro	umbo	†
	36. seposui	subposui	§
	44. uerecundia	uerecunda	†
	45. dubites	dubitas [‘a’ in ras.]	
	51. quid	^o quid	
	57. hi indulgent dequoquit	hic indulget decoquit	§
	66. fiat	fiet [‘e’ in ras.]	
	quid	^o quid	
	70. se	te	†
	73. quique	^s quique	
	74. Puplius	Publius	
	100. ^{euo} ell [ras.] rum	elleborum	
	111. fexum	fixum	†

ω.

β.

V. 114. liberque ac

116. polita

118. relego

120. litaberis ['is' alia manu additum]

121. uncia

127. negator

128. nequiquam

xst

136. et

140. inophorum

145. quod

extinxerat

147. Vejentanumque

150. sudore

153. meror

156. dominos ex dominus

159. abruptit

u

162. cherestratos

163. arrodens haec

167. diis

168. censen Daue

172. nec

174. exieris

nunc nē

quod

177. uigilia

179. actum

180. [ras. 1 lit.] uenire

183. tinni

188. alli

189. 'haec' omis.

VI. 4. strepidum

10. Enni

11. quintes et

13. agulus

14. Vicini

15. Ditescant [ex 'unt']

17. laeogenia

23. scombros

24. solleris

26. Emule

32. inopi

37. incolonis et

44. cladem

pubis

46. clamidens

49. in luco

50. Si

51. inquis

56. Cliuumque

58. haud promte

al. atque
liberque ac

uel tus

polita

al. repeto

relego

litabis

untia

nugator

c c

nequiquam

xt

et [t notatum ut eraderetur]

enophorum

uel quod

quam

extinxerit ex—at

uegentanumque

sudare ex sudore

memor

dominos

i. abruptit

arripit [in ras.]

cherestratus

abrodens hoc ['o' in ras.]

diis

censem da [ras. 2 litt.] ue

ne [tum ras. unius lit.]

exieras [ex exieris, credo]

ne—c nunc

in ras.

quem

uigila

at cum ex actum

uenere

thymi [prius, credo, 'thȳni']

alli

strepitum

ennii

Quintus ex [in ras. 'x' fortasse al. man.]

uel an

aggulus

Vicini

Ditescant

lagoena

al. rombos

scombros

sollers

Emole

inopis ex inopi

al. sed

incolumis et

cladem ex claudem

pubis ex pupis

clamides

al. duco

in luco

uel nisi

t ni [in ras.]

uel s

inquit ['t' in ras.]

Cliuumque

haut prompte

+

+

§

§

+

+

VI.	59.	unum	^{ω.} est etiam
	63.	uins	
	66.	tatius	
	75.	Vnde	
	77.	plausisse	
	79.	depunge	

		^{β.} Vum	est [ras. 2 litt.] iam
		uin	
		staius	[in ras.]
		Vende	
		al. pavisse	
		plausisse	
		depunge	§

Everywhere else β 's reading = ω 's.

An analysis of these variations shows that in 32 places only β 's reading shows no trace of ω 's reading and no erasure which may have destroyed ω 's reading. In 2 of these, marked Σ , β seems simply to have made a slip. In 14 more, marked $\ddagger$, it is possible (in most of them probable) that the scribe of β , who I think knew what he was writing about, used his sense to correct ω 's mistakes. But there remain 16, marked $\S$, of such a

nature as to make it certain that β 's scribe had a sight of a MS. other than ω .

On the other hand, apart from the general feeling of connexion produced by finding the total amount of variation so very small, there are 28 passages, which I proceed to note, where β 's scribe appears to have seen a reading untraceable [as far as Jahn's information goes] except in ω . In some of these the point is one of spelling, in others it is more important. I have put the more important last.

		^{ωβ}	
I.	129.	sopinus	
II.	6.	prumptum	
II.	45.	furtunare	
V.	142.	luxoria	
III.	69.	obtare	
III.	80.	opstipo	
V.	98.	publica	
VI.	28.	inops	
IV.	28.	competa	
IV.	35.	dispuat	
V.	167.	diis	
VI.	48.	diis	
VI.	56.	virbii	
V.	188.	capud	
VI.	73.	patritiae	
III.	75.	munimenta	
II.	22.	taio	
II.	57.	mittunt	
III.	17.	pappere	
III.	43.	quid	
IV.	11.	discernis	
IV.	23.	discendere	
V.	73.	quique	
I.	131.	et insecto	
V.	179.	actum	
VI.	11.	et	
VI.	59.	est etiam	
VI.	13.	ω agulus β aggulus	

		Cet.	
		supinus	
		promptum	×
		fortunare	
		luxuria	
		optare	
		obstipo	
		publica	
		inops	
		compita	
		despuat	
		dis	×
		dis	
		virbi	
		caput	
		patriciae	
		monumenta	
		staio	×
		mittunt	
		pappare	?
		quod	?
		discernis	×
		descendere	×
		quisque	×
		et secto in	?
		at cum	×
		ex	?
		est iam	?
		angulus	

8 other passages where $\omega + \beta$ are almost unique in their reading are I think worth adding.

		^{ωβ + 1 MS.}	
VI.	21.	patenae	
II.	10.	patris	
III.	81.	rapiosa	
V.	145.	extinxerat	
VI.	26.	metuas	

		Cet.	
		patinae	
		patruus	×
		rabiosa	×
		extinxerit	×
		metuis	

$\omega\beta \div 1$ MS.

VI. 49. in luco

III. 116. iram

 $\omega\beta \div 2$ MSS.

III. 68. datur

In the passages marked $\times$, β no longer has ω 's reading, but it can be distinctly seen that it had it once and has been corrected away from it. In the passages marked $?$, an erasure in β just at the point where ω 's erratic reading occurs makes me believe β had that reading originally.

It is perhaps worth adding that in VI. 50 ω 's scribe (who does not know Latin and divides words erratically, *e.g.* VI. 22 ut arego for utar ego, V. 189 varicos oscenturiones for varicosos centuriones) writes arto creasque instead of artocreasque, and here β agrees with him, the writer of β 's scholia afterwards noting 'vnum verbum est' above.

I would submit, (though with some diffidence, owing to want of experience in dealing with MSS.) that the whole evidence is sufficient to prove that β 's scribe did copy his MS. in the main either from ω or from an extraordinarily exact copy of ω ¹; but that he had another MS. at hand, which he now and then consulted when dissatisfied with the reading of his main authority. Hence, as we have seen, here and there β 's readings have an independent value of their own.

With regard to the scholia (which I have looked at a good deal, but not gone through with any completeness), there are some curious signs of connexion, as it would seem, between the two MSS. ω has hardly any scholia after the end of *Sat.* I. and much fewer than β has even on *Sat.* I. Yet it looks as if the writer of β 's scholia had sometimes looked at ω 's scholia when he was writing. I am speaking at present of ω 's smaller and earlier hand.

The passage which really seems convincing is I. 114, 5. Jahn, in his edition of the scholia, reads on I. 114 *sequit Lucilius urbem*, the following scholium 'Quid ergo? Quod aliis licuit, mihi non licebit?' and a great deal more. On *genuinum* in the following line, he reads 'Genuinus proprie dens, qui sub genis est.'

In ω the text and scholia appear thus:

Sequit lucilius urbem

licuit cecit
quam uis aliis licuit $\eta\eta$
dens ē q. sub genis ē. q. una cum homine nascitur

¹ Or perhaps ω and β may be (so to speak) brothers; I was inclined to think this impossible, for where ω has been corrected β has almost invariably used the correction. But Mr. W. M. Lindsay suggests to me that this may be so explained: a reviser corrected ω where the scribe had departed from the archetype; β was itself copied from that archetype, and so does not reproduce ω 's errors. If so ω is a very exact but unintelligent, β an intelligent copy of the same MS.

Cet.

induco

ira

datus

Te lupe, te muci et genuinum fregit in illis.

 β hasdens ē q. sub genis ē q. una cu hne nascit' quamuis aliis licuit m
n licuit cecit

Te lupe te muci et genuinum fregit in illis

Both then have corrupted the first scholium in *exactly* the same way. And it seems an almost irresistible inference that β 's mistake in regarding the two scholia as one is due to the relative positions they hold on ω 's page.

Much less important, but confirmatory, is I. 120, where for 'O libelle, uidi homines stultos' ω reads uide, evidently a mistake, and β has uide corrected into uidi.

On I. 121, where Jahn reads 'si mihi Iliada Labeonis, aut Neronis Troicon tradas,' $\omega\beta$ both omit 'Troicon,' but here the omission does not destroy the sense.

There is one passage in which, but for the testimony of the experts on the comparative age of the hands, I should have said β 's scholium was a misinterpretation of one of ω 's larger-hand scholia. On I. 11 *tunc, tunc, ignoscite, nolo*, Jahn reads 'ἐκλειψις, sc. dicere.'

ω reads 'Tunc tunc defectio. Τοεξικ. dicere,' which appears to mean 'tunc tunc; then comes an ellipse: what should follow' (viz.: τὸ ἐξῆς) is dicere.'

β reads Τοεξικ. i. defectio: which appears to turn sense into nonsense. In this case I suppose the two writers have copied from a common archetype.¹

People interested in the scholia on Persius may like to know that on I. 12 ω 's large hand reads 'cachinnus est cum voce risus immoderatus quod ΜΟΡΑΓΕΛΩΝΤΔC dicunt,' thus confirming the reading which Jahn in 1843 quotes as attributed on authority that he does not trust (vid. pp. clxii. clxiii.) to the codex Bon. Vulcanii, but which Bücheler has merely adopted in the 1886 edition, and which certainly makes sense whereas Jahn's *μονογέροντας* is nonsense.

It seems noteworthy palaeographically that in two places I. 114 mejete, V. 147 Vejentanum, ω shapes an i very like a small modern printed j. In each place the i is between two vowels; in each it gets in some MSS. corrupted into g.

¹ It is possible that this Τοεξικ was originally a corruption of ἐκλειψις or ἐλλειψις.

ON 2 COR. vi. 14—vii. 1.

I cannot think that Mr. Chase, in his remarks upon this passage (p. 150), has succeeded in making 'clear and natural' the connexion of thought at the beginning and end of the paragraph.

St Paul has been accused by his enemies of scheming and planning, and palming off upon his followers a patchwork creed more false than true; of adulterating, playing tricks with, truth; of arrogance and interested motives; touching his own qualifications, of falsehood and imposture. His answer to his friends is to lay bare his heart; to tear off every scrap of disguise, reserve or modesty or reluctance; to shew them his most secret and sacred motives, the inmost workings of his soul. How all the defamation wounds him, he does not hide. He could not do justice to the sovereign power of that motive which sustains him, if he understated the sufferings through which he is sustained. He is writing of his accusers, to his friends—friends among whom his enemies have been busy, dispersing slanders and alienating loyal hearts. Some have listened and been persuaded; others have listened and doubted. But others (and the tenor of the Epistle warrants us in saying that these were the great majority of the Corinthian Christians) had warmly and enthusiastically renewed their attachment and devotion to St. Paul. It must of course be noticed that the tone of the letter varies; that just now he thanked God for the news which Titus brought—"God, who always and everywhere makes us triumphant"; that now he hints half-confidence and coldness; that presently again he uses the strongest language he can find to describe the heart-searchings, the penitence, the affectionate enthusiasm, excited by his former letter. We cannot exactly answer for all the lights and shades which come and go upon this agitated sea of feeling: here it may be that the darkness is the shadow of a cloud, but there perhaps the wave of emotion makes a shadow of its own. Whilst in one place St. Paul may be thinking of actual differences amongst those who received his letter and acknowledged his authority (for all men are not equally capable of affection and penitence), in another his demand for fuller confidence and more complete openness is perhaps only the inevitable result of the extraordinary passionateness and intensity of his own feeling, which exacts the same passionateness and intensity from them. It

might well be that, with the most abundant cause for gratitude, he yet should feel his own soul swept by such a flood of emotion, that their confidence and affection, however great, were scarcely yet a full response to his. Nothing will satisfy him short of love for love, such passionate and unreserved outpouring of the heart as that which he bestows on them, the perfect fruit of perfect friendship, which ripens only in hearts as generous and upon lips as eloquent as his.

'My lips are opened, my heart is enlarged.' Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh: the eloquent lips are the expression of the generous heart. 'Ye are not narrowed in me: ye are narrowed in your own affections.' If there is reserve between us still, any want of trust and openness, of the freedom of perfect love which pours out its whole heart unrestrained, the narrowness is yours not mine. 'Enlarge your hearts as I; open wide the liberal embrace of your affection; till I am requited, even with love for love.'

I must continue to think it inconceivable that at this point St. Paul turned aside to say:—But do not also throw open the liberal embrace of your toleration to the sons of Belial, the worshippers of idols: do not contaminate yourselves with the vices of the unclean Corinthian society in which you live.

And that he then resumed, precisely where he left off, 'Make room in your hearts for me.'

It is not accurate to say that, when he continues 'I wronged no man, corrupted no man (by laxity of teaching), defrauded no man,' his tone has altered: that 'a shadow has passed over his enthusiasm.' The charge of encouraging Antinomian laxity, we are told, 'seems to be lurking in the background of some passages.' Surely it was never absent from his thoughts: and, so far from the question (ii. 17) *καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἱκανός*; (a question asked not in doubt, but in astonishment at the greatness of the work to which he by the power of God has not only been called, but made sufficient) being 'buried' beneath other thoughts, everything from that point to this has been an answer to it. He is mightier than his opponents, because *their* motives are corrupt and *his* are pure. *He* preaches the pure and unadulterated truth of God; *they* have corrupted it.

The denunciation of Antinomian excesses

would not only be out of place here : there is no place for it in the Epistle. The person who had contracted the scandalous marriage has been expelled from the church. The Judaizing party are in rebellion, on other grounds. But the 'Antinomian' section of St. Paul's followers have made full and absolute submission. The crucial test of their submission was their treatment of the wrong-doer. They have expelled him, and expressed the deepest and fullest contrition for his fault, as in part their own. On this point St. Paul is not only satisfied, but abundantly and warmly grateful : *ἐν παντί συνεστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοῦς εἶναι τῷ πράγματι. χαίρω, ὅτι ἐν παντί θαρρῶ ἐν ὑμῖν.*

So much for the 'problem.' It may be that my solution of it is too bold ; but this is better than ignoring it. It will be noticed that the suggestion of an error possibly much more ancient than our oldest MSS. is not altogether met by a reminder of 'the probability that copies of the Pauline letters were multiplied from the very first.' Of such letters as 'Romans' and 'Ephesians,' naturally : letters equally interesting, one of them to all European, the other to all Asiatic,

Gentile churches ; and one of them possibly, the other certainly, addressed by St. Paul to more churches than one. But why also of this second letter to Corinth, so intimate, so personal, from the first line to the last ?

I suppose the intermingling with 2 Cor. of this passage from the lost letter, if such it be, to have been accidental. Mr. Chase's quotation from Deut. xi. 16 suggests, however, another possibility. Some one, with a keen eye for verbal resemblances, reminded by St. Paul's *πλατύνθητε* of the *πλατυνθῆ* of the Deuteronomist, and seeing some connexion between the heart's *πλατυσμός* enjoined by the former and the immoral *πλατυσμός* condemned by the latter, may have thought it edifying to insert the one passage (presumably also of St. Paul's writing) as an antidote to the other. Mr. Chase thinks that, if the passage in question were what I have supposed, it would contain the exact phrase *μὴ συναμείγνυσθε πόρνοις*. This objection would have been of more force if the question had been of a whole letter, supposed to be the lost letter, and not of a fragment.

R. WHITELAW.

STAHL'S REVISION OF POPPO'S THUCYDIDES, Book II.

Thucydidis de bello Peloponnesiaco libri octo explanavit ERNESTUS FRIDERICUS POPPO. Editio tertia quam auxit et emendavit JOANNES MATTHIAS STAHL. Vol. I. Sect. II. [Book II.] Leipzig : Teubner. 1889. pp. 260. 3 Mk.

THIS volume completes Stahl's revision of Poppo's Thucydides. As in the previous volumes, the original notes are for the most part retained, though the present editor has so revised the work as to make himself responsible for the whole, and to put upon it the imprint of his own scholarship. So in the first chapter, Stahl takes *ἐν ᾧ* in a temporal sense with *ἐνθένδε*, and thinks that the passage shows that Thucydides was acquainted with the whole course of the war. The text differs (besides corrections of orthography) in many cases from that of Poppo, the changes consisting for the most part in the exclusion of words which seem to have crept into the text from marginal notes. Examples of such exclusion are 4, 2 *τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν*, 4, 4 *λαθόντες καὶ*, 4, 5 *πλησίον*, 29, 2 *ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατήρ*, 29, 3 *ὁ Τηρεὺς*, 89, 3 *ἐκάτεροι τι*, 96, 1 *ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον τε πόντον καὶ*

τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, and many others might be added. Other changes are made, sometimes for grammatical reasons, *e.g.* 3, 2 *κρατήσῃν* for *κρατήσαι*, 83, 3 *διαβάλλοντες* for *διαβαλόντων*, sometimes because the sense or the connexion seems to demand it, *e.g.* 65, 12 *δέκα μὲν ἔτη* for *τρία μὲν ἔτη*, 2, 1 *τέσσαρας μῆνας* for *δύο μῆνας* (see below), 40, 1 *τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν <νομίζω> εἶναι* where *νομίζω* is inserted by Stahl, 44, 1 *ἐντελεντῆσαι <ἢ εὐδαιμονία> ξυνμετρήθῃ* where *ἢ εὐδαιμονία* is newly inserted. These changes, a complete list of which would occupy too much space, are all in the direction of a more consistent and comprehensible text, and they certainly render the text more readable. It is, however, by no means certain that Thucydides invariably expressed himself in the way most easily understood by modern readers, nor that he was always perfectly consistent in his mode of expression. So the change in 83, 3 mentioned above removes a grammatical solecism, but such a solecism is more likely to have been committed by Thucydides than by any copyist who transcribed the work at a time when the rules of grammar were much more carefully observed than

when Thucydides arose as the pioneer in the realm of Attic narrative prose. The chief (or I may say the only) fault of this excellent edition is this attempt to make Thucydides regular in his use of language, and even in this Stahl displays moderation.

The texts and notes are followed by three appendices. Of these II. (ad 52, 3 et 84, 1) and III. (ad 102, 3, 4) are retained from Poppo's edition of 1866; appendix I. treats *de temporum ratione Thucydidea*, and is divided into two sections: (1) *de annorum in aestates et hiemes distributione*, and (2) *de belli Peloponnesiaci initio*. In section 1 Stahl adopts the now generally received opinion, that *summer* in Thucydides includes spring, and begins at the vernal equinox. This opinion is supported by discussion of the passages in which the beginning of spring is mentioned. It is, however, in conflict with the statement, II. 75, 3, that the Peloponnesians were engaged for seventy days in building the mound at the siege of Plataeae. For the expedition against Plataeae was made ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου (II. 79, 1), *i.e.* about eighty days (though it may well be less) after the beginning of spring. Before active operations were begun negotiations were carried on (II. 71, 72) and messengers went to Athens (73) and returned (74). Then the Peloponnesians cut down trees and built a palisade about the city, after which they worked (says our text) seventy days at their mound and tried to take the city with the aid of machines (75, 76). They then tried to set fire to the town. When all other means had failed, they set about building a wall of circumvallation (after having dismissed the greater part of their army, as our texts read, but Stahl rejects this clause), making brick from ditches which they dug, one on each side of their wall (78, 1). This wall surrounded the entire town, was double, and had high towers, besides dwellings for the garrison (III. 21), so that it must have taken much longer to build than the first mound. This wall was finished about the middle of September (περὶ ἀρκτοῦρον ἐπιτολάς, II. 78, 2). Now if the expedition was undertaken in June, ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, and seventy days were occupied in building the mound, besides the time necessary for the previous negotiations etc., very little time remains for the building of the wall. Stahl therefore thinks

the building of the mound occupied not seventy days, but nine (θ' for ο'), which comparison with similar works elsewhere mentioned shows to be sufficient. Whatever we may think about the particular emendation suggested, Stahl's arguments against the common reading are sound. Stahl further shows that by the expression (V. 20, 1) καὶ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων παρενεγκουσῶν days to be subtracted from, not added to, the ten years' period are meant. Thucydides includes autumn in the summer (II. 31, 1; III. 18, 3; 100, 2; VII. 79, 3; VIII. 108, 2), and autumn was reckoned as the period from the morning rising of Arcturus to the morning setting of the Pleiades, *i.e.* from about the middle of September to the tenth of November. The winter then lasted from about the tenth of November until the beginning of spring. This is confirmed by plentiful reference, and seems indubitably correct.

The attack upon Plataeae, which Thucydides regards as the beginning of the war, was made at the beginning of spring (II. 2, 1), a few days before the full of the moon (II. 4, 2), which was in that year on the night of April 6-7. Then the reading in II. 2, 1 Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίων cannot be correct if the Athenian archons began their year of office in the month of Hecatombaeon, for Hecatombaeon began in 431 B.C. on August 1st, *i.e.* four months after the beginning of April. Hence Stahl reads after Krüger τέσσαρας μῆνας. It also follows from V. 20, 1 that the beginning of the war was four, not two, months before the beginning of Hecatombaeon. In II. 2, 1 Stahl reads (after Lipsius) μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ μάχην μηνὶ ἕκτῳ < καὶ δεκάτῳ >, for the attack upon Plataeae was not six, but sixteen months after the battle at Potidaea. This appears from *Inscr. Att.* I. 179, for the battle at Sybota was about the middle of Metageitnion B.C. 433, and that at Potidaea soon after, *i.e.* early in the winter of 433-432. Stahl's discussion touches also upon several other points. This appendix is a valuable contribution to the literature of Thucydidean chronology, and adds not a little to the value of a book which would be excellent without it. Stahl's Thucydides is indispensable to students of that author, all of whom will rejoice that the work is now completed.

HAROLD N. FOWLER.

BAYFIELD'S *ION*.

The Ion of Euripides. Edited by M. A. BAYFIELD. Macmillan. 1889. 3s. 6d.

THIS is a valuable and scholarly edition, with plenty of help for learners, and no lack of instruction and suggestion for more advanced scholars. The text has been carefully considered, and the editor defers unduly neither to faulty MSS. nor to bold correctors. He introduces a few corrections of his own. In 286 τιμᾶ· τί μαίει; (for τιμᾶ· τιμᾶ· ὥς of MSS.) is ingenious, though hardly to be preferred to Hermann's τιμᾶ· τί τιμᾶ·; οὐδέν for οὐδᾶς in 434 is included in the list of novelties (p. xxiv.) by an oversight. In 1603 ἦδη for εἷη (or εἴης) of MSS. is less probable than Mr. Macnaghten's εἰδῆς (*Classical Review* ii. p. 42), to which Mr. Bayfield objects that the τε and καὶ preclude contrast. But why not 'that both he may rejoice in his fancy and you in your knowledge'? The treatment of grammatical questions in the notes is always interesting and instructive: but on one or two points the conclusions arrived at are hard to accept. *E.g.* in a detached note 'on the subj. without ἄν in relative sentences,' Mr. Bayfield contends that 'it is incorrect to regard such a sentence as ὅστις ἐσθλὸς ἦ as an abbreviated form of ὅστις ἄν ἐσθλὸς ἦ.' He considers that ὅστις without ἄν followed by subj. is not indefinite = *quicumque*, but generic (denoting one of a class), like *qui* with the subj. in Latin. But in Latin the primary *indefinite* mood, of a generalised statement, to include all cases, is *indicative*; in Greek it is *subjunctive*: whereas the *generic* mood in Latin is *subjunctive*; in Greek, *indicative*. Mr. Bayfield seems to have been misled by an arbitrary limitation of ἄν to the temporal meaning 'at any time.' He says, 'observe that in all these cases' (of ὅς without ἄν followed by subj.) 'the insertion of ἄν with its meaning *at any time* would be utterly destructive to the sense.' It is as if he contended that *quicumque* (or 'whoever') could not be used where the meaning 'who at any time' was inappropriate. Indeed this would be more plausible, for there is no reason to think that the original meaning of ἄν (like that of *cumque* and *ever*) was temporal. 230. 'ἔχω μαθοῦσα... This intrans. use of ἔχω (= εἶμι) is very common.' ἔχω is probably here (independently of μαθοῦσα) 'I understand,' and in the common periphrastic ἔχω μαθοῦσα (= μεμάθηκα not ἔμαθον) is not ἔχω, like Eng.

auxiliary *have*, transitive (ἔχω ποιήσας τοῦτο = ἔχω τοῦτο ποιηθέν)? 354. Those who agree with the grammars will not allow that 'this line is a clear disproof of the constant assertion of the grammars that sentences couched in this form imply a belief on the part of the speaker that the condition is unfulfilled.' It is true that Creusa has come to ask whether the child still lives or not. But the dialogue from v. 347 has proceeded on the assumption that he is dead. 'How long is it,' Ion had asked, 'since he was destroyed?' On the point whether εἶχεν would stand for εἶχ' ἄν, the reader is referred to v. 839n., where by an oversight ἦν is commented upon as if there were no ἄν. The note would perhaps have been more appropriate on χρῆν 842, or 827, ἀλοὺς ἀνέφερε = ἔμελλεν ἀνοίσειν, where however ἀλοὺς = εἰ ἀλούῃ (not ἔάλω). Examples of *apparent omission of ἄν* are of two kinds: (1) prospective, as in the instances quoted from Lysias 7 § 32 (ταῦτα πράξας ἐκέρδαινον οὐδέν, 'I had nothing to gain by doing this'), Plato *Symp.* 190 C. (with implied protasis εἰ ἀποκτείναιεν), Dem. *Onet.* A. p. 870 (τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον πράξας 'by acting in this way'); (2) where apodosis is suppressed, and an unconditioned statement is substituted for it, as Thuc. 3. 74 ἡ πόλις ἐκινδύνευσε διαφθαρῆναι (was in danger of being burnt, *and would have been burnt*) εἰ ἀνεμος ἐπεγένετο, Lysias 7 § 37 εἰ μὴ ὁμολόγουν, οἰδεμῖά ζημία ἔνοχος ἦν (were liable to no penalty, *and would have suffered none*)—the construction so common in Latin and Greek with expressions of duty and possibility (potuit contemnere, si dixisset: might have despised, *and would*). Sentences with ἔμελλον will obviously be sometimes of one kind, sometimes of the other. It seems right to retain εἶχ' ἄν here, in spite of the unusual elision. 799. οἶον causal, usually explained as = ὅτι τοιοῦτον. Mr. Bayfield makes it elliptical: 'when I think what pain.' Is it not a shortness of expression arising from the omission of antecedent clause = τοιοῦτον ἄλγος παθούσα οἶον ἔπαθον? Oed. R. 1228 νύβαι στέγην, ἔσι κείθει κακά (scil. τῶσαῦτα κέθουσιν). 1307. The order of words is made more intelligible, if we think of ὅπου σοί ἐστι as a 'divided epithet' of μητέρα. 1316. If Mr. Bayfield had remembered the distinction (spoken of above) between ὅστις 'whoever' and ὅστις 'one who,' the one followed by subj. and optat., the other by indic., he would not have written the long and not very clear note on ὅστις

ἡδικοῖτο—indic. because generic, and imperfect, being the 'unfulfilled' past tense of present time, as ἐχρῆν is. (So, in a conditional sentence: *e.g.* *Rep.* ix. 592 D. εἰ μὲν πλοῦτω τε

καὶ κέρδει ἄριστα ἐκρίνετο τὰ κρινόμενα ἢ ἐπῆναι ὁ φιλοκερδὴς καὶ ἐψέγεν, ἀνάγκη αὖ ἦν ταῦτα ἀληθέστατα εἶναι.)

R. WHITELAW.

THE NEW EDITION OF ORELLI'S HORACE.

Q Horatius Flaccus ex recensione I. G. ORELLI: editio iv. maior: post I. G. BAITERUM cur. W. MEWES: vol. ii. Fasc. i. (Sat. lib. i. et ii. 1). 1889. 3 Mk.

THE fashion of reproducing under the light of recent criticism famous classical editions, which the progress of research is threatening to supersede, has many examples in our day, and the arguments for or against it will be felt to apply with peculiar force in the case of a work so long and justly popular as Orelli's Horace. Few, however, will doubt that, on the critical side at least, Orelli, if he were still alive, would find much to alter in his views:

Si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum, detereret sibi multa, and those who are jealous for the fame of the great Swiss scholar may congratulate themselves that the redaction of his edition has been entrusted to the hands of a critic so well equipped as Prof. Mewes and so generally in harmony with the spirit of Orelli's work.

The salient feature of the new issue is, we take it, the editor's conservative attitude towards MSS. authority and in particular the primary importance he ascribes to the readings of the Blandinian MSS. as reported by Cruquius. 'No one, I believe,' wrote Munro in 1869, 'now doubts the essential good faith of Cruquius': but just when these words were written Keller and Holder, whose edition of the *Satires* had not then appeared, were formulating a direct indictment against the integrity of the old Bruges editor. Prof. Mewes depends of course for the recension of his text upon the great critical apparatus of Keller and Holder; but, while utilizing the materials of these critics, he is far from adopting their views. He takes as his basis a selection of some ten of what he considers the best of Keller and Holder's MSS., and, as his brief prefatory note informs us, 'lectionibus ex his codicibus allatis maxima cura eas adiunximus, quas Cruquius ex quattuor Blandiniis, imprimis ex vetustissimo eorum (V) enotavit.' And Cruquius is especially valuable for the *Satires*,

because the best existing MSS. (all A and the greater part of B, C, R, D, δ) are defective in this part of Horace. Prof Mewes has elsewhere given the ground for the faith that is in him. He has examined the whole question of the Blandinian MSS. in two monographs: one, 'de codicis Heratiani, qui Blandinius vetustissimus (V) vocatur, natura atque indole' (Berol. 1881), which identifies the 'unus' or 'quartus' of Cruquius with V, and a second, 'Über den Wert des Codex Blandinius vetustissimus für die Kritik des Horaz (Berlin 1882),' which contains an elaborate and very interesting defence of Cruquius against his modern detractors. The prejudice and perversity—as we must consider it—of Keller's attitude on this question is well illustrated by his note on *Ep.* i. 16, 43, where the true reading 'res sponsore' (MSS. *responsore*) is preserved by Cruquius alone: 'sic habet Blandinius vetustissimus et verissima lectio est, haecenus ignorata doctis.' This reading Keller, in common with all modern editors, accepts, but with how bad a grace! 'denn es konnte sehr leicht sein dass Cruquius...als der Codex selbst verbrannt und keine Controle mehr möglich war, sich oder uns übrige getäuscht hat...und ich muss erklären, dass ich hier an eine Konjectur des Cruquius nicht an eine wirkliche Lesart des verbrannten codex glaube.' But the good Cruicke—to give him the name he bore in the flesh—has elsewhere given us specimens enough of his conjectural skill, *e.g.* *Ep.* i. 19, 12, where he proposes '*Exiguaque toga simul et textoque Catonem*': metaphoricos a lanariis mercatoribus, qui inspecto texti margine de universo facile coniecturam faciunt: and with such instances before us, we may well agree with Prof. Mewes 'dans une Konjectur (*i.e.* 'res sponsore') von so seltener Vortrefflichkeit...vom Kritischen Talente des Cr. ebensovienig zu erwarten ist, wie Feigen von den Dornen oder Trauben von den Disteln.'

Acting on these principles the editor has introduced, on the authority of 'V,' the following changes in Orelli's text (Baiter 1868): i. 1, 8 adfixit 101 Naevius 108 qui nemo, ut i. 2, 110 tolli i. 3, 60 versemur i. 4,

25 elige 110 Baius i. 5, 1 accepit 35 vatillum i. 6, 31 et cupiat 39 deicere de 68 nec i. 7, 9 tumidus adeo i. 9, 50 inquam 64 prensare i. 10, 27 patris Latini, ii. 1, 15 describit. Yet that Prof. M. can upon occasion stop his ear even to the voice of Cruquius appears from i. 4, 85, where he keeps the MSS. *avet* in spite of the *amet* of 'unus codex Bland.' This is the more surprising because Prof. M., as we have remarked, identifies the 'codex unus' with 'V,' and *amet* = *soleat* is not only a favourite Horatian word, but seems here demanded alike by the grammar and the sense. We notice too that in i. 1, 64 the codices Bland. have 'quatinus,' and the best MSS. of Priscian, who quotes the line, exhibit the same form (*Archiv.* v. p. 405): if then the note of Festus on this word (quatenus significat 'qua fine' ut hactenus hac fine. At quatinus 'quoniam') represents the classical usage (cf. Stolz-Schmalz Lat. Gr. 294), we would here have a small but not insignificant proof of the integrity of the Blandinian codices.

Prof. Mewes' other alterations are for the most part a return to MSS. authority: i. 1, 88 An si cognatos, nullo i. 2, 38 moechis 68 videnti i. 3, 7 Bacchae 130 Alfenus i. 4, 39 poetas 70 sim i. 5, 70 producimus i. 6, 75 octonos . . aeris i. 10, 68 sint ii. 1, 1 videar 31 usquam (but *unquam* 'codex unus').

Most of these readings have already appeared in one or other of the numerous recent editions of the *Satires*, so that anything more than a mere enumeration of them is likely to prove tedious and superfluous here. We may, however, be permitted to call attention to i. 1, 108, a much disputed passage, where Prof. M. has accepted the reading of 'V' with the punctuation and interpretation of Kiessling: 'qui nemo, ut avarus, se probet': 'to return to my enquiry, why no one, through avarice, is satisfied with his own lot.' This view we, for our part, accept with both hands. The Satire now gains a unity which it did not possess under any of the previous explanations; its subject is no longer double—'Discontent and Avarice'—but single—'Discontent due to Avarice.' Horace *more suo* (cf. i. 6, 18; C. i. 12, 1) had given no definite reply to the question put in the first line, to which he is here referring, but had allowed the general course of the argument (the adversative *quae* in 36 gives the key-note) to answer it, and that answer he is here in conclusion incidentally repeating. *Ut* = *utpote*, ὥς ὧν, is common in Horace, as Prof. M.'s note shows; and the construction of *avarus*, agreeing with *quisque* implied in *nemo*, though harsher

than the similar license in 1—3, will not offend those who feel that the style of the earlier *Sermones* often lacks the 'curiosa felicitas' of the *Odes* and *Epistles*.

On the other hand it is a disappointment to find that on i. 1, 88

At si cognatos nullo natura labore
quos tibi dat retinere velis servareque
amicos,
infelix operam perdas etc.

Prof. M. abandons Orelli's view and reads 'An si,' joining *labore* with *dat*, not *retinere*. This arrangement has somewhat the better MSS. authority in its favour, but it has little else. For to make *infelix* not vocative but predicate, and to ascribe the simile of the ass, not to Horace, but to the 'avarus'—'do you think you would be wasting your labour to no purpose, just as if you were to put a donkey into training'—is to adopt a singularly infelicitous mode of expression, while the clause 'quos tibi dat'—'whom Nature gives you without any trouble (on your own part)'—is not only harsh in grammar, but pointless in sense. But the older view—if you expect to retain the affections even of your natural relations *without taking any trouble about it*, you expect an impossibility—conveys a very serious truth, which Horace may well have learned from Xen. *Mem.* ii. 1, 28, εἴτε ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἐθέλεις (cf. *velis*) ἀγαπᾶσθαι, τοὺς φίλους εὐεργετητέον: for that he was familiar with this passage appears from *S.* i. 9, 60, 'nil sinemagno Vita labore dedit mortalibus,' where he literally translates the opening words of the sentence just quoted from Xenophon: οἷδὲν ἄνευ πόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας θεοὶ διδάσιν ἀνθρώποις.

With the exception of Bentley's 'resonarint' (MSS. 'resonarent') i. 8, 41, we do not find that Prof. Mewes has anywhere introduced a conjecture into his text; but on i. 6, 19 he adopts a new punctuation, which invites a few words on this, one of the most difficult passages in Horace:

—qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus.
Quid oportet
nos facere a volgo longe longaque
remotos?
Namque esto, populus Laevino mallet
honorem
20 quam Decio mandare novo, censorque
moveret
Appius, ingenuo si non essem patre
natus,
vel merito, quoniam in propria non pelle
quiessem.

Sed fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria
curru
non minus ignotos generosis.

Prof. M. punctuates in 19 'namque esto: populus,' explaining '*namque esto* pro prodosi, apodosis ab *populus* orditur' and adopting the paraphrase of Herbst: 'quid oportet nos facere, qui a vulgo longissime dissidentes non stupemus in titulis et imaginibus? Num, etsi ignobili sumus loco nati, tamen honores petemus? Minime.' Surely this explanation of *esto* and *remotos* is impossible. Horace's words in 17 (qui stupet in titulis) refer to the 'populus' i.e. to the *electors*; but in 18 he is speaking of himself as a possible *candidate*, and a candidate, as such, cannot be said either 'stupere' or 'non stupere in imaginibus.' Kiessling then is surely right in comparing ii. 1, 71: 'se a vulgo et scaena in secreta *remorat*' and explaining the words of a man 'der sich von dem Trieben der Öffentlichkeit des politischen Lebens auf sich selbst zurückgezogen hat und im Dunkeln dahinlebt.' Horace says 'a vulgo (not "populo") *remotos*,' and he is plainly speaking of himself as an *ignotus*, who has no claims for office, but, far from the madding crowd, lives the 'vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique' (129: cf. 52 'ambitione procul'). Prof. M. urges that '*esto* semper est concedentis et ad praecedentia pertinet': this is true, but it is to 'qui stupet in titulis,' not to '*remotos*' that the word here refers. Just as *Ep.* i. 1, 81 (*esto* aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri) refers to and repeats in a new form ll. 77—80 (pars—sunt qui—multis), so here *esto* resumes ll. 15—17: 'what is a quiet-going nobody like me to do? (I may well ask the question) for, though what I said just now (populus stupet in titulis) is quite true, though it is quite true that the populus (not "vulgus"), in spite of the historical instance I have quoted to the contrary, would as a general rule prefer a Laevinus to a Decius, and that most censors, unlike the exceptional Appius, would eject me from the senate as *ignobilis* (quite right too, since I did not know my place), still I see most "ignoti" carried away captive in Gloria's gleaming car.' The true apodosis to *esto*, *mallet* comes

on at l. 23 ('*sed* fulgente': cf. *S.* ii. 1, 83 '*esto—sed*') and the fullstop should be removed from l. 22, which is parenthetical. 'A juvenile taste for parenthesis is the crying sin of the Satires,' wrote the late Prof. Maguire (*Hermath.* v. p. 130) and Vahlen (de vers. nonnullis Horat. Berol. 1886) has touched on the same point on *S.* i. 1, 114, which, to the great gain of the context, he has enclosed within brackets as a parenthetical comment on the preceding verse, entirely in the early manner of Horace (cf. i. 6, 57).

In the purely exegetical part of the commentary the hand of the new editor has been less busy in introducing new matter than in removing much that seems superfluous for modern readers, and the result is that the 206 pages of the original Orelli are now reduced to 160. The edition, when complete, will embrace a much-needed 'Lexicon Horatianum,' and to the editor's labours in this direction we may perhaps ascribe the addition of a few valuable notes, mainly of a statistical nature, on points of Horatian usage: *e. gr.* i. 1, 46 (plus ac) 97 (adusque) 101 (mi) i. 2, 77 (quare) 79 (est) i. 3, 81 cum quibus ii. 1, 1 sunt qui. For the rest, the alterations are either occasional notices of important views put forward in recent German editions of Horace, among which it is no surprise to find that Kiessling's learned independent and stimulating work occupies a leading place, or references to handbooks on language or archaeology of better authority than those in use in Orelli's day. In the latter direction an opportunity seems lost on i. 6, 27 (nigris pellibus), where Orelli did not distinguish between the 'senatorius' and 'patricius calceus.' Marquardt (*Privatl.* ii. 573) shows that the latter only, and not the former had the 'lunula,' which, like the 'bulla,' could be worn only by 'ingenui': and the distinction becomes important in this passage of Horace, because if the character here referred to had worn the 'patricius calceus,' the question 'quo patre natus' (29) could not have arisen.

A word of praise must in conclusion be said of the type and paper of this important edition which are of a singular beauty.

W. T. LENDRUM.

THE FOURTH VOLUME OF GOETZ'S *CORPUS GLOSSARIORUM LATINORUM*.

Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum vol. iv.
Edidit GEORGIUS GOETZ. Leipzig, Teubner,
1889. 20 Mk.

THE fourth volume of the *Corpus* of Latin glossaries (the second in order of publication) contains (1) the glosses beginning with *abstrusa*, contained in the Vatican MS. 3321, written in uncials in the seventh century; (2) the glosses of the St. Gallen MS. 912 (eighth century), edited with an excellent commentary by Minton Warren in 1885; (3) four separate glossaries from the Leyden MS. 67 F (eighth or ninth century). These are (a) the *abavus* glossary, or glossary beginning with *abavus*; (b) that beginning with *ab absens*; (c) *Glossae Vergilianae*; (d) the *affatim* glossary, half of which is identical with the *abstrusa* glossary of Vat. 3321. An appendix contains specimens (a) of the Ambrosian glossary B 31 and the glossary *asbestos* (MSS. 1469, Monte Cassino 90, 217, 402), both companions to the St. Gallen; (b) of the fuller recension of the *abavus* glossary, or rather the glossary made up of the *abavus* and *absens* combined (Vossianus Fol. 82 and others); (c) of the glossary beginning with *abactor* (Montpellier H 416 and others).

The importance of this book will probably be found to lie in two main points: (1) the critical edition of Vaticanus 3321; (2) the sifting of the manuscript material of the remaining glossaries treated of in the volume.

(1) The text of the Vatican glossary is printed exactly as it stands in the manuscript. At the foot of the page is given an *apparatus* of readings from two Paris manuscripts, the Vatican 6018 and the Monte Cassino 439, which also contain it. The

glossary is important as representing a good tradition in a very corrupt form. It thus gives an excellent notion of the degradation into which classical learning must have sunk in the seventh century A.D. and indeed much earlier, for its corruptions are no doubt, in many cases, older than itself. It is made up out of two more ancient glossaries, which are themselves, in all probability, based upon older work. Thus the Vatican glossary deserves the careful study both of scholars and historians. It will probably be found to supply a link between the learning of the classical period at its close, and that of the incipient middle age. The character of its contents is very mixed; there is much of real value, much again which could only belong to a period of decadence.

(2) The warmest gratitude is due to Dr. Goetz and his *collaborateurs* for their fruitful labours upon the manuscript material of the other and inferior glossaries edited in this volume. Dr. Goetz has carried on and completed much of the work in which Löwe was the brilliant pioneer. Special praise is due to his account (p. xxix foll.) of the eleven manuscripts of the *affatim* glossary and the twenty-one of the fuller or contaminated *abavus* glossary. His lucid classifications have for the first time made it possible for students of Latin glossaries to feel sure of their footing in the weltering chaos of manuscript material collected in the libraries of Europe.

The publication of the manuscript texts without any emendations confers an incidental boon of great value upon students of palaeography.

H. NETTLESHIP.

ESSAYS BY STUEDEMUND'S PUPILS.

Commentationes in honorem GULIELMI STUEDEMUND, quinque abhinc lustra summos in philosophia honores adepti conscripserunt discipuli Gryphisvaldenses, Herbopolitani, Argentinenses, Vratislavienses. (Argentorati, Heitz, 1889.) 10 Mk.

If the highest satisfaction which a teacher can receive is the gratitude and veneration of former pupils who have made their mark in the world, February 8th of last year must

have been a day of rejoicing to Wilhelm Studemund, in spite of the fact that he knew himself to be suffering from an incurable disease. On this day some hundred of his former pupils—*morituum salutantes*—presented him with this volume, in which are gathered together nineteen essays written by certain of their number and commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of his doctor's degree. The tribute was indeed well deserved: Studemund represented, as a

scholar, the best tendencies of modern Germany. His work was based upon the conviction that advances in textual criticism can be made only by exhaustive examination of the tradition of MSS. on the one hand, and on the other hand by minute observation of the usage of particular authors and particular periods. He was conservative without pedantry or superstition, progressive without temerity or license. In the words of the dedication prefixed to this volume: 'Tu nos docuisti doctrinam non in proponendis coniecturis admodum audacibus et contortis quamvis subtiliter excogitatis, verum neglecta propria ostentatione in sola quaerenda veritate esse positam, neque enim inveniendam litterarum antiquarum memoriam, sed restituendam esse nobis persuasisti.' That he was an ideal teacher, the present volume is the best evidence. 'Numquam de memoria nostra dilabentur congressus illi, ubi fabulas Plautinas tecum legere solebamus, et gratiam habebunt quantam maximam animi capere possunt si quibus procul a patria commorantibus in tua domo Christi natalem celebrare licuit.'

It would be obviously impossible within the limits of a review to do justice to all the essays contained in this volume, dealing as they do with a great variety of subjects. I must content myself with little more than an enumeration of them. The following are the names of the authors and their subjects: 1. ALWIN PREHN, on verbal adjectives in *-bundus*, from the earliest times till the 2nd century A.D.—2. GEORG GEIL, on the μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς in Plato and their relation to the Platonic system.—3. HEINRICH BLASE, on the syntax of conditional sentences in Latin¹.—4. ADOLF CRAMER, on the

infinitive in Manilius. Cramer shows, in opposition to Bernhardt and Teuffel, that Manilius does not differ essentially in the use of the infinitive from other authors.—5. LUDWIG VOLTZ, on treatises περὶ παθῶν τοῦ ἡρωικοῦ μέτρον (faults in the structure of the dactylic hexameter).—6. PAUL HABEL, on the history of sun worship, introduced at Rome by Elagabalus and Aurelian (especially on the college of *pontifices solis*, created by Aurelian).—7. FRIEDRICH HANSEN, a paper on Latin syntax, on the lines of Paul, continuing the author's subtle philosophico-grammatical article in *Philologus*, Neue Folge, I. on adjectives in *-bilis*. He regards the object as a 'degraded subject' (*fugo hostes* = *ego fugo* + *hostes fugiunt*: *fugio hostes* = *ego fugio* + *hostes fugant*: *doceo artem* = *ego doceo* + *ars docet*: *stillo rorem* = *ego stillo* + *ros stillat*), and derives the feminine gender from a collective neuter.—8. GEORG SCHOEMANN, de Etymologici Magni fontibus particula III.: de Diogeniano.—9. OTTO ADALBERT HOFFMANN, on replicas of the Apollo Belvedere under the Empire. He maintains that the statue had a bow in the left hand.—10. WILHELM STERN on the

to be similar to Merc. 692, he uses *nisi*, I think there is no reason to suppose that we have a case of conscious parataxis in these *nī* clauses in Plautus: *nī* had become a subordinating conditional conjunction, precisely equivalent to the *nisi* in similar sentences in Cicero (e.g. Rosc. Amer. § 150 *non satis habet avaritiam suam pecunia explorare, nisi etiam crudelitati sanguis praebitus sit* 'unless an offering of blood be made to his cruelty': cf. Brutus § 110).—In the second part of his paper Blase corrects Schmalz (in Iwan Müller's Handbuch, § 297) on the question of the relative frequency of the form *si* with pres. indic. in protasis, followed by fut. indic. in apodosis, at different periods. Blase would have made his paper more valuable if he had told us in what proportion of his instances the pres. indic. with *si* refers to future time. It is not a matter of much interest to know how often Cicero and others had occasion to write sentences like *si prudens est* (= is now), *veniet*: the question is how often did he use the pres. with the future sense which we find in Terence Ad. 531 (*si hic pernocto* = *pernoctabo*), etc.

* This passage (Bacch. 563 ff.) is quoted by Blase in the following form:—

Quid? tibi non erat meretricium aliarum Athenis copia

Quibuscum haberes rem, nisi cum illa, quam ego mandassem tibi,

Eam ut occiperes tute amare et mi ires consultum male?

So Ussing and Goetz. In the last line the MSS. have *Occiperes tute amare*, &c. Ritschl supplied the gap by *ipse* after *tute*; but *amare cum aliquo* for *amare aliquem* is an expression for which it would be hard to find a parallel, however extended the use of *cum* in old Latin (cf. Most. 1142 *cavere cum aliquo*, &c., Roby § 1885). I propose to read *Occiperes rem tute habere*, &c., regarding *amare* as a gloss on *rem habere*. *Rem* would easily fall out after *occiperes*.

¹ In this paper Blase, already known as the author of a valuable treatise on conditional sentences (Argumentati, Teubner, 1885), supplements the treatise of Oskar Brugmann (Ueber den Gebrauch des conditionalen *nī* in der älteren Latinität, Leipzig, 1887) by tracing the origin and development of meaning of the subjunctive in *nī* (*nisi*) clauses subordinate to expressions like *parum est*, *non satis est*. He explains such a sentence as *parumne est malae rei quod amat Demipho, nī sumptuosus insuper etiam siet* (Plaut. Merc. 692) as a case of parataxis, the *nī* clause being a co-ordinate expression of wish: 'Is it not misfortune enough that D. is in love? Would that he were not a spendthrift also!' It is undoubtedly true that *nī* was originally simply a negative particle (cf. *quid nī fleam*, 'why should I not weep?', *quippe ego te nī contemnam*? Pseud. 917, Bacch. 839, Men. 948, 1109 etc.), and everything favours some such account of the origin of the subjunctive mood in such sentences as Merc. 692. But the question remains how far parataxis was *felt* in the time of Plautus. Considering that in general Plautus uses both *nisi* and *nī* as conditional conjunctions (cf. Mil. 927, Stich. 436) and that in Bacch. 563 ff.*, a passage which Blase admits

obligations of Diodorus to Theopompus.—11. ERICH SCHMIDT, a paper of a literary character, on the sources of Goethe's Euphron in the second part of Faust. 12. EDWARD GRUPE, on the authorship of the Institutions of Justinian.—13. EDWARD ZARNCKE, on a catalogue of old MSS. belonging to a library at Murbach and dated 1464; it contains among others the following titles—*Cicero De Arte Grammatica* and *Olibrii bucolicon*. In the latter the author recognises *Amicius Hermogenianus Olybrius*, who was consul A.D. 395. 14. MAX CONSRUCH, on treatises *περὶ κωμῶδίας*.—15. FRIEDRICH BACK, on a suspected

passage in the Phaedrus of Plato (246 B).—16 FRIEDERICH KUHN, on the date and order of the commentaries of Eustathius.—17. MAX GOLDSTAUB, on the right of dispensation at Athens and Rome.—18. PETER EGENOLFF, on an anonymous Byzantine grammar.—19. WILHELM HAELLINGK, on the real title of the work of Cicero commonly called *De Inventione*. The real title was *Rhetorici* (sc. *libri*), as the author shows from the quotations of grammarians and the evidence of the best MSS. of Cicero: cf. *De Orat.* II. 3, 10.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

SCHAEFER'S MANUAL OF THE SOURCES FOR GREEK HISTORY.

Abriss der Quellenkunde der griechischen und römischen Geschichte, von ARNOLD SCHAEFER: Erste Abteilung—Griechische Geschichte bis auf Polybios. Vierte Auflage, besorgt von Heinrich Nissen. Leipzig, 1889. pp. vi. 118. 2 Mk.

As it is upwards of twenty years since the first edition of this small but scholarly manual appeared, and some seven or eight years since the third edition was issued, it has not previously come within the scope of our crescent *Classical Review* to take stock of the work. Though many students of ancient history are probably acquainted with the *Abriss*, it may not be superfluous to notice the present edition somewhat fully, the rather because the book suggests some reflections upon the methods of teaching history pursued by the Germans as compared with the methods generally employed in *Pan-anglia*—if such a term may be allowed—not wholly to our advantage.

The work consists for the most part of extracts from Greek and Latin texts referring to the authorities for ancient history, combined and set forth in a systematic order. References are given to the best texts and editions of the various authors enumerated, and also to the more important modern works, or monographs, bearing upon authors and subjects. The titles, headings, and connecting paragraphs are in German, but the book is, all the same, eminently serviceable for those unacquainted with German, the great bulk of it consisting of the extracts above mentioned, which tell their own story. To everyone engaged in studying or teaching ancient history these *Outlines*, though slight and not designed to supersede a fuller appre-

ciation of the 'Sources,' may be recommended as a convenient sketch and synopsis of the principal authorities.

It is in the purpose proper of the book, as set forth in the preface, that the superiority of the German method in these matters may be detected. The *Abriss* was designed to serve as a text-book for the lecture-room, and as such it might supply an admirable basis for a fuller exposition and valuation of the whole sum of our sources of knowledge for Greek history. But a thing of that kind can only be acceptable to historical and philological specialists: of such are the German universities, but not ours. The further observation may be allowed, that what the specialist sacrifices in variety and multiplicity of subjects is made up by the sense of totality which comes of leaving no great gaps in his own department, and by his feeling at home there, in a world of order, instead of wandering houseless around a dozen half-explored continents or islands.

Taking this *Abriss* as a basis for class or lecture-room work, or for private study, it would be possible to correct what is its most obvious defect from a scientific standpoint. The authorities are enumerated and characterised in the order of their chronological succession, and not in the order of their relation to the subject. It is true that to some extent the two orders coincide. The earlier historian cannot be an authority for the later period. But all historic composition is not contemporary with its subject, and the later authority may often be the better authority, not in the nature of things, but from character or accident. As it stands at present the *Abriss* forms a synopsis for the literary history of historical composition

among the Greeks, rather than a manual of the sources extant for various periods of Greek history.

The third edition is not at this moment within reach, but comparing the present, or fourth, edition of the Greek division with the second edition (1873), it may fairly be said that the later completely supersedes the earlier edition named. The actual increase in bulk is not indeed great, about ten pages, but the improvement in the arrangement and treatment of the extracts and so forth is considerable. A great gain is the addition of a table of contents (*Inhalt*, pp. iv—vi.). The index (*Register*) contains some sixteen additional entries, but most of these only betoken better indexing—of this more anon. Four names however—Agatharchides, Harpokration, Herakleides Lembos, Kallixenos of Rhodes—stand for real additions to the text. Space has been gained in the body of the work by a freer use of small print for ancillary matters, and great care is shown in the more systematic numbering of paragraphs, in certain rearrangements of extracts, in redistribution of notes or passages, in additions to the Bibliography, and in verbal or material corrections. Instances of all these improvements might be given, but one of special interest, and falling under the last head, must suffice. In the second edition a reference to the Parian marble appeared under the paragraph on Phanias, on the supposition that the chronicle was based upon the work of that author: this reference has now been transferred to the paragraph on Timaeos, no doubt in consequence of Flach's argument (*Chronicon Parium*: Tübingen, 1884).

As every six or seven years the *Abriss* wins apparently a new edition, and as considerable care is employed on the new issues, it may not be amiss to add one or two practical suggestions, and criticisms of less favourable import, for the benefit it may be of future editions. The most important of these concerns the Index, or *Register*. The addition of the table of contents (*Inhalt*) throws the defects of the *Register* into bolder relief. The *Register* is incomplete and inconsistent: it does not contain all the names in the text, nor references to all the pages where the names given are mentioned. It is mainly but not wholly concerned with the primary authorities referred to in the body of the work, and it is not easy to discover any principle upon which the line has been drawn. The omission of Plutarch's name from the Index must not be taken to prove that Plutarch is nowhere referred to in a

work professing to give us a synopsis of the authorities on Greek history. The *Register* in fact has itself a history, and is obviously in process of development. In the earlier editions it had to do duty for a table of contents, and was in the main confined to the authorities to whom separate paragraphs were assigned in the body of the work, and Plutarch *e.g.* was not dignified with a separate paragraph, as he falls outside the limits of the chronological presentation, above referred to as the one drawback in the scheme of the book. The *Register* is becoming more than this, but is not yet a proper index, or under the entry Hellanikos *e.g.* references to every page, where that author is named, would occur. In short there should be at least two *Indices*, one containing the bare list, in alphabetical order, of the authors treated in the work as 'Sources,' and another, containing complete references to all authors, subjects and so forth, noticed in the book. A third Index, presenting a synopsis of the passages quoted, would not be a superfluity. Another suggestion to be made is that the numbering of the paragraphs might be carried further, and rendered more systematic: or is it right that Agatharchides of Knidos should have a separate number (§ 55), while Eratosthenes of Kyrene and Apollodoros of Athens have to go in with a little crowd of lesser lights under the general head of Alexandrine and Pergamene learning (§ 54)? So Aristotle and the whole Peripatetic school have but one figure (§ 47) among them, while Idomeneus of Lampsakos, perhaps on the strength of his being a friend of Epicurus, gets a number (§ 49) to himself; Sicilian history figures as § 44, and Timaeos as § 45. It might be an improvement to number the extracts printed under each paragraph: and it is also a question whether the extracts are marshalled under each paragraph in the best order. Finally it may be observed that it is surprising to be referred on p. 93 to the Berlin papyrus fragment of Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* without a hint of Diels' edition, and to find an imperfect title for Barclay Head's monumental *Historia Numorum* on p. 4. The reference to Boeckh's *Staatshaushaltung* on p. 3 seems also to leave something to be desired, especially since the publication of a third edition, even though the epigraphic texts have not been reedited by Fränkel. These remarks and suggestions, however, are not intended to depreciate the value of this excellent little manual, and the best testimony to its merits is to be found in the constant demand for new editions.

R. W. MACAN.

BUDGE'S PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES.

The History of Alexander the Great; being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes; edited with an English translation and notes by E. A. W. BUDGE, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1889. 25s.

IF a wide circulation is any test of the merits of a book, the romantic history of Alexander, falsely ascribed to Callisthenes, must be one of the best books in the world; for few, to which no sort of sanctity attaches, have been translated into so many languages, or have experienced so many vicissitudes. Alexander the Great was the one Greek who altered the face of the East: hence the anxiety of the Eastern peoples to know all about him. Now to these readers a dry and veracious narrative would have possessed neither probability nor interest; but a book like that of the Pseudo-Callisthenes abounding with gross exaggerations, inaccuracies, wise saws and edifying anecdotes was entirely to their taste. And that it has not lost its attractiveness to the Oriental mind is proved by the observations of the Armenian editor, who in his preface suggests that it was in part at least written by Aristotle, and that its author was, as a master of the historical art, scarcely inferior to the great historians, Diodorus, Thucydides and Herodotus. With this high estimate of the Pseudo-Callisthenes not all readers will agree; but about the merits of the editor and translator of the Syriac text there will not be two opinions. Mr Budge's book bears all over it the signs of masterliness; his scholarship in Greek and Syriac is excellent beyond question; his extraordinarily wide command of Oriental learning enables him to illustrate his author from sources open collectively to few, if any, besides himself; and his English translation, while absolutely accurate, is spirited and felicitous. The beauty of the Syriac printing also makes the book a credit to the Cambridge Press; and the work in general suggests a hope that, although the sceptre of Semitic study has by the death of Professor Wright been removed from England, he has left those behind him who will speedily bring it back.

It is clear to any one who reads but a few pages of the Syriac text that this translation cannot have been made directly from a Greek copy, but must come from some secondary source. For the Greek names, which Syriac translators usually represent with great accuracy, are here for the most part mutilated

beyond recognition. Mr. Budge is likely to have good grounds for everything that he does; yet why he keeps these monstrosities in his translation, where the Greek text tells the truth, is something of a puzzle. p. 140 *Aridaeus the son of Philip* becomes *Bēlirōs son of Mīlēkōs*; p. 62 for *Hermes, the boxer Polydeukes and Alcides* we read *Polynicus, Antimachus, and Tarkates*. Professor Wright thought that the translator followed an *Arabic* original; this would be an adequate account of the mutilations (see p. lxi.), for Arabic copyists often mangle Greek names hopelessly. Yet, unless I am mistaken, the book tells us plainly that it is made from a *Persian* original. For how else are the numerous Persian glosses to be accounted for? On p. 9 after the name of each planet we are told what the Persian for it is; surely this implies that the book which the translator had before him was in Persian. I will quote one of these, because Mr. Budge has by accident missed the truth. The name of *Saturn* is omitted from the list, and instead we read the colour رنگ of a black stone; and the *Horoscopus of helānē, which is called in Persian Farnūg'*. Mr. Budge would emend *Farnūg'*, but it is a Persian word, signifying *Saturn*; given in Meninski's dictionary, and in one published at Calcutta in 1804, but omitted in the 'Seven Seas,' and thence not in Vullers. Hence رنگ 'colour' must stand for a word meaning *Saturn*; and this will be the Persian کبوان, which the translator has read کون 'colour.' The words *which is called in Persian Farnūg'* should then be placed immediately after this word. The assumption of a Persian original will also account (2) for certain Persisms, such as سپت of p. 8, which is the Persian سپت 'a basket' (again omitted by Vullers), and need not be emended; and (3) for the form which certain names assume; thus *Roxana* is always called *Rushnak*, which is the name by which she is known to Firdousi and Nizāmī; and of the Satraps whose Greek names are Γοτάσιπης and Σφιγκτήρ, but whose Persian names are *Gushtasp* and *Asfendiyār* (Firdousi, ed. Macan iii. p. 1278), the former is given his Persian name by the Syrian translator (p. 89). Perhaps too (4) a certain number of the differences between the Greek and the Syriac version may be accounted for by

Persian words misread or misunderstood. On p. 36 we read that *Alexander is in his wisdom adequate to take and to give*, i.e. 'to transact business.' The Greek fails here, but the Armenian translation has to *choose* (*êntrel*) and to *judge* (*datel*), i.e. αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ κρίνειν, which is the sense required. The translation of the former word by *to take* is quite natural; but *to give* seems to be from a reading داد for دادن. On p. 56 the Greek has τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ Δαρείου, the Syriac for *lands and water*; perhaps دارا

has been read دریا, 'sea.' On p. 32 for *years* of the Greek there is an unintelligible *salaz*; perhaps this is the Persian *sālān*, which means 'years.' On p. 58 for ὑπερασπιστῶν the Syriac has *a horse*; may we not trace here the Persian *asp*? This is not the place to pursue these observations, but it may be added that the Persian variety of the Arabic alphabet will fully explain the mutilations of the Greek names. This Persian translation was probably the copy employed by Firdousi; for the account of Alexander's visit to China (p. 195 and following), only found in the Syriac version, is very closely followed by the Persian poet (*Shahnameh*, ed. Macan iii. p. 1347). The Persian translation must however have been nearer the Greek than its Syriac daughter, as may be seen from the extract in Vullers' *Chrestomathia Shahnamiāna*, where l. 105 corresponds with τοὺς φόρους ἀπατεῖν of the Greek (Müller p. 70 b 5), which is not represented in the Syriac; yet a little lower down there occur in Firdousi some words found in the Syriac (p. 131. 13), but not in the Greek. The comparison with Firdousi, which must necessarily give the literary critic a high idea of that poet's skill, ability and taste, will only involve the textual critic in fresh puzzles.

It will be a further question whether the Persian was made directly from the Greek, or from a secondary translation; the latter would *a priori* be more probable, but Mr. Budge's Syriac seems to adhere to the Greek too closely in parts to allow of such a hypothesis. But the use of the Syriac for critical purposes is considerably vitiated by the fact that the critic must reconstruct the text in another language before he can employ it. It would seem easier too to obtain from it new corruptions of the Greek than new emendations; the following passage will both illustrate the truth of this, and also serve as a specimen of the translator's common sense (p. 36): *from thence he returned and came to the stag, and he found a large*

mound, and fifteen towns (rather villages) lay around it; there follow *twelve* names of villages hideously corrupted, one of which is said to be *in the centre of the mound*. Here *the stag* represents (as Mr. Budge observes) ἔλαφον for ἐδάφους, and *the mound* χῶμα for χώρημα *bis*. At the beginning of this chapter the name Παράρον is derived from a *false shot*. The Syriac translator tells a grossly improbable story, and says the place was called *one who died without pain* (παρὰ πόνον?).

If we eliminate (1) the errors to be explained by corruption of the Greek, (2) the errors to be explained from the intermediate translation, there remains a text marked by the same characteristic as the remaining MSS. and versions of this curious book; in other words, a recension so independent as almost to be reckoned another book. To the six independent recensions already known (Müller's three, Meusel's, the Latin and the Armenian) this adds a seventh, containing a great deal of fresh matter, omitting much, and agreeing with each of the other authorities occasionally, but with none consistently. It is probable that all the additions, with trivial exceptions, are derived from Greek sources: and indeed there is some curious evidence of this in the longest addition. On p. 204 we read the name of a river *Pratiçitas*, of which the Persian interpretation is *crystal* (according to Mr. Budge's certain correction). Now *Pratiçitas* is a Sanskrit word, which probably meant *frozen*; the Greek gloss of this was therefore κρύσταλλος, by which the writer meant *ice*, but which the translator interpreted wrongly. From this we can restore the name of another river mentioned on pp. 193 and 196 as *Praçitas*, which also in Sanskrit means *frozen*, and is rather more common than the other. Assuredly these must be long-lived words to have remained whole through three transliterations.

Mr. Budge fancies that the differences between the recensions are to be explained as due to arbitrary treatment of the text; and this version gives some curious illustrations of the way in which readers of the book exercised their wit in interpolating it. When Alexander brings on his shoulders the body of the dead Nectanebus, the best authorities, the Armenian and Latin, put no jest in Olympias' mouth; Müller's text makes her call him a *new Aeneas*; the Syriac retains the jest about Aeneas in Alexander's answer, but in the mouth of Olympias puts the new joke a *second Telamonian Ajax*, as Mr. Budge has acutely

restored the passage. As Olympias did not know that it was the body of his father, it was fitter for her to compare him to Ajax carrying the body of Achilles than to Aeneas. The ridiculous account of the Olympic games has been spun out by similar ingenuity, but the translator's blunders have rendered much of it unintelligible.

To the question of the origin of the book Mr. Budge makes a brilliant contribution, tracing the magical rites which Nectanebus practices in Egyptian documents which he for the first time edits and translates. In this field the present writer cannot follow him. Mr. Budge does not however insist that the book was originally written in Egyptian, although he thinks it likely. Against this theory we may notice that the quotations from Homer, which are omitted by the Syriac translator, are to be found in the Armenian, which, according to Zacher,

is the most original authority. Perhaps therefore the theory which other scholars hold, that Greek was not the native language of the writer, is more likely; and the construction of iii. 24 *ἐνθα εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Κανδαύλης τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκεῖ διατᾶσθαι* would suggest that this was some form of Semitic or Coptic. Mr. Budge has rendered his work as useful as it was possible to make it to Greek scholars by his accurate translation, his excellent comparative table of contents, his analysis of the Aethiopic version, and his full bibliographical details; and he has therefore provided a model for other editors of Oriental versions, to which few will be able to attain. In taking leave of his excellent book I will venture to congratulate him warmly on having so well sustained the reputation of his lamented master and his own.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

GOODWIN'S MOODS AND TENSES.

Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb. By W. W. GOODWIN, LL.D., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. New edition, re-written and enlarged. (Macmillan, 1889.) Pp. xxxii. 464. 14s.

THIS volume, as Mr. Goodwin tells us in the preface, was begun as a revision of the well-known book published by him in 1860; but as he proceeded he found that it must inevitably become a new and independent work. Much, certainly, has been done in the way of enlargement, and the brilliant essay of thirty years ago has assumed the form and character of a standard work. Yet it is in essentials the same book. One reviewer, indeed, has assured us that it is a book in which 'the student may reckon up the results of the prodigiously minute investigations which German scholars have made during the last quarter of a century into the forms and history of the Greek verb.' But the description is far from being a happy one. Mr. Goodwin's book owes very little to German research. In his first edition he professed himself in the main a follower of Madvig, who did so much to release Greek syntax from the network of metaphysics in which it was then the tendency of German writers to involve themselves. Mr. Goodwin brought to his subject what he modestly called the light of 'com-

mon sense.' We should rather say that he brought to it the faculties which we are accustomed to speak of as 'scholarship,' something that is not exactly either 'learning' or 'science,' but rather a trained sense and knowledge of language as it is used by great writers, without undue leaning either to the logical or to the artistic side. The views which Mr. Goodwin then put forward were in several points new, and we may even say bold, if that term can be applied to conclusions that rest upon sufficient evidence. Since that time the historical treatment of language has been extended to syntax, and the basis of the science has been proportionately widened. It might have been expected that this great enlargement of view—in which Germany has unquestionably taken the chief part—would have been fatal alike to the 'common-sense' syntax of Madvig and Goodwin and to the metaphysical syntax of the older German grammarians. It is no slight proof of the value of Mr. Goodwin's work that with all the additions and amplifications which it has undergone there has been nothing of importance to correct or withdraw. The new discoveries have fallen into their place—*πάντα γὰρ συνέδει τῷ ἀλληεῖ*—harmonising and illustrating the doctrines already set forth.

The Moods occupy much the larger part of the book; but the Tenses naturally take the earlier place in the order of exposition.

First comes the all-important distinction between the *time* of an action as *present*, *past*, or *future*, and its *character* as *going on*, *finished*, or simply taking place. The former point of view furnishes the division into *primary* and *secondary* tenses. Here a question may be raised. Mr. Goodwin bids us note that the 'historic present' is a secondary tense, and the 'gnomic aorist' a primary tense. But surely it is better to treat the classification as one of tenses, not of the uses of tenses. The historic present is still a present: if it is used to describe a past event, that is a rhetorical artifice, by which we are called upon to imagine for the moment that the event is happening before our eyes. The issue is perhaps a verbal one; but it is worth notice as illustrating a group of usages, the essential feature of which is that the speaker does not express himself with literal directness—where the grammatical meaning is not the real meaning. Other examples will be found in Mr. Goodwin's book (§§ 61, 62, 67, 404, 467).

The problem of the aorist is disposed of briefly, but in a manner which Greek scholars will feel to be satisfactory. The 'fundamental idea of *simple occurrence*' will explain all, or very nearly all, the varieties of usage that we find in Greek. It is true that when we go back to the aorists of Vedic Sanscrit, as they have been explained for us by Delbrück, the formula 'simple occurrence' ceases to satisfy. The peculiar Vedic use of the aorist to relate an event which has *just happened* is distinct from the ordinary Greek use, and can hardly be derived from it. Moreover, this use is not unknown in Greek, as we may see from examples given by Mr. Goodwin (§§ 58, 60, 61, 62). It is especially to be seen in verbs that use the perfect in the sense of a present, as ἐκτησάμην, 'I have acquired,' but κέκτημαι, 'I possess.'

In Greek, however, we do not feel that these mere traces of a different sense of the aorist are important enough to affect the general theory of the tense. Mr. Goodwin is justly suspicious of attempts to find a distinct meaning whenever an imperfect is used instead of an aorist, or *vice versa*. In some we may think him too sceptical. Thus he instances κελεύω, 'I command,' as a verb in which the distinction of tense can seldom be important. Usually, however, as Mr. Jebb points out (*Attic Orators*, p. 362), ἐκέλευον is = 'I requested' or 'invited,' ἐκέλευσα, 'I commanded.' It is possible that the reason of a difference of tense may still be detected in cases where it is not at present obvious.

On the future it may be suggested that the interrogative use to express *doubt* (§ 68) is a case of the future of *present* intention, &c. (§ 71).

The discussion of the aorist infinitive (§ 127) raises a question of Homeric textual criticism on which opinion will probably be divided. When we find in *Od.* xx. 121 φάτο γὰρ τίσασθαι ἀλείτας, 'he thought he should punish the offenders,' what weight has the passage as an instance of the aorist after φημί? Madvig would read τίσεσθαι, and this is strongly supported by the fact that in *Il.* iii. 28 Ven. A. has φάτο γὰρ τίσεσθαι. But even without this there is much to be said for Madvig's emendation. The question is, Can the manuscripts decide in such a case between two forms of the same metrical value? If we do not look at each passage by itself, but observe the state of the readings in all similar passages, we find a large amount of variation. Further, there is evidence that that variation goes back to the earliest Alexandrian times (see the Scholia on *Il.* xxii. 118, *Od.* ii. 373). But if the scribes of the 4th century B.C. were uncertain whether to write -ασθαι or -εσθαι, how can MSS. of the 10th or 12th century A.D. be of any weight on one side or the other? We have seen that the MSS. of the *Odyssey* all give us τίσασθαι, while the MSS. of the *Iliad* are divided, the best giving τίσεσθαι. This evidently does not mean that in the *Odyssey* τίσασθαι is right; it means that the inferior MSS. of the *Odyssey* have arrived at an accidental unanimity, where the better evidence of Ven. A. shows that there was formerly divergence. So far, then, we may go with Madvig. But there are one or two cases in which an aorist might be defended on grounds which he (and Cobet, who has adopted his view) seem not to have sufficiently recognised. The phrase φάτο τίσασθαι might mean 'he thought he had punished,' *i.e.* that he had gained a victory, which was equivalent to punishing. Or the aorist may express *obligation* or *necessity*; as in *Il.* iii. 98, φρονέω διακρινθήμεναι, 'I think that they *should* be parted' (so *Il.* xiii. 262, &c.). Or the aorist may be idiomatically used for the present or future, as in *Od.* ix. 496, φάμεν αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι, 'we thought we were lost' (we said ἀπωλόμεθα). This will apply (*e.g.*) to Mr. Goodwin's instance from Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 3, 15, νομίζω, ἢν ἱππεὺς γένομαι, ἄνθρωπος πτηνὸς γενέσθαι, 'I consider that if I am on horseback I am *ipso facto* winged' (πτηνὸς ἐγενόμην).

When we come to the Moods it is hard to choose among the various points to which

one would wish to call attention. In view of recent discussions perhaps the most interesting is the question of *εἰ* with the optative, to which Mr. Goodwin has devoted a special appendix, chiefly directed against the theory of L. Lange. That theory, as is well known, is an ingenious attempt to resolve the conditional sentence into the simple elements out of which it was formed. Any such attempt, it is obvious, must deal with two problems: (1) what is the fundamental or original meaning of the moods used in conditional sentences, and (2) what is the original force of the particle *εἰ*. The first of these problems was treated by Delbrück in his *Syntaktische Forschungen*, his conclusion being that the optative was originally the mood of *wish*. The second was taken in hand by Lange. Although writing under the impulse of Delbrück's researches, Lange did not adopt his view of the optative. His main contention is that *εἰ* is not a temporal or relational particle, but a sort of interjection; so that *εἰ ἔλθοι* meant not 'if or when he may come,' but simply 'may he come' (wish), or 'he may come' (supposition). The most striking result of this view is that *εἰ ἔλθοι* when used as a form of wish is not a conditional protasis with suppressed apodosis—'if he would come (*it would be well*)'—but is an independent sentence containing an optative of wish. Evidently the two theories might be combined: we might hold with Delbrück that *ἔλθοι* of supposition comes from *ἔλθοι* of wish, and with Lange that *εἰ ἔλθοι* of wish comes directly from *ἔλθοι* of supposition. Indeed it is this combination against which Mr. Goodwin directs his chief attack, though he warns us that it does not represent Lange's own view. Now, however (as Mr. Goodwin is careful to tell us), Delbrück has given up the attempt to derive all uses of the optative from the optative of wish. What view, then, still holds the field? The main value of

Lange's theory is supposed to lie in its getting rid of the notion of an ellipse—in its explaining the complex from the simple, not *vice versa*. But what does this now amount to? If there is an original *εἰ ἔλθοι* of *supposition* we need hardly ask whether an apodosis is understood or not: for a supposition is made with a view to some more or less distinctly conceived *consequence*. If again we find *εἰ ἔλθοι* expressing wish, what do we gain by refusing to connect it with the other *εἰ ἔλθοι*? The only result is the paradox that the single form *εἰ ἔλθοι* has two radically distinct meanings, supposition and wish, while the two forms *ἔλθοι* and *εἰ ἔλθοι* are essentially the same. On this ground, as well as for the reasons urged by Mr. Goodwin, Lange's ingenious speculation must be pronounced unsatisfactory.

Another case in which the notion of an older 'parataxis' is resorted to is the account of *πρίν* with the subjunctive (§ 624). 'In a sentence like οὐδέ μιν ἀνστήσεις πρίν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο πάθῃσθα we have only to remove the colon and make *πρίν* a conjunction to obtain the regular construction of *πρίν* with the subjunctive.' Simple as this appears it may be doubted whether it is correct. The use of the subjunctive without *ἄν* or *κε* as a future is extremely rare: it occurs only in the phrase καὶ ποτέ τις εἴπῃσι. On the other hand, the subjunctive after *πρίν* never takes *ἄν* or *κε* in Homer. It seems hard, then, to explain the latter subjunctive from the former. Moreover the sentences *you will not raise him before you suffer* and *you will not raise him, you will suffer before (you do)*, though they come to nearly the same thing, are utterly different in form, and it is hard to imagine one passing insensibly into the other. On this point then it seems necessary to claim the rare luxury of differing from Mr. Goodwin.

D. B. MONRO.

WAY'S ILIAD.

The Iliad of Homer. Done into English Verse, by ARTHUR S. WAY, M.A., Head Master of Wesley College, Melbourne, Australia. London: Sampson Low. Books VII. to XII. pp. 313. 1886. 5s.
The same. Books XIII.–XXIV. pp. 335. 1888. 9s.

We have delayed longer than we ought the

review of these volumes in the hope of getting at Part I., Books I.–VI., which may contain some prolegomena or statement of the translator's views on the most interesting question 'How should Homer be translated?' Determined to delay our duty no longer, we must write our review without such helps.

It is now twenty-nine years since Matthew Arnold published his three lectures on

'Translating Homer'—a few years later appeared his 'last words.' In the interval, there have been published at least seven verse translations of the *Iliad*—of the *Odyssey* as a separate poem Mr. Arnold says little—Dean Alford's, Mr. Bryant's, Mr. Dart's, Lord Derby's, Sir John Herschel's, Dean Merivale's and this of Mr. Way's. We write this list off without pausing to think—there may have been as many more. Very few if any of these have troubled themselves about Mr. Arnold's ideas; and a good deal of censure, serious and jocose, has been poured upon him. Yet after all the foam and froth of angry critics has disappeared, it is hard to see that they have shaken one of his four main assertions.

These are: Homer is eminently *rapid*; his lines constantly carry us on; Homer is *simple and straightforward in diction*; we do not constantly have to halt, as in Pindar, to see what a word or a phrase means: Homer is eminently *straightforward in thought*; he does not, like Aeschylus, make us work and work again and again to find out what the sentiment of his lines is; and, finally, he is preeminently grand and noble and he does not, like Catullus, or even Dante, let us down into regions where the poet should close his eyes. Accepting all these four points, we should wish to add another which is perhaps implied in the first and fourth: Homer is eminently musical; he is not only rapid but charming to read, he contains none of such lines as those where Milton broke a string of his lyre, and did not immediately get a new one.

Mr. Way has determined to observe the first requirement faithfully. He recognizes fully the inherent characteristic of Homer, the flow, rush, sweep, go, which is so inevitably lost in all blank verse translations, from innate delay of that kind of metre. It sometimes seems as if Lord Derby and Mr. Bryant never would get there. Mr. Way is bound to get there, and not only so but to get there just as fast as Homer does—a line for every line, and a word, or at least a phrase, for every word and phrase in the line. And what is the result? We take two passages by selection—two by having the volumes opened twice at random.

First, then, the sudden consternation brought by Zeus upon the Achæan army (*Iliad* VIII. 66).

Now all through the morning tide and still while the day waxed hot
Fast fell the folk as the shafts from host unto host were shot;

But so soon as the sun bestrode the midmost height of the sky,

Then hung All Father his golden Balances forth from on high.
And therein two tokens of doom of the outstretcher Death he laid
For the horsequelling Trojans and men of Achaia brazen arrayed.
By the midst did he grasp them and raise, then—sank the doom-fraught day
Of the sons of Achaia and low on the earth all bountiful lay:
But the fates of the people of Troy soared up to the broad-arched heaven
And he sent forth the voice of his thunder from Ida and flashed his levin
Over the men of the host of Achaia, and all they saw And marvelled, and pale grew their faces, and thrilled were their spirits with awe.

Let us take as a second instance the beginning of Achilles' answer to Ulysses refusing Agamemnon's gifts (*Iliad* IX. 307).

Made answer Achilles to him, and the fleet-footed hero replied,
O Scion of Zeus and Laertes, Odysseus in wiles deep tried,
Clear spoken this word of mine answer must be, and I may not feign;
I must tell you the thought of my soul, and the thing that shall surely remain.
For hateful to me is the man as the very gates of Death
Who hideth a thing in his heart that is not as the thing he saith.
But for me, I will utter the thing that I deem shall be best in the end,
Not me shall the son of Atreus, the king Agamemnon, bend,
Nor the rest of the Danaan men: for a thankless task hath it been
To grapple with foes ever more in the battle sleepless keen.
One share hath the home abider, and he that hath fought with his might,
In the self-same honor the dastard is held, and the valiant in fight.
And how dieth the deedless man? as the deed-crowned heroes die.

Take as a third specimen Ajax's immortal prayer for light (*Iliad* XVII. 640).

'Now would there were one of our comrades with uttermost speed to bear
Tidings to Peleus' son, for I ween he is nowise ware
Of the woeful tale that his dear loved friend is dead to-day:
Howbeit such man I can nowhere discern mid Achaia's array:
For in gloom they are shrouded around, e'en they and their steeds withal;
Zeus, father, yet save thou Achaia's sons from beneath its fall
And make clear day, and vouchsafe unto us with our eyes to see:
So it be but in light, destroy us! since this is well pleasing to thee.
He spake, and All Father was moved with compassion for him as he wept.
And he straightway scattered the gloom, and the mist aside he hath swept.'

Take last the description of the case of Patroclus' body (*Iliad* XVIII 343).

'So spake Achilles the godlike and gave to his comrades command
To set a mighty tripod over the fire to stand
That with speed they should cleanse from Patroclus the clotted gore away :
And the tripod of washing above the devouring fire set they ;
And they poured the water therein, and they kindled the billets below ;
And the flames coiled round it, the water grew warm in the fervent glow.
So when in the glittering brass the water with heat 'gan boil,
Then did they wash the corpse and anointed it over with oil.
And the wounds of the dead did they fill with ointment fresh and sweet ;
And laid on a bier and swathed him in linen soft to the feet
Even from the head and over a white pall have they thrown.'

What first strikes every reader of these passages is the very novel metre in which they are written ; it is a rhymed anapaestic trimeter acatalectic, with free spondaic—in truth iambic—substitutions. It is precisely Aristophanes' gorgeous metre minus a foot and a syllable. It is obviously selected, or rather invented, by Mr. Way to reproduce Homer's six accents. Nor is it without its recommendations. The anapaest skilfully handled is eminently suited to the genius of the English language—more so, we believe, than that of the French, which makes far greater use of it. There cannot be a more thoroughly English poem than 'Lochiel's Warning,' which is pure anapaestic, with only occasional spondees in the first foot. So too Byron's 'Siege of Corinth' has a freedom and a swing which is wanting even in the 'Corsair.'

Again, we believe there is sense in the use of rhyme. Rhyme in modern languages is the substitute for quantity in the ancient in giving complexity, variety and character to poetry. That every language in Europe including Mediaeval Latin and Modern Greek has drifted into it, seems a sufficient proof of this. In all blank verse translations from the classics we have a feeling of austerity, a want of richness ; this rhyme supplies.

But to return to our first canon. Mr. Way's lines are generally rapid—one does get ahead ; one is not held back as by Cowper, Lord Derby, and Mr. Bryant. But what kind of rapidity is it ? Being rapid, is it easy, harmonious, musical ? Alas ! it is the rapidity of a waggon, rattling down a half-made mountain road, bouncing over stones, swinging around corners, with a driver who is bound to get you there all safe, but kills you with fear every other rod. It is neither flowing, gliding, rushing nor leaping,

but mere bouncing. Now in Homer there is one bouncing line—that of the stone of Sisyphus ; and its leaps are soft compared to Mr. Way's jolts. It is needless to say that under such driving not only the music but the nobility is lost every minute ; even when the verse is easiest, there is a sensation of bustle about the whole. This is fatal in a translation of Homer. To him as to every great poet belongs the attribute of supreme control over their verse. It may have taken them long to bring to perfection ; but it is at last the work of their hand done according to their will, and reflecting their great soul. In inferior poets we are constantly offended by their feeling that words either were lacking or were obtrusive. Persius cannot say all he wishes to ; Ovid is carried off by his too exuberant vocabulary. May we not venture to say that some modern poets of high reputation are destined to a secondary immortality only, because they will fill their verses with queernesses or pretinences that Horace's self-control would have stabbed in their cradle out of sight of men ?

Mr. Way's lines are filled with these words and phrases which are either forced upon him through his painful anxiety to omit nothing or, still worse, recommended to him by a taste for quaintness and conceits. Homer's epithets have always been a puzzle to translators. The English language does not form compounds easily ; and even if successfully formed, the compound claims far more importance than belongs to the Homeric epithet. *Πόδας ὠκὺς* or *ἑλκεσίπτελος* are no more, as Macaulay shows, than 'gay ladies' or 'red gold' in early ballads. But Mr. Way's 'the oustretcher death' is to our ear quite different from *πανηλεγέος θανάτοιο*. 'Grim death' may not translate *πανηλεγέος*, but it comes much nearer to holding the same place in English verse that the other does in Greek. 'The outstretcher' is a token struck to meet Mr. Way's exigencies. A worse fault is the affected archaism of such a translation as we find in *Iliad* xvii. 112, where Menelaus is compared to a lion : *ἀέκων δέ τ' ἔβη ἀπὸ μεσσαίνου*, 'and against his will from the farmyard away he goes.' Here Mr. Way has 'And exceeding loth from the garth doth he backward fare.' We may grant that *μέσαντος* is a hard word ; but *garth* is three times harder, because it involves dialectic study to understand. So *ἔβη* = simply 'goes'—is not 'backward fare,' for *fare* meaning to *go* is now exclusively a poetic word, and out of place in translating one of the plainest prose words in Greek ;

these two, joined to 'exceeding loth'—perfectly intelligible, but still entirely out of ordinary speech—make the whole a forced, unnatural rendering of Homer's absolutely simple line.

Mr. Way then violates Mr. Arnold's second canon; he is not straightforward in his words and phrases. Following his own impossible law of giving to Homer a word or phrase equivalent to every one of the original, he loads his verse with invented and obsolete words, wholly wanting in Homer's direct simplicity.

The third canon—that Homer's plainness and directness of thought as well as language must be kept—is generally observed from the compulsion of Mr. Way's verse; one who strives to give line for line cannot have much room to recast or bolster out the conception of the poet. But the fourth passage quoted will show one bad blunder of grammar frequently recurring that sounds more like a German trying to write English. A succession of aorists has its last one translated by the perfect with 'have,' upsetting poetry and grammar at once. In the same passage *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔξέσσειν ὕδωρ* is translated, 'when the water 'gan to boil' (Mr. Way does not apparently know that *gan* needs no apostrophe)—which would be by no means the time to wash the body. Surely the aorist with *ἐπειδὴ* must mean, 'after the water was boiling' or 'as soon as it was boiling.'

We have not sought for lines to condemn. As was said above, every one of the passages selected was chosen from the Greek *Iliad*—two at random, and two for their acknowledged excellence. If we had been on the look out to make a collection of Mr. Way's eccentricities we could easily have produced some startling exhibitions of uncouth English, unreadable lines and versions much more obtrusively un-Homeric than those we give. The translation has evidently been written under the inspiration of Homer's fire and a conscientious wish that the English reader shall have him as nearly as possible as he is,—in cadences, tone, words and thoughts. A skilful elocutionist could read passages of the version so as to produce a great effect on an audience.

But the whole seems to us a failure, by reason of its tone being entirely alien from Homer's or any other extant Greek poetry. It lacks simplicity, and it lacks self-control,

that divine *σωφροσύνη*, which never left any Greek poet's mind—unless it were Archilochus'—even in telling the simplest story in the plainest manner and under the strongest passion. Mr. Way's version, in his eagerness to be exact is artificial to the point of torture, and in his determination to be spirited reckless to the point of wildness.

Whether there ever will be an English translation of the *Iliad* which scholars can accept and the people will read, is hard to say. In the first quarter of this century, a New England farmer's book-shelf, which was crammed if it had fifty volumes, was sure to have Pope's Homer. There the boys and girls, whose daily occupation was one of almost unmitigated toil and hardship of the most sordid kind, learned the 'tale of Troy divine.' They learned it in a version easy, melodious, and spirited, where Achilles and Hector, Ulysses and Apollo, spoke to them with the reality which they do in the transcendent original. A scholar will make short work of Pope; a modern poet scarcely admits him to the sacred company; but it will be very long before any translator will make Homer the reality that Pope did to our fathers and grandfathers.

But when *the* translator comes, he will not do his work thinking all the time of scholar and people; he will not be talking to himself constantly either of Matthew Arnold's canons or the attacks upon them. He will mind neither tradition nor fashion; but one question he will put mercilessly to himself at the end of every line and passage—'Does this really give what I think of Homer; does it reproduce at all the living narrative, the speaking characters, the melody like ocean ripples in a summer evening, the grandeur like the same ocean under a winter storm, the vividness more than mirror or photograph, the reality that pierces straight to the heart like a father's approval or rebuke; in short do I—I the daring translator—feel in my version something of that which made Dante, through the person of Virgil, call Homer, "poeta sovrano"?'—and by that stern test will he correct, improve, destroy or retain his work till it shall be worthy not only of its mighty original, but of the two glorious tongues from which and into which his translation is made.

WILLIAM EVERETT.

Quincy, Mass.

Demosthenes, On the Peace, Philippic II., On the Chersonese, Philippic III. With Introduction and Notes by EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D., and P. E. MATHESON, M.A. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1890. pp. 116, 86. 4s. 6d.

THIS is the second volume of the collaborators' school edition of the orations against Philip. The previous volume, which appeared in 1887, was noticed at p. 207 of vol. 2 of this *Review*. The new book is marked by the few faults and the many excellences to which Prof. Butcher drew attention in its predecessor. The notes are short and pertinent; and, assuming that the right method is to give all opinions cut and dried, without stating the grounds on which they are based, the thing could scarcely be better done than it is here. Any edition of Demosthenes which includes the Third Philippic must contain some discussion of the much disputed text of that speech. The brief remarks offered by the editors on pp. 114—116 are of the same perfunctory character that marks all the textual criticism of this edition. If any conclusions were to be stated at all, a list of the different theories should have been given. Instead of this, we have merely a reference to 'Rehdantz "*Philippische Reden*," Weil "*Les Harangues de Démosthène*," Dräseke in *Jarhbuch der Class. Phil.* Suppl. Bd. 7.' No mention of Schultz, whose find of the Laurentian materially affected the discussion: no reference to Spengel, who started the theory that Demosthenes first wrote the shorter version, which is that contained in Σ . pr., and L. pr., and subsequently expanded it into the version which is obtained by relieving the other MSS. of some obvious interpolations: no mention of Dindorf and Vömel, whose view was that Demosthenes wrote the longer version, which was subsequently cut down by a commentator into the form in which it appears in Σ . pr. Weil's conclusion indeed, that the longer text is the result of the union of two parallel versions both due to Demosthenes, is stated, but it is not added that Dräseke strongly combats this theory. The latter's conclusion is that the twelfth century additions in Σ are genuine, and the editors should certainly have given in their footnotes all the passages which Dräseke claims as Demosthenes' work. But this is not always done; e.g. at § 45, where *ἀλλ' εὐαγρὲς ἦ τὸ ἀποκτείνειν*, which Dräseke defends, is entirely omitted. The question of the text of the Third Philippic is one of great importance, as it widely affects the whole theory of interpolations in ancient authors. If we had not Σ and L, we should never have suspected many passages in this speech which are generally rejected. It is quite possible that if we had any MSS. of Thucydides as good as Σ and L we should discover that many passages were wanting in them which appear in all extant MSS. The text is printed from Bekker's stereotyped edition, and the only variants recorded are those of Bekker, ed. i, Dindorf and the Zurich editors. Thus Blass' exceedingly valuable text is entirely ignored.¹

An oppressive melancholy pervades all the speeches against Philip, which makes them rather heavy for school reading. The volume would have been made more attractive if the editors had included a study of the literary aspect of the speeches and of the personal character of their author. It was Demos-

thenes' character that Niebuhr said we ought to study more than anything else in his speeches. His character is unassailable; but it is impossible to feel so certain about his policy. The admirable Introduction traces the relations between Athens and Philip from 346 to 340, called 446—440 by an unfortunate misprint. If I may draw a conclusion from the few hints given here and in the notes, it appears that Dr. Abbott does not entirely accept Schäfer's view of Demosthenes' policy. Now and again he betrays a slight preference for Isocrates' ideal. It was no doubt a marvellous proof of power to requicken, as Demosthenes did, the half-dead patriotism of his fellow-citizens; to weld together in solid opposition to Philip whatever was left of unselfish and high-spirited feeling in Athens. But what has Dr. Abbott to say of the practical side of the question? 'How could the citizen troops on which Demosthenes relied hold their own in an age when standing armies were becoming more and more a necessity of successful warfare?' 'That Philip's power was based on violence . . . was not quite true. Many looked on him . . . even as the leader of Hellas.' Possibly, had not Demosthenes exalted Athens so high, Poliorcetes' exploits would never have been embroidered on her peplus. Her political power would doubtless have been humble: but at least she might have secured in the favour of Macedon a tolerable *modus vivendi*. But it was impossible that so ardent an admirer of Thucydides, so profound a believer in Athenian greatness, should bow his neck to the yoke of a foreigner.

The note on *de Pace* §3 proposes τὰ προειμένα ἀνασώθῃσεται for τὰ π. σωθήσεται; but the constant use of σώζω in this sense makes this improbable. In § 8 ἦν ἐκέκτετο οὐσίαν φανεράν ἐξαργυρίσας . . . ἀπάγων οἴχεται, Cobet's ἀπὸν for ἀπάγων is rejected because 'he overlooks ἐξαργυρίσας.' This does not destroy the point of Cobet's query 'ἀπάγων quid? An τὴν φ. οὐσίαν?' Probably ἀπάγων should be bracketed with Blass, as a gloss on ἐξαργυρίσας. But at § 24 τοὺς θρασέως ὀτιοῦν οἰομένους ὑπομένειν δεῖν 'those who boldly think that we ought to expose ourselves at all risks,' the remark that this 'strains the sense of ὑπομένειν' is a mistake due to Cobet's statement 'est nova et inaudita θρασύτης si quis quodlibet ferre et pati putat oportere.' Unless the sense of ὑπομένειν is constantly strained by Thucydides and the orators, its proper meaning is 'to stand one's ground in the face of danger.' And which course involves more θρασύτης—φεύγειν or ὑπομένειν? Two examples taken from many cases are Thuc. vii. 42 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπομένειν ἂν σφᾶς οὐδένα, Andoc. i. 20 ὁ πείσας ὑπομένειν καὶ μὴ οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα.

In *Phil.* II. § 32, for οὐχ ἔν' εἰς λοιδορίαν ἐμπεσὼν ἐμαντῷ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου λόγον παρ' ὑμῖν ποιῆσαι, the translation suggested is 'not that by indulging in abuse I may create talk for myself before you, *i.e.* display my powers in abuse.' But, while the editors rightly object to the explanation 'obtain a hearing' for λόγον ποιεῖν, it seems simpler to take the words in the sense of 'to manufacture talk,' *i.e.* to talk for the sake of talking.

At § 14 of the *Chersonese* παρακαλεῖν should have been substituted for παραλέσειν in the text, and at § 46 ἀνέκαστον for ἀνήκαστον is not Bekker's suggestion, but the reading of Σ . pr.

In *Phil.* III. § 11 the note on τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δέ, 'common in Herodotus, and occurs in the Tragedians,' should be extended to include Isocrates and other orators. In § 32 the passage κύριος δὲ τὸ μέτεστιν is omitted not only in Σ . pr. but also in L. pr., and Dräseke rejects this as an interpolation based on *F.* L. § 327. At § 48 Shilleto's explanation of ὥστε οὐδὲ

¹ May I be permitted to express my astonishment that the British Museum authorities have not acquired Blass' text, the first volume of which appeared in 1885, and also that they have only the first vol. of the same author's *Attische Beredsamkeit*? [We are informed by the authorities that these deficiencies have now been supplied. Ed.]

χρημάτων ὠρεῖσθαι is rightly rejected, and the proposed substitute, that ὥστε οὐ emphasizes a fact and not merely a result, states a view of this οὐ as old as Krüger and now, I believe, generally adopted. The only difficulty involved is that the indicative would be more natural. At § 5 the note on ἐλπίς ἐστι γενέσθαι refers without comment to the unsatisfactory note in Goodwin, to which attention has lately been drawn by Mr. Lendrum.

The book closes with an accurate and useful Index to both volumes. E. C. MARCHANT.

Livy. Book IV. Edited by H. M. STEPHENSON, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1890. 2s. 6d.

IN his preface Mr. Stephenson says 'This edition is intended, I suppose, mainly for use in schools,' and he very wisely observes 'that the notes in a school edition should be as brief as is consistent with the omission of no real difficulty' and 'that the main object of the notes should be to elucidate the meaning of the author.' These excellent maxims the editor has most carefully followed, and the result is a very good edition from which any student of Livy will be able to learn much that is valuable. No two people will perhaps ever have the same ideas as to what passages most require comment, but with a very few exceptions (to be noted subsequently) I have found all my difficulties explained, and there is hardly anything in the notes that I could regard as superfluous. The schoolmaster then—and it is for the schoolmaster chiefly, as Mr. Stephenson seems to hint, that all but the most elementary schoolbooks are edited—has been provided with a very useful edition; as for the average schoolboy or undergraduate, no note has perhaps ever yet been written or can be written which he will be certain to understand.

The notes in Mr. Stephenson's book are clearly printed, and are quite easy to find, in spite of the double system of reference by page and line as well as by chapter and section. It seems to me that the page and line reference is always useless and generally puzzling, while the chapter and section system allows the notes to be used with a different text, as is sometimes desirable.

The explanations given by the translations in the notes are admirable, but I think the English style is in one or two places a bad model for translation: e.g. liii. 8 'collared and dragged away' and from another point of view xlv. 4 'the pleasure of *handselling* a privilege.' Again on xxvii. 10 'neutiquam vulgatae laudis' is rendered by 'talent of no ordinary calibre' (the italics are mine as before), and this is a style of translation that boys should be discouraged from adopting.

The note on vii. 5, a difficult passage, is, I think, wrong. The passage runs thus: 'Ab senatu responsum est: iudicium populi rescindi ab senatu non posse, praeterquam quod nullo nec exemplo nec iure fieret, concordiae etiam ordinum causa.' Mr. Stephenson says '*praeterquam quod* quod is the conjunction: the subject to *fieret* must be supplied from *rescindi*. "Except where it was done without precedent or warrant of law, and that for the purpose of preserving harmony between the two orders." It is impossible that the absence of precedent could give a reason for action of any kind. I would suggest (still taking *quod* as the conjunction but taking *fieret* as representing *fiat* and not *fit* of *oratio recta*) 'a decision of the people could not be annulled by the senate, such a course would not only be unprecedented and illegal, but would endanger the good understanding between class and class,' lit. 'besides that it would be done after no precedent or law, also for the sake of the harmony of the orders (could not a decree of the people be rescinded).'

x. 6 *senatui superesse aliquid* &c. seems to need a note.

In the note on xi. 7 the construction '*coloni adscripti remanendo*' requires comment. It is probably an instance of the figure noticed in the first paragraph of the Appendix, but noticed there as if the usage was confined to pronouns. But cf. xxii. 34, 10 '*id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quacessisse*.' On xv. 8 (the reference is wrongly given as xv. 7) it should be brought out more explicitly that it is only with negatives that 'magis quam' and μάλλον ἤ are affected by *litotes*.

Ex ante conveccto xxii. 3 requires a note, and so do *propiore locum* xxvii. 3, *ad quam publice consensurant* xxxv. 4 and *brevi reliquo vitae spatio* xli. 12.

On xxxiv. 6 it should have been observed that Livy's difficulty about the 'classis' at Fidenae arose from a misunderstanding of the archaic use of the word.

In the heading to ch. xlv. (p. 55) 'uncle' is a slip for 'cousin.' ('*patruelem*' not '*patruum*' § 6).

On xlvii. 6 there is a note on *die octavo, quam*, but there should also be a note on vii. 3 *tertio mense, quam*, where the construction is the same.

In the note on lii. 5 the last word of 'was on the point of being *lost*' should be omitted or altered. As to what the editor wrote '*ea libera coniectura est*.' Perhaps 'felt (more severely).'

On lvi. 13 I would suggest to Mr. Stephenson that '*perse potestatemque tribuniciam*' means '(the patrician magistrates might be as unconstitutional as they liked) for any hindrance they would get from them (the speakers) and their power as tribunes (of the plebs).' This would be giving *tribunicia potestas* its ordinary meaning as in sec. 3 of the next chapter. Mr. Stephenson makes it refer to the consular tribunes.

The only errors in printing that I have noticed, besides those mentioned, are (i.) on p. xi. (Intr.) 'first consuls' should be 'first censors' (ii.) on p. 16. line 4 *ad tribunis* (iii.) on p. 81 (notes) the note on *nec se* ch. ii. § 5 is wrongly referred to § 6, and on p. 131 in the note on ch. lx. § 2 *commoditas* there is a misleading gap after the word '*infin*.'

The text—like the notes, beautifully printed—is that of Luterbacher. Each chapter or portion is preceded by a clear summary and the dates B.C. are given throughout. There is a good Introduction; and some short notes on the text, an Appendix on Livy's grammar, and an Index which is perhaps full enough in a short and clearly printed book complete this most satisfactory volume.

M. T. TATHAM.

Sprechen Sie Attisch? Moderne Conversation in altgriechischer Umgangssprache, nach den besten attischen Autoren, von E. JOANNIDES, Dr. phil. Leipzig, 1889. Mk. 1.20.

THIS little book is interesting in itself, and also as an indication of the endeavour which teachers of Greek are everywhere making to present the language more and more as a living speech. The author points out how much better one appreciates the literature of a people if one brings to it a familiarity of tongue and ear with the language of conversation; and it is this side of Greek which is here presented in a great variety of brief conversations on the model of a *Sprachführer* for travellers. Aristophanes, Plato, and other Attic authors furnish most of the material; and gaps are filled from post-classical writers and modern Greek, all words not ancient being so marked. The vivacious tone of these conversations results from their nearness to every-day life. One speaker calls for beer, complains

of the waiter, promises a tip; a lady bids her lover speak with her mother; dancing, school-life, buying and selling, politics, the weather, even the mysteries of *Skat*—these and many other every-day topics are discussed in a lively fashion, for the most part in good Attic. Misprints of accents and breathings are rather frequent. For *συντάχθαι*, p. 27, read *συντάσσεται*; for *αὐτοκράτωρ*, p. 65, read *αὐτοκράτωρ*. The order is sometimes wrongly interpreted. Thus,

if any distinction is to be made (p. 16) between *σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ* and *τίς δ' εἶ σὺ*, it is the former which means, Who are you? and the latter which means, Who are you? But notwithstanding a few slips, the book will be found both amusing and suggestive. The preliminary remarks on Greek idioms, such as the scarcity of passives, various substitutes for the passive, the uses of *τοιούτος* and some common particles, are especially good. J. D. GOODELL.

NOTES.

PINDAR, *Nem.* IX. 16-19.

ἀνδροδάμαντ' Ἐριφύλαν, ὄρκιον ὥς ὅτε πιστόν,
δόντες Οἰκλείδῃ γυναῖκα, ξανθοκομῶν Δαναῶν
ἔσσαν μέγιστοι· καὶ ποτ' ἐς
18 ἑπταπύλους Θήβας ἄγαγον στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν, αἰσιῶν
οὐ κατ' ὀρνίχων ὁδόν.

This is a passage which has been dealt with more successfully by editors of the 17th and 18th centuries than by those of the 19th. The failure of the latter is instructive, because it raises the whole question of the right use of scholia and paraphrases.

As it stands, the passage is metrically defective. A dactyl is missing in line 18. And if *καὶ ποτ' ἐς* is brought from the preceding line to make this good, an epitritus (catalectic) has to be found for the place so vacated. This is what recent editors have done, and they supply the epitritus with the help of the vetus paraphrasta, who writes as follows: . . . καὶ οὕτω τῶν ξανθοκόμων Ἑλλήνων ἐγένοντο περιφανέστεροι οἱ περὶ Ἀδραστον. 41. καὶ ποτ' ἐς ἑπτ. Θ.] ἐντεῦθεν δὴ καὶ εἰς τὰς Θήβας ποτὲ τὰς ἑπταπύλους στρατεύματα ἄγαγον οὐκ αἰσίοις οἰωνοῖς χρῆσάμενοι οἱ περὶ Ἀμφιδραστον καὶ Ἀδραστον. Böckh suggested δὴ τότεν καὶ ποτ' κ.τ.λ. Bergk in his latest ed. proposes ξ. Δαναῶν τὰ πρῶτ' ἔγεντ' Ἀδραστίδαι. But neither inference is a safe one. The paraphrast frequently throws in words like 'ἐντεῦθεν' or 'οἱ περὶ Ἀδραστον' to help out the sense: he had no suspicion when he wrote that his work would one day come to be used for the restoration of the text, and he is careless of verbal accuracy. Böckh's reading is accepted by several editors, but if they had found in the text a sentence beginning δὴ τότεν καὶ ποτε they would probably have condemned one of the two formulae as a gloss upon the other. Kayser alone leaves *καὶ ποτ' ἐς* in the preceding line, where it stands in the codices and early editions. But he suggests ἑπτ. ἔθελλον Θ. ἀγαγεῖν, which is weak and pointless.

Erasmus Schmid (1616) suggested ἑπτ. κριτὸν ἐς Θ. Beck (1792-5) prints ἑπτ. Θ. [Λεκτὸν] ἄγαγον στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν. The latter suggestion seems to lead to as good a solution of the problem as can now be hoped for. Whence Beck obtained his reading I do not know. It may have been a conjecture of his own, and as it is a fairly obvious one its authorship is not worth discussing. Authority for it there would seem to be none. The Göttingen MSS. used by Beck have been examined since by other scholars, who make no mention of it. (Beck's edition was never completed. He published the text of the whole of Pindar, but his commentary covers only the Olympian odes.)

Acting upon this hint we may read—

καὶ ποτε

Λεκτὸν ἐς ἑπτ. Θ.

or, if Pindar like Hesiod admitted -ās—

Θήβας ἐς ἑπταπ. λεκτῶν ἄγαγον στρ. ἀνδρῶν.

There is some evidence for his having -ūs in the acc. pl. masc.

The advantages of this solution are these:—

(a) *καὶ ποτε* remains where the texts place it.

(b) *καὶ ποτε* at the end of a line is quite in Pindar's manner. He has a habit of making a new departure in a catalectic epitritus, and *ποτέ* often occurs as here. See *Ol.* iii. 13, τάν ποτε, 29, *Pylh.* i. 16 τόν ποτε, iv. 10, xii. 6, τάν ποτε, etc.

(c) ἀνδρῶν receives an epithet, and is no longer a redundant appendage to στρατὸν.

That the paraphrast ignores the epithet proves nothing against it. He frequently does omit epithets like it. And the word may have fallen out long before his time. There would be four consecutive words (λεκτῶν—ἄγαγον—στρατὸν—ἀνδρῶν) of about the same length, and not very dissimilar.

The old editors give us something which is simple, and which Pindar might have written, though it has no traditional support; the recent editors something which has an illusory support in tradition—and no other merits whatsoever.

Nem. X. 61-66.

ἀπο Ταυγέτου πεδαιγάζων ἰδεν Λυγκεὺς δρυὸς
ἐν στελέχει
ἤμενος· κείνου γὰρ ἐπιχθονίων πάντων γένετ'
ἔξυπατον
ῥμμα. Λαιψηροῖς δὲ πόδεσσιν ἄφαρ
ἐξέκεσθαι, καὶ μέγα ἔργον ἐμήσαντ' ὠκέως
65 καὶ πάθον δεινὸν παλάμαις Ἀφαρτηίδαι Διός·
αὐτίκα γὰρ
ἦλθε Λήδας παῖς διώκων κ.τ.λ.

It would be a waste of time to retrace in detail the controversy which rages in the scholia on this passage. Aristarchus proposed ἤμενον, ἀκολουθῶς, we are told, τῇ ἐν τοῖς Κυπρίοις λεγομένῃ ἱστορίᾳ, but clearly because l. 66 seemed to imply that Polydeuces was not there when the murderous deed was done. The passage quoted from the Cypria contains these words:—

τάχα δ' εἰσίδε κύνιδος ἦρας
. . . ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔσω δρυὸς ἄμφω κολίης,
Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ ἀελοφόρον Πολυδεύκεα.

And Apollodorus (*Bibl.* iii. 11, 4) gives the following version of the story: τὸν Ἴδαν ὑπὸ δρυὶ ἐλόντων καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα. Λυγκεὺς δὲ ἰδὼν Κάστορα ἐμήνησεν Ἴδᾳ κἀκέῖνος αὐτὸν κτείνει. Πολυδεύκης δὲ ἐδίωξεν αὐτοὺς κ.τ.λ.

The original story, which Pindar has told with his usual pregnant brevity, was this: Lynceus saw both of them in the tree from the crest of Ταῦγετος. Then, Idas and he came up stealthily, and, Lynceus being

able to see through wood and earth and anything, they 'spotted' the place where Castor was and drove a spear through (μέγα ἔργον ἐμήσαντ' ὠκέως—there is no hint of a combat, or that Castor had any chance of defending himself). Of course Polydeuces immediately came out and pursued them, as Pindar proceeds to relate.

The 'ἡμενος' of the best MSS. is an obvious blunder. But it is not to be regretted, for it has preserved for us the Doric acc. in -os (ἡμένως). Aristarchus is an immeasurably greater critic than Triclinius, but in this particular case modern editors would have done well to follow the latter (ἡμένως, codices Tricliniani, ed. Ald., ed. Romana—Beck, Heyne).

W. R. HARDIE.

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THUC. II. 49.—διεξήκει γὰρ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἔκωθεν ἀρξάμενον τὸ κακόν, καὶ εἰ τις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο, τὸν γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπέσημαινε. For αὐτοῦ Herwerden accepts Rauchenstein's αὐτό, 'nämlich τὸ περιγενέσθαι' (Philol. 33, p. 570). Krüger and Classen make αὐτοῦ masc., constructing it with ἀκρωτηρίων. Stahl, Shilleto and Croiset make it neuter, i.e. τοῦ κακοῦ, constructing it with ἀντίληψις, i.e. 'its seizure of the extremities.' Thuc. says the plague first attacked the head, then the chest, then the stomach, at which stage most died. Of those who survived so far, the bowels were next attacked; at that stage many died. A few escaped, but even they were to a certain extent disfigured in the extremities, many escaping only with the loss of toes or fingers. That is, marks of the disease remained on the bodies of the convalescent. This is the meaning of τῶν γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπέσημαινε. Thus ἀντίληψις should mean a settlement in the extremities, causing in some cases a permanent, in others a temporary disfigurement. The metaphor is a powerful one, and describes the grasp of an inevitable force; such a word might describe a cancer, or even the marks which remain after small-pox. Stahl objects to αὐτό for αὐτοῦ, and it will not do if it means τὸ περιγενέσθαι; but might it not stand in the sense of τὸ κακόν? Still, on the whole, I should prefer to bracket αὐτοῦ, believing it to be masc., and a gloss on ἀκρωτηρίων. Translate 'there remained behind (ἐπέσημαινε, as evidence of the disease) an affection of the extremities.' Some editors translate ἀντίληψις as though it were ἡ ἀντίληψις.

Thuc. II. 53.—ὅ τι δὲ ἦδη τε ἡδὺ καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον τοῦτο καὶ καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον κατέστη. Herwerden reads [τὸ] ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον, Stahl τό <τ> ἐς αὐτὸ, connecting πανταχόθεν with ἡδὺ because 'qui voluptatem sectantur, iis, cum quovis modo ea frui contendunt, non ea tantum placent quae omni modo, sed quae ullo modo eo conducunt. Atque hoc idem senserunt interpretes qui πανταχόθεν αὐθεντικῶς verterunt.' Steup objects to ἡδὺ πανταχόθεν, pleasant from every point of view, as unsuitable to the context; also, as Thuc. contrasts προταλαιπωρεῖν with ταχείας ἐπαυρέσεις, short-sighted sensuality with far-sighted prudence, he contends that ἐς αὐτὸ contradicts ἦδη, since it refers to the future, and it could not be used in contrast with προταλαιπωρεῖν. He therefore proposes καὶ τὸ ἐφ' αὐτὸ κερδαλέον, τοῦτο πανταχόθεν καὶ καλὸν κ.τ.λ., taking πανταχόθεν with καλὸν and χρ. I am unable to appreciate the difficulty Stahl finds in πανταχόθεν. What could Thuc. use? Perhaps ποθέν: but he has this only after εἰ, οὐ, ἄλλοθεν. Perhaps ἐκ τρόπου δόσουσιν: but, like ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, this is rhetorical, not narrative; and moreover Thuc. only uses ὅτιον &c. in conditional clauses. As πάντως is the opposite

to οὐδαμῶς, as the rhetorical ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου is the opposite of the rhetorical οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ, so πανταχόθεν is the opposite of οὐδαμόθεν. But πάντως means 'in any case,' as in 5, 41, ἐπεθύμουν τὸ Ἄργος πάντως φίλιον ἔχειν. Nor need ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου be collective, 'in all ways at once,' but may mean 'in any way possible at one time or another.' In 4, 72, ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρὸ τοῦ οὐδεμῆα βοθήειδ' πα οὐδαμόθεν ἐπῆλθεν, we have the opposite of πανταχόθεν ἐπῆλθεν, came first from one quarter, then from another, and so on all round. Why then should not πανταχόθεν = from any quarter at any particular moment, i.e. at any moment at which κερδαλέον τι presented itself, and from whatever source it could be obtained? Further, τὸ ἡδὺ became τὸ καλόν: what was τὸ κερδαλέον, which was confounded with τὸ χρήσιμον? Clearly money, however obtained. But money for itself is not χρήσιμον, and therefore Steup's τὸ ἐφ' αὐτὸ κερδαλέον is quite unsuitable. And just as their fault in seeking τὸ ἡδὺ was that they looked only to the present, so their fault in seeking τὸ κερδαλέον was that they grasped at it by any method. Thus ἦδη answers to πανταχόθεν, as ἡδὺ to καλόν, κερδαλέον to χρήσιμον. Therefore Herwerden rightly brackets τό. Steup's objection that ἐς αὐτὸ could not be opposed to προταλαιπωρεῖν is groundless; for the whole passage shows that Thuc. alludes to base gain to be immediately spent on pleasure, in contrast with honest toil devoted to the future attainment of τὸ δόξαν καλόν what seemed good.

E. C. MARCHANT.

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THUC. III. 68, 1.—οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δικαστὰ νομίζοντες τὸ ἐπερώτημα σφίσιν ὀρθῶς ἔξειν, εἰ τι ἐν τῇ πολέμῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὸν πεπονθασί, διότι τὸν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἡξίουν δῆθεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰς παλαιὰς Παισανίου μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον σπονδὰς ἡσυχάζειν, καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον ἂ πρὸ τοῦ περιτελιχίσθαι προείχοντο αὐτοῖς, κοινούς εἶναι κατ' ἐκείνα, ὥς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἡγοῦμενοι τῇ ἐαυτῶν δικαίᾳ βουλήσει ἔκσπονδοι ἦδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακῶς πεπονθέναι, κ.τ.λ.

Mr. Jowett's explanation of this passage, or I should say the explanation which he prefers of the five which he offers, is that 'ὅτε ὕστερον is dependent on ὥς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, which answers to διότι ἡξίουν, and gives the second reason for the conclusion of the Peloponnesians:—"since they requested as they said and the Plataeans did not receive their offers when afterwards they offered what they offered before the siege." Stahl omits & and reads ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. Badham proposed ἐκείνας for ἐκείνα; and Herwerden, adopting this, reads δ...κατ' ἐκείνας, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. But can it be that by any of these means we get what Thucydides wrote? I would suggest that ὥς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο is an adscript on τῇ ἐαυτῶν βουλήσει. It was the refusal by the Plataeans of the Lacedaemonian offers which justified the Lacedaemonians in feeling released from the obligation of the treaty; and this a commentator would feel it necessary to explain by the words ὥς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. & has been introduced to make the untranslatable translate Omit & and ὥς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο and sense and construe tion is plain.

H. F. FOX.

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EUR. Electra, 608 sq.

σὺ δ', ἐκ βάθρων γὰρ πᾶς ἀνῆρσαι φίλοις
οὐδ' ἐλλελοίπας ἐλπιδ', ἴσθι μου κλύων κ.τ.λ.

'Ἐλλελοίπας' (ἐλλελοίπασι), which does not seem to have been hitherto suggested, restores sense to this

passage. Translate—'Do thou, since thou art utterly ruined so far as friends are concerned (*φίλοις* dative of reference, Paley), and they (*φίλοι* supplied as subject from *φίλοις*) have left thee no hope, learn from me,' etc. The vulgate *ἐλλέλοιπας* would mean, 'thou hast left thy friends no hope,' a sense ill-suited to the passage. It is Orestes, not his friends, whose hopes have been wrecked, and who is told in the following passage that he must depend upon his own exertions alone—*ἐν χειρὶ τῇ σὴ πάντ' ἔχεις*.

Weil's emendation *ἐλλελοιπῶς* is open to the same objection as the vulgate, and a further one about the order of the words, as he joins *φίλοις* with what follows, instead of with what precedes.

The corruption of *ἐλλελοιπας* into *ἐλλέλοιπας* would be facilitated by the proximity of *σύ* and the two verbs *ἀνῆρσαι* and *ἴσθι* in the second person singular.

For other examples of the elision of *ι* of the third person plural perfect see *Tro.* 350; *ib.* 879; *Androm.* 377; *Ion* 1624; *Herc. Fur.* 539; *Cycl.* 679.

The following references to the same play in Liddell and Scott require correction:

904. *δυσάρεστος ἡμῶν καὶ φιλόσοφος πόλις.*

This passage is quoted as an instance of *δυσάρεστος* governing a dative and meaning 'ill-pleased with one.' Now there seems to be no authority for the dative except the gratuitous and unhappy conjecture of *ἡμῶν* in Paley's note, and *δυσάρεστος* bears its ordinary sense 'ill to please,' not 'ill pleased.' Translate—'Our townsfolk are hard to please (capitious) and censorious.'

978. *τῷ δ' αὖ πατράν διαμεθεῖς τιμωρίαν.*

On this *s.v.* *διαμεθῆναι* the Lexicon says, '*to give up, τινί τι*,' implying that the dative depends on *διαμεθεῖς*, with which in fact it has nothing to do.

A variant has been proposed for almost every word in the line, but according to all the recognised readings the dative depends on *δώσεις δίκην* supplied from the preceding line—'To him (*i.e.* Apollo) on the other hand thou must pay a penalty if thou surrenderest vengeance for thy father.' The construction suggested in the Lexicon might possibly hold good with the MS. reading *τῷ δαὶ πατράν διαμεθῆς τιμωρίαν*; but that reading is clearly untenable.

CHARLES H. KEENE.

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SEISACHTHEIA, the word associated with the drastic economic reform by which Solon corrected the mischief of exacerbated relations between the rich and the poor of Attica, was held by some ancients to be a characteristic euphemism invented in true Attic spirit by himself, to cloak what was its true but odious sense of *χρεῶν ἀποκοπή*. At present we find it universally translated, 'a shaking off of burdens.'

So Liddell and Scott:—'Strictly a shaking off of burdens (*σεῖω ἄχθος*); hence the name given to an ordinance of Solon by which all debts were lowered, —the disburdening ordinance. *Plut. Sol. xv. Diod. i. 79.*'

But *σεῖω* is not to shake off, but strictly to shake, to convulse. *Σεισίζων* is one of the epithets of Poseidon as Earth-shaker, as the causer of earthquakes. I am even disposed to believe that the title of Solon's great measure was suggested first by allu-

sion to this function of the god to whom, like his relative Peisistratus, he traced his ancestry.

Solon himself speaks of one result of his legislation having been to free the black earth from the fast infixed mortgage-pillars, the tearing up of which all over the land might seem the effect of a happier earthquake.

Seisachtheia then will more strictly stand for a general shaking up or displacement of burdens or charges; in this sense it answers much more truly to what was not a measure of simple repudiation but a complex scheme for the relief of the embarrassed, involving not alone reduction of debts by a lowered standard of money, but furthermore by exemption of the poorest class from direct taxation, by limitation of rate of interest and of extent of landed estates, and by emancipation of citizens reduced to slavery by debt. Androtion quoted by Plutarch understands Seisachtheia in the more comprehensive sense.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

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CICERO, *Pro A. Cluentio.*

§ 167.—*Quid unquam Habitus in se admisit, ut hoc tantum ab eo facinus non abhorreere videatur? Quid autem magno opere Oppianicum metuebat, cum ille verbum omnino in hac ipsa causa facere nullum potuerit, huic autem accusatores, matre viva, deesse non possent? quod iam intellegitis. An ut de causa eius periculi nihil decederet, ad causam novum crimen accederet?*

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§ 169.—*In quo primum illud quaero quae causa Habito fuerit cur interficere Oppianicum vellet. Inimicitias enim [inter ipsos] fuisse confiteor: sed homines inimicos suos morte affici volunt, aut quod metuunt, aut quod oderunt. 170. Quo tandem igitur Habitus metu adductus tantum in se facinus suscipere conatus est? quid erat quod iam Oppianicum poena affectum pro maleficiis, eiectione e civitate, quisquam timeret? quid metuebat? ne oppugnaretur a perditio? an ne accusaretur a condemnato?*

In the first of these passages Cicero is dealing with the charge against Cluentius of having poisoned one Balbutius by mistake in attempting to poison the younger Oppianicus; in the second with the charge of his having instigated Asellius to poison the elder Oppianicus. The answer is the same in both cases—there was no adequate motive to induce Cluentius to attempt such a crime. The similarity of the two clauses and the absurdity of supposing that Cicero could give as a reason for Cluentius having no fear of Oppianicus the younger, that he could not have opened his mouth in this case, 'cum ille verbum... potuerit,' induced the late Professor Davies to make the ingenious suggestion (in *Hermathena*, vol. ii. p. 396) of transposing the whole clause 'quid autem... accederet' to a position after *conatus est* in § 170. There the words refer to Oppianicus the elder, who could not open his mouth because he was dead in the eye of the law. Mr. W. Y. Fausset endeavours to answer this objection and to explain the words as they stand in three ways: (1) by the fact that at the time alluded to Oppianicus the younger was a minor; (2) by referring to the *infantia* (inability to speak) of Oppianicus the younger 'which Cic. derides in § 65, "*facile pietate*"'; (3) by Peterson's rendering, 'because he could not have the shadow of a case against him.' The third he justly dismisses as 'shirking the expression'; on the first he very fairly remarks that Cluentius might have wished to guard against future contingencies; and adopts the

second, which is that of Manutius, as 'quite the most satisfactory.' But surely it must strike every one in reading the speech how tenderly Cicero deals throughout with the younger Oppianicus. All his vehemence is expended in denouncing the crimes of the elder Oppianicus and of Sasia, who, he says, egged on the younger Oppianicus to take up this accusation—§ 179 ut hunc Oppianicum aliud agentem... ad hanc accusationem detraheret. Even in § 65 the passage quoted by Mr. Fausset, there is no derision of his inability to speak, and the very next words join him with Accius his counsel, 'audete negare.' Again in § 189 we have 'Quaero ex te Oppianice?' So Professor Davies' objection is still unanswered, and indeed Mr. Fausset in his critical note seems to admit this, suggesting two recensions (by Cicero's own hand). This is practically to give the passage up as hopeless. But the suggested transposition is also unsatisfactory. The argument in § 170 is complete and forcible as it stands. Each horn of the dilemma is fully treated. Cluentius could not have wished for the death of Oppianicus the elder from *fear* or from *hatred*; not from *fear* because Oppianicus was an outcast overwhelmed by the consequences of his crimes and could not accuse him, not from *hatred* because his life, shunned as he was and hated by all, was a far worse punishment than death. The insertion of the words from § 167 would weaken this and introduce intolerable tautology. More than this, I believe the first passage gives a perfect sense as it stands without the alteration of a letter. 'What crime did Habitus ever commit that would make such a fearful deed as this seem compatible with his character? Why should Oppianicus the younger be such an especial object of terror to him, when he (Oppianicus) need not open his lips in this trial, and yet accusers of my client (*huic*) could never fail to be found while Sasia lived? as you will soon see. Should he have allowed a fresh charge (the poisoning of the younger Oppianicus) to be added to the case against him without a whit of the danger already existing (*eius*) being removed from the case?' The argument is quite clear. Were Oppianicus the younger the only one to accuse Cluentius there would have been a motive for poisoning him, and so silencing him for ever. But Sasia would have secured others to prosecute, and poisoning him would have been incurring a fresh risk without any advantage. The difficulty was caused by the ambiguity of the negative. Had Cicero given *tacere* instead of *verbum facere nullum* no one would have questioned my rendering: § 185 affords two examples, if any are needed, where the expressions are convertible. Indeed for 'inability to speak', *verbum f. ullum non potuerit* (or *nequiverit*) might seem more natural. We have the opposite in Cic. *ad Att.* I. xvi. 2 *nullis illum iudiciis effugere*, and Liv. xxi. 19, 5 *quis aecum censeret aut ob nulla quenquam merita in amicitiam recipi*. In Greek too, οὐδὲν προτιμῶ σου (Ar. *Plut.* 883) might mean, 'there is nothing I prefer to you,' you are οὐδένος δέυτερος, instead of 'I think you worse than nothing,' beneath everything.' The same ambiguity lies at the root of the well-known fallacy 'Half a loaf is better than nothing, nothing is better than Heaven, therefore etc.'

In the last clause 'ut... nihil' must surely denote result not purpose. Why should we have expected *sua* for *eius* as Mr. Fausset says? *Eius* agrees with *periculi*, 'the danger of the former prosecution' (for poisoning Oppianicus the elder). *Accederet* may be an instance of the use of the imperf. subj. illustrated on Verg. *Aen.* viii. 643 'at tu dictis Albane maneres', but the parallelism of the words 'de causa decederet', 'ad causam accederet' makes for taking it with both verbs, as Mr. Fausset suggests. Still 'ut...

nihil' must denote consequence, and no plea of concinnity would sanction its use for 'ne...quidquam,' which to my mind would give a far inferior sense.

P. SANDFORD.

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PERS. S. i. 78. *Aerumnis cor luctificabile fulla*.—The expression of Pacuvius here ridiculed was probably not so absurd as would appear from Conington's translation 'whose dolorific heart is stayed on tribulation,' or Gifford's 'propped with dolorific teen.' In Plaut. *Pseud.* 776 (III. i. 6) the boy had just complained that the gods 'multas aerumnas danunt,' and proceeds 'parvis magnisque ministeriis praefulcior.' Again in Plaut. *Pers.* 12, Sagaristio says '[er]us' haud quit...quin me suis negotiis praefulcior.' No twisting of the notion of 'propping' can give a fair meaning in either of these passages. 'Press,' 'overwhelm,' or 'crowd' as an American might say, must surely be the idea involved. 'I am overburdened with duties great and small,' and 'my master can't stop overwhelming me with his business' are certainly sense. Professor Postgate in App. B to his Selections from Propertius excellently defends the meaning 'press' for *fulcire* in Prop. I. viii. 7 *pedibus teneris positas fulcire pruinas*. He would connect the word with *farcire*, φάρσσω &c. (and the cognate *frequens* might support the American use of 'crowd' for 'press' or 'stuff'), but he translates the passage from Persius (why does he add in brackets 'or Nero?') 'stuffed with griefs.' The difference is not great, but had that been the meaning Pacuvius might easily have written *farta* as Plaut. *Epid.* III. iv. 19 *quoi centones farcias* 'to cram your inventions down his throat' and in the passage he quotes from Appuleius *laciniis offulto vulnere* the bandage is surely drawn tight round the wound, not stuffed into it. So 'with her woe some (*luctificabile* is ridiculed by Pers.) heart overwhelmed (bowed down) with cares' is probably all that Pacuvius or Persius meant, though one is loath to part with the ingenious grotesqueness of the renderings of Conington and Gifford.

P. SANDFORD.

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JUV. S. ii. 78. *Cretice, perlucet*. Under the word *perlucet* (*pell.*) a strange mistake is found in our principal Latin-English dictionaries. Lewis and Short (1880 or 1886), Smith (1881), White and Riddle, all translate this passage from Juv., 'you wear a transparent Cretan garment'! Of course *Cretice*, as in line 67 and S. viii. 38 is an address to Metellus as a type of the nobility. Equally of course the compilers of the dictionaries did not hit on such a blunder independently:

dedit hanc contagio labem

Et dabit in plures—

unless the *Classical Review* will stamp out the infection. But how did it originate? It seems that when Riddle's translation of Scheller (1835) gave the quotation, *cretice pelluces* (*sic*), some one misled by the small *c* and not objecting to a *cretic* in Juv., supposed the word was an adverb. No doubt a confused remembrance of the *Coa vestis* and the proximity of the islands gave plausibility to the error in the minds of those who followed him, though I can find no evidence that *multicia* ever were brought from Crete. Still it speaks ill for English lexicography that such a mistranslation should be transcribed from edition to edition, and from dictionary to dictionary, and it makes us the more regret that Professor Nettleship's great design should have resulted only in 'contribu-

tions,' valuable as those contributions are. There are many minor slips in Lewis and Short that Professor Nettleship must have noticed, which it is to be hoped will be corrected when a second edition of the book is issued.

P. SANDFORD.

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HORACE, *Carm.* IV. 2, 49:

'io' que, dum procedit, 'io triumphe'
non semel dicemus.

This conjecture of Mr. Gow's for *teque* (p. 155 of the April number) has a special interest for me, as I had pencilled it in my own margin some while ago. I do not even now feel sure that it is right, for although Ovid often appends *que* in this way to a quoted word, there is no similar instance in Horace; and moreover Meineke's *atque* may well be the true reading. But my purpose in writing is to present Mr. Gow with a parallel passage which seems to tell strongly in his favour: Ovid *Trist.* IV. 2, 51 sq. 'tempora Phoebea lauro cingentur "io" que | miles, "io" magna uoce "triumphe" canet.' This has all the air of a copy from the above text, for Ovid is here in a very imitative mood: the pentameter is taken word for word from Tib. II, 5, 118, and his next distich, 'ipse sono plausuque simul fremituque calentes | quadriugos cernes saepe resistere equos,' comes from Prop. III. 4, 14, 'ad uulgi plausus saepe resistere equos.'

Mr. Gow's certain emendation *cebretrique* in *Serm.* II. 3, 208, was forestalled by Horkel, a critic who in a short life did more for the text of Horace than any man since Bentley, though the editors, with the significant exception of Meineke, seldom deign even to record his corrections.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

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DARES PHRYGIUS.—It may interest some future editor of this writer to know that there is a manuscript of his *Narratio* in the Library of Gray's Inn. The collection of MSS. preserved there is a valuable one, though small, and was catalogued in 1869 by the late Mr. A. J. Horwood. The work of Dares comes second in the volume numbered 7 in Horwood's list, which is a bound volume of some twelve miscellaneous pieces, beginning with the *Epistolae* of Peter of Blois, and ending with a fragment of Trogus Pompeius. The handwriting is judged to be of the 13th century.

The celebrity of Dares in mediæval times is sufficiently attested by a single passage in Chaucer's *House of Fame*, where he is placed next after Homer, and side by side with Livy. Ill-deserved as this celebrity was, it can easily be accounted for, if we remember the way in which western Europeans loved to trace their descent from Troy. In France or England, accordingly, this pretended work of the Trojan priest of Hephaestus came to be regarded as the earliest authority on their own *origines*. It agrees with this that in the present MS. the *Narratio* is followed on the same page, and without any other break than a rubricated heading, by a short *Vera historia de morte Arthuri*.

Meister, in his edition of Dares for the Teubner series (1873), points out the wide divergencies of the MSS. both in wording and spelling. This may be due in part to the wretched style of the author himself, which, as Collilleux says, 'sent la barbarie de l'extrême décadence.' The Gray's Inn MS. has its full share of such variations. It has at the end the list of chieftains slain on each side, which Meister (p. viii.) says is wanting in many copies. Several of the names I cannot identify with any of those given by Meister from a MS. of the tenth century, or with those extracted by Koerting from Benoit de Sainte-More, at p. 97 of his *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Troja-Sage* (1874).

J. H. LUFON.

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OMENTUM.—The conclusions arrived at by Mr. Still in his paper (p. 157 of this volume) on the meaning and use of this word will without doubt be generally accepted. The derivation which he prefers is however open to objection. In the first place the correct equivalent of *pm* in Latin is, not a single *m* with compensatory lengthening, but *mm*, e.g. *summus* = sup-mo-s. This indeed is not insuperable as, if we admitted *řmentum* from $\sqrt{\text{rup}}$, *řmentum* from $\sqrt{\text{ap}}$, and *řmentum* from $\sqrt{\text{op}}$, we might reverse the rule, and explain *summus* like *Iuppiter*. The second objection is more serious. The termination *mn-to-* is very frequent both in Latin and in Greek,¹ and its function is fairly clear. It is a secondary participial formation, prevailing with passive force, and consequently attaches regularly to verbal roots. From Greek *κασιμάτα* and *δέματα* are good examples. In Latin, I think, although it is very widespread, it occurs with verbal roots only, *alimenta*, *armenta*, *caementa*, *cognōmentum*, *pigmentum*, *sarmenta*, *tormentum*, and from secondary verbal stems *armāmenta*, *fundāmenta*, *vestimentum* being a few of the commonest: *op* not being a verbal root, the derivation from it is therefore without precedent.

Mr. Still does not refer to the most modern etymology—that of Windisch,² who refers it to a root *uep*, Skt. *vapā*. This is also open to objection, and is marked as doubtful by Stolz.³

The other derivation (Vanček's), of which Mr. Still approves, is really preferable, although Byrne's principles may not be considered as decisive proof. The root found in *induo* has really a more widespread existence than is generally recognized. In the modern orthography its forms are *eu*, *ou*, *u*: from the first form come *induo*, *exuo*, through *-ouō* from *-euō*; from the second (probably) Umbrian *anovihimū* (*Tab. Ig.* VI. B. 49); from the third *exuviae*. This however does not exhaust the root; *řmentum* appears to come from the first stage (cf. *caementum*) as instances of strong Ablaut with this suffix seem not to occur. The primary meaning of the root seems to be 'draw,' and hence it provides a satisfactory derivation for *řmen*⁴, i.e. *re-u-mēn*, cf. Serv. *Verg. Ecl.* 6. 54, who defines it⁵ as *eminens gutturis pars per quam demissus cibus a certis reuocatur animalibus*. Again, to this root may be referred Latin *auco* and Skt. *av*.⁶ The Latin verb is causative and so the root-form would be *ou* (like *monco*, *foréo*), **ouco* would become *auco* by Thurneysen's rule. The development of sense is of course very simple (cf. *attractive*), and has also been followed by Skt.

Finally I would remark that Mr. Still's reference of *řmēn* to this root is, so far as I know, new. The accepted derivation⁷ is from $\sqrt{\text{sūu}}$, Lat. *suo*, which I think is distinctly inferior. The only meaning of the word which it suits is that of marriage (*Τῆν, ὕμεναος*, etc.) and even for these the sense of 'veiling' given by our root accords much better with all that we know about the Indo-European view of the matter.

H. D. DARBISHIRE.

¹ *Brgm. Grds.*, II. § 82.

² *Lit. Centralbl.* 1888, col. 668.

³ *Müller's Handb.* II². p. 257.

⁴ Other etymologies: (a) $\sqrt{\text{sru}}$ Curt. *Grds.* 353-4; (b) $\sqrt{\text{rug}}$, Kluge, *Etym. Wört.* ed. 4, p. 274^b. It might also be possible to establish a connection with Greek *ῥῥω*.

⁵ There is a variant *ruma*.

⁶ Generally equated with the supposed Greek *ζω*. This I have endeavoured to prove non-existent (*Trans. Camb. Phil. Soc.* III. 94).

⁷ This originated, I think, with Pott.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

DR. DÖRPFELD ON THE GREEK THEATRE.

It sometimes happens that a reviewer—if he be himself a man of original views—makes of his *critique* not so much a review as a statement of his own independent opinion. Such is the case with Dr. Dörpfeld's review of Mr. Haigh's 'Attic Theatre.' It is no purpose of ours to review a review, but it happens that Dr. Dörpfeld in his article in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for April 12 not merely criticizes Mr. Haigh's work but gives us for the first time a full summary of his own opinions—opinions of which scraps have leaked out here and there, and which are known to be startling and original. To those readers, both classical and general, who have studied Mr. Haigh's book (reviewed by Dr. Verrall in the last—May—number of this *Journal*) and who may not have seen the *Wochenschrift*, I have thought an account of Dr. Dörpfeld's position, so far as he states, at present, might be acceptable.

And first, Dr. Dörpfeld gives us good news. His monograph on the Attic theatre, for which archaeologists have so long eagerly looked forward, he now definitely promises shall appear next winter. It is to be entitled 'The Theatre of Dionysos at Athens: Studies in the History of the Ancient Theatre,' and is to be written in conjunction with Dr. Emil Reisch. It will form one of the the supplementary volumes of the *Jahrbuch* of the German Archaeological Institute. So great however is the interest of some of the questions connected with the Greek theatre, both to professionals and laymen, that Dr. Dörpfeld decides to give in the *Wochenschrift* this preliminary summary. It is only a man with a wealth of material at hand who, careless of the economy of his own fame, thus anticipates the interest of a forthcoming book.

The two main points as to which dispute rages are :

(1) Is the theatre at Athens as it at present stands a work in the main of the fifth or fourth century B.C.? Mr. Haigh, A. Müller, and the orthodox school generally say the fifth, Dr. Dörpfeld says the fourth.

(2) Did the chorus and the actors in a Greek—as distinguished from a Roman—theatre act on the same level with each other, or were the actors raised on a stage above the heads of the chorus? The orthodox

party say the actors were raised, Dr. Dörpfeld maintains that down to Roman date chorus and actors stood on the same level.

For the present let us confine our attention to the second problem, reserving Dr. Dörpfeld's views as to the first question for a future occasion. It is on the discussion of the second that the interests of the literary scholar are mainly involved.

The arguments then for his position, that the actors and chorus were in Greek days *on one and the same level*, Dr. Dörpfeld states as follows :

1. According to Vitruvius there was in the Greek theatre a *logeion* of from ten to twelve feet high—and as a matter of fact there have been discovered in several Greek theatres recently excavated façades of the stage structure of this height. On technical and artistic grounds, upon which he cannot for the moment enter, it appears to Dr. Dörpfeld *a priori* unlikely that the actors should have played at such a height from the ground, and so far removed from the chorus. Mr. Haigh on the other hand answers that in the time of Vitruvius a podium of from ten to twelve feet was obviously not considered too high. He concedes indeed thus much, that such a podium would be too high for the dramas of the great tragedians and comedians, and hence proceeds to assume that in the fifth century B.C. there was a lower *logeion* about six to seven feet high. In the fourth century he thinks this was raised, *i.e.* to from ten to twelve feet, and in Roman days it was lowered again to five feet. This theory as to these successive ups and downs of the Greek stage is pure assumption, and rests on no distinct ancient statement. It is much simpler to suppose that the statement of Vitruvius rests on a misunderstanding. His description of the structure of a Greek theatre is perfectly correct, for the theatres excavated at Epidauros, Athens, Oropos, Assos, etc., agree in all essentials with that description. The front structure of the stage near to the orchestra he rightly calls the *proskenion*, a name for which we have at Oropos epigraphic evidence. His error is simply this, that he believes this front structure of from ten to twelve feet high, *i.e.* the *proskenion*, to be one and the same with the five foot high *logeion* of the Roman theatre, and hence believes that the actors ordinarily acted *on* the *proskenion*. But the *proskenion* of the Greek theatre is

simply the decorative wall in front of the stage structure, and *in front of which* the acting went on. It has absolutely nothing whatever to do with the Roman logeion, *on* which the play was acted. It was only under exceptional circumstances that actors who had to appear on the roof of a house or at some elevated point stood *on* the proskenion. The height of the proskenion, *i.e.* from ten to twelve feet, just corresponds with the height of the ordinary Greek house.

2. The proskenion of the Greek theatre, as given by Vitruvius, and as it appears in the theatres that have been excavated, is so narrow that it would be impossible for the actors to appear together on it, and at the same time to leave room for decorative apparatus. The actors with their masks would, when in excited action, have run great risk of toppling over from their high narrow podium. Mr. Haigh urges against this that the inconsiderable breadth was a necessary consequence of the great height; had the breadth been greater, he urges, the spectators on the lowest row of seats would only have been able to see the upper half of the bodies of the actors. Dr. Dörpfeld appositely replies that the Greeks were a practical people, and would have been little likely to make bad worse by adding the inconvenience of narrow space to the awkwardness of great height. Rather they would have decreased the height in order to increase the breadth. For where was the necessity to have the podium a height of from ten to twelve feet?

3. In the ancient Greek theatre we have no evidence of direct communication between the roof of the proskenion (the supposed logeion) and the orchestra. Even Vitruvius makes no mention of a staircase to lead from the orchestra to the proskenion. Mr. Haigh meets this difficulty by supposing that there may have been a wooden structure of which naturally there would now be no extant trace. But in the first place why should the staircase alone be wood when all the rest of the structure was stone? In the second, such a staircase would have had a disastrous effect in concealing the proskenion, the architecture of which is advisedly decorative. Thirdly, in all theatres where a proskenion has been discovered, there is in the middle of it a door leading into the interior of the building. Fourth, this staircase, if it existed, must, to reach the given height of ten to twelve feet, have been of considerable length, *i.e.* about fifteen feet, and this would have greatly encroached

on the space of the circular orchestra. From the present condition of the Greek theatres so far discovered it may safely be asserted that there was no direct communication between the orchestra and the roof of the proskenion.

Mr. Haigh in this connection points out that in lower Italy vases of the third century B.C. the actors are represented standing on a scaffolding, and up to this leads a staircase or ladder. Surely it is, to say the least, noticeable that these vases are all of lower Italy origin, and that among the thousands of vases made in Greece there is not a single one in which a logeion is represented. Further, it must not be overlooked that on none of these vases is a chorus represented: in such plays as are depicted there was no chorus. These vases can then in no way be a criterion by which the question can be answered, 'Did the players and the chorus act together on the orchestra, or was there a separate stage for the players with a staircase leading up to it?' Nor can the question be answered by reference to statements made by lexicographers or grammarians; even Mr. Haigh concedes so much. Only such notices as are taken from the great tragedians and comedians themselves and such as occur in other writers of the fifth and sixth century B.C. can fairly be used.

But, be it observed, no such author ever speaks of a logeion in the theatre, or says that actors and chorus stood on a different level. The very word logeion does not occur in their writing—it is met with first in works of Roman date. The orchestra, the thymele, the skene are frequently mentioned as parts of the theatre—the speaking-place (the logeion) never. Mr. Haigh thinks otherwise; following for the most part A. Müller, he cites several passages from which the existence of a raised stage side by side with the orchestra in the theatre of the fifth century B.C. can, he thinks, be inferred. First he calls attention to the expressions *ἀναβαίνειν* and *καταβαίνειν* (which he would translate *go up* and *go down*), and which are said to be only explicable on the supposition that the actors stood on a raised stage. But this use of the word is older than the fifth century B.C. and did not first come into existence when theatres were built. Before that the word *ἀναβαίνειν* had been employed for any orator who mounted some elevated place to be the better seen and heard. To stand on an elevation was indeed a necessity so long as the spectators stood or sat on level ground. At the festival of Dionysos, as well as on other occasions, the actor when

declaiming would at first (when there was no regular arrangement of seats tier above tier) mount on the steps, or rather on the raised platform (*θυμέλη*) of the sacrificial altar which stood in the orchestra. Even later, when there were regular structures for the spectators' seats and for the stage, he might on the occasion of long speeches or whenever it seemed appropriate mount on the thymele. As a rule however, he would stand in that portion of the orchestra which lay between the thymele and the skene. These expressions therefore (*i.e.* *ἀναβαίνειν* and *καταβαίνειν*) prove nothing as to the condition of the theatre structure in the fifth century B.C.

Next come two places from the *Wasps* and *Birds* of Aristophanes, from which the conclusion is directly drawn that the actors stood higher than the chorus. In the one place (*Wasps* 1514), according to Dr. Dörpfeld, 'ἀτὰρ καταβατέον γ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς' means simply, taking it in conjunction with the context, not I must go *down* against them, but simply I must have a fight with them, 'descend into the arena with them,' as we might say (*καταβαίνειν εἰς ἀγῶνα* = in certamen descendere), that Philokleon was standing in the orchestra before is clear from the fact that just that very moment he had been leading the dance. It would have been quite impossible to dance about wearing a mask on the high narrow logeion. In the second place (*Birds* 175-178) the injunction 'look down' (*βλέψον κάτω*) is given, because the scene represented a path rising up and leading to a grotto. Mr. Haigh further calls attention to a passage in Plato (*Symp.* 194) in which mention is made of the *βαίνεω* (mounting up) of the actors ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκρίβαντα. The *okribas* was an elevation in the middle of the circular Odeion, and probably resembled the thymele in the orchestra of the theatre. On this *okribas* the actors mounted in the proagon which took place in the Odeion. If ὀκρίβας were, as is pretended, the usual name for the supposed logeion of the Greek theatre, why is it so seldom employed, and why was it not later adhered to?

Such are the principal arguments which Mr. Haigh gleans from ancient writers. In addition however he states two general considerations which he considers fatal to the theory that the actors played on the orchestra. First he holds it to be scarcely credible that a podium (*i.e.* the proskenion), which was originally invented as a *background*, should later develop in the Roman theatre to a raised platform for the actors.

No one maintains it ever did. Mr. Haigh has here clearly failed to understand the new theory explicitly, though it is stated by Dr. Kawerau in Baumeister's *Denkmäler* (*sub. voc.* Theatergebäude.)

The proskenion of the Greek theatre with its decorative pillars never *did* become the logeion of the Roman theatre, but always remained even there as a background *in front of which* the actors played. The Roman logeion, it is far more likely, arose from the fact that the old circular orchestra was divided into *two* portions, the logeion and at a lower elevation the konistra (arena). When the chorus had fallen into disuse the whole orchestra was no longer needed for dramatic representations, but only the portion where the actors were accustomed to stand, *i.e.* the part between the thymele and the proskenion. The elevation of the lower half, *i.e.* the portion furthest from the proskenion, was lowered and used in fact for further seats, and also as a barrier in the case of gladiatorial contests. In accordance with this we find in many theatres that have been altered in Roman times that the lowest circular row of seats is on a level with the logeion, *e.g.* at Assos, Pergamos, Aizani and Aspendos. If in these theatres we imagine the semi-circular konistra completely filled up to the level of the lowest row of seats, we then obtain the only original stageless Greek theatre. In accordance with their joint origin, both portions of the old orchestra, *i.e.* the konistra as well as the logeion, have a right to continue to bear the name of orchestra, and in point of fact the word orchestra is used of both. Dr. Dörpfeld refers to his forthcoming book for the full demonstration of the steps of this development, contenting himself with the interesting statement that the development of the Roman from the Greek theatre, at first sight hard to explain, on the new assumption becomes when rightly understood the strongest argument for its support.

In the second place Mr. Haigh says he cannot understand how the Greeks for the space of 200 years could go on arranging their chorus in such a fashion that it must conceal the actors behind it. But the chorus in no way *did* conceal the actors. It was usually divided into two semi-choruses which planted themselves, not straight in front of the spectators but at either side; it was at most but a small body compared to the great space of the orchestra over which it moved. Its simple dress distinguished its members quite clearly from the actors, who by their costume and by the

cothurnus were easily recognizable, and further it must not be forgotten that even the lowest row of seats was somewhat higher than the level of the orchestra, and that the higher the spectator sat the more he could look down and get a bird's eye view of the performance. Although in our modern theatres a great portion of the audience is seated lower than the stage, yet no scruple is felt in putting many accessory persons together on the stage, who must necessarily obscure the view of the principal actors from a considerable portion of the spectators.

We have given a statement—for the most part a close translation—of Dr. Dörpfeld's view; no criticism is attempted; before the appearance of his book such criticism would be obviously premature. We have only desired that a view so novel and so suggestive should be made widely known to the English public to whom the orthodox view is already familiar through many manuals.

It is interesting to note that Dr. Verrall arguing from purely literary considerations has arrived (*Classical Review*, May 1890, p. 225) at the conclusion that 'nothing but overwhelming evidence (and there is none) should make us believe that the stage'—i.e. of the time of Aeschylus—'was "Vitruvian."'

JANE E. HARRISON.

DR. DÖRPFELD'S THEORY ABOUT THE LOGEION IN GREEK THEATRES.

It is well known that for some years past Dr. Dörpfeld, the distinguished archaeologist, has been propounding views of a novel and revolutionary character on the subject of Greek dramatic performances. In defiance of the ancient authorities he denies the existence of a stage for the actors, and maintains that actors and chorus performed together in the orchestra, and stood upon the same level. The new theory, as expounded by Kawerau in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, and further explained in some brief communications from Dr. Dörpfeld to myself, I discussed at length, and endeavoured to refute, in *The Attic Theatre* (pp. 142—146). Dr. Dörpfeld, in a review of my book, published in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for April 12th, has taken the occasion to give a more precise and detailed exposition of his views than had yet appeared, and at the same time answers the objections which I brought against them. A summary of his article by Miss Harrison

will be found in the present number of the *Classical Review*. I propose in the following pages to examine his arguments and criticisms in detail.

English readers have been inclined to suspend their judgment on the question, until Dr. Dörpfeld should have stated more definitely the exact facts upon which he relied. They naturally imagined that views of such a startling character must be grounded on some very decisive discovery made in the course of the recent excavations. On reading his article they will, I think, be surprised to find that the archaeological discoveries of the last few years, so far from supporting his theory, form in fact one of the principal obstacles to its acceptance, and tend strongly to confirm the testimony of the ancient writers.

The most noticeable point in Dr. Dörpfeld's article is the following. It appears now to be established beyond a doubt that, from the fourth century B.C. down to the latest period in which purely Greek theatres were constructed, the proscenium in a Greek theatre was substantially such as Vitruvius describes; that is to say, that it was a long and narrow structure, from ten to twelve feet in height, and about ten feet deep. This fact is proved by the recent excavations, and admitted by Dr. Dörpfeld. As far as the fifth century is concerned we are still left in the dark. The proscenia of the fifth century were made of wood, and of course no traces of them remain. But we may now take it for granted, on Dr. Dörpfeld's authority, that from the fourth century onwards the proscenium was about twelve feet high.

Dr. Dörpfeld maintains that this proscenium was intended, not as a stage, but as a background; that the actors performed in the orchestra, *in front of* the proscenium, but never *upon* it, unless they were to be represented as standing on a palace roof or other eminence. His reasons for his strange opinion are merely these: (1) that a stage only ten feet deep would have been too narrow for the actors, (2) that in the existing remains of Greek proscenia there are no traces of any connexion between the orchestra and the stage.

Before proceeding to examine his arguments I will first state briefly my own views on the subject, as already expressed in *The Attic Theatre* (p. 158). It appears to me to admit of no doubt that throughout the whole history of the Greek drama the actors performed upon a stage of some kind or another, so as to be raised above the level of

the chorus. It is now also established that from the fourth century onwards this stage was about twelve feet high and ten feet deep. As to the fifth century we have no positive information; but my own opinion is that the stage was then considerably lower, and possibly also deeper, than in the succeeding period.

This last suggestion of mine is called an 'arbitrary' one by Dr. Dörpfeld. But the grounds upon which it is based appear to me to be almost conclusive. What are the facts of the case? We know that until the latter part of the sixth century the spokesman who delivered the speeches between the choral odes used to mount upon a small erection called a 'table.' The name 'table' shows that the erection cannot have been of any great height, certainly not as high as the human figure. We know that in the fourth century this 'table' had developed into a stage about twelve feet high. For the intervening period we have no direct evidence. But in the first place it would be absurd to suppose that, when the table was replaced by a stage, the height of the stage was fixed immediately, and once for all, at twelve feet. In the second place we know that in the dramatic performances of the fifth century there was a close and intimate connexion between the actors and the chorus; while in the fourth century the chorus disappeared altogether from comedy, and was reduced in tragedy to the function of merely singing interludes. In the fifth century therefore it would be desirable for the occupants of stage and orchestra to be brought into close proximity to one another; in the fourth century such proximity would no longer be required. To what conclusions can these combined considerations lead, except that in the fifth century the stage was considerably lower, and nearer to the orchestra, than in the fourth?

In discussing these questions we should never forget that during the fifth century the Greek drama was passing through a period of growth and development. Both in outward features and inner spirit it was being subjected to continual alteration. It was not till the fourth century that it was reduced to a more or less stereotyped form; and it was in the fourth century likewise that the stage finally acquired that regulation height and depth which Vitruvius ascribes to it. The mistake which has hitherto been made has been to suppose that, if there was any stage at all in the fifth century, it must have been a stage of the exact Vitruvian type. Such a supposition

is not only needless, but altogether improbable; and if we keep this fact clearly in view, most of the difficulties hitherto felt in connexion with the subject will disappear.

To return once more to Dr. Dörpfeld's theory. Dr. Dörpfeld asserts that throughout the whole period during which Greek dramas continued to be performed in Greek theatres, that is to say, from the sixth century B.C. to about the second century A.D., there was no such thing as a stage for the actors; that the proscenium was meant to serve, not as a stage, but as a background. But Vitruvius, writing in the first century B.C., expressly tells us that the proscenium in a Greek theatre was intended for the actors to perform upon. How does Dr. Dörpfeld meet this difficulty? He denies that Vitruvius knew the real purpose for which, even in his own time, a Greek proscenium was constructed. While admitting that he is perfectly correct in his description of the height and depth of the proscenium, he asserts that he was mistaken in supposing it to have been intended for a stage. A moment's consideration will show the hopelessness of substantiating such a view. Vitruvius is a professional architect, writing about his own special subject. In the course of his travels he would have frequent opportunities of seeing dramas performed in Greek theatres. Moreover his remark about the use of the proscenium is introduced, not as a mere casual observation, but for the express purpose of explaining the difference in construction between a Greek and Roman stage. 'The reason,' he says (v. 7), 'of the extreme height and narrowness of the Greek stage is because, in Greek dramas, only the actors appear upon the stage, the chorus being in the orchestra. The Roman stage, on the other hand, is necessarily deeper, because it has to accommodate all the performers.' An utterance so precise and definite as this, and made by a man who had ample information on the subject, cannot be set aside merely from *a priori* considerations.

But even without the testimony of Vitruvius it would be impossible to doubt that the Greek actors appeared on the proscenium, and not in the orchestra. Pollux, Phrynichus, Hesychius, and Photius all tell us that the actors appeared upon an elevated stage. The three scholiasts on Aristoph. *Equit.* 149, though they differ in their view of the passage, are unanimous on this one point, that the actors appeared upon a stage, and not in the orchestra. These various writers derived their information from the

vast stores of learning accumulated by the Alexandrian grammarians. They did little more than compile and select from the mass of erudition handed down to them. If we adopted Dr. Dörpfeld's theory we should have to assume that, although on most occasions they were content to follow their Alexandrian authorities, yet by some curious fatality, whenever the relative position of actors and chorus had to be considered, they abandoned their usual guides, and introduced foolish and mistaken notions of their own. That there should have been such a determined consensus in error, on the part of writers widely removed from one another both by time and place, is an altogether incredible supposition.

Then again, how are we to account, on Dr. Dörpfeld's hypothesis, for the use of the term *λογεῖον* to denote the platform on the top of the proscenium? That the word was employed originally in reference to the Greek, and not the Romanised, proscenium, is proved by the language of Vitruvius, who calls the Roman stage merely 'pulpitum' (v. 6), but when he comes to speak of Greek theatres says 'ampliorem habent orchestram Graeci et scaenam recessiorem minoreque latitudine pulpitum, quod *λογεῖον* appellant' (v. 7). This being so, how could the top of the Greek proscenium have been called *λογεῖον*, or the 'speaking-place,' unless it had been the place for the actors? It would be impossible for it to have acquired the name merely from the rare and exceptional occasions on which the actors appeared on the roof of a house or other eminence. In the whole of the extant Greek tragedies and comedies there are not a dozen instances of such appearances.

There is also the question about the doors. Pollux, writing in the second century A.D., and writing exclusively about Greek theatres and theatrical affairs, tells us that in the back-scene of a Greek theatre there were three doors leading out upon the stage; and he proceeds to describe in detail the various purposes for which, in different Greek dramas, these doors were used. But in the existing Greek proscenium it is invariably found that there is only *one* door leading out upon the orchestra. It is true that in the projections at each end of the proscenium at Epidauros there are doors leading out into the side-passages; but these doors are too far removed from the centre of the proscenium to have been used as a part of the back-scene. If then Dr. Dörpfeld's theory is correct, and the proscenium with its single door served as the background,

how are we to account for the minute and detailed description of the three doors in Pollux?

It would be easy to fill many pages in pointing out the difficulties and improbabilities of the new theory; but lack of space compels me to proceed at once to the consideration of Dr. Dörpfeld's other criticisms.

Dr. Dörpfeld objects that a stage only ten feet deep would have been too narrow to hold the scenery, and at the same time allow room for the actors. But the scenery in the Greek drama was of the simplest possible description, consisting merely of painted boards or curtains affixed to the wall at the back; and would therefore take up practically no room at all. He adds that the actors would be in danger of tumbling off such a narrow platform. In this contention I think few readers will be inclined to agree with him. The Greek actor had a task to perform much more difficult than that of keeping his foothold on the narrow stage. He had to acquire the art of moving gracefully and securely on the tall and clumsy cothurnus. After he had learnt to accomplish this feat, he might safely be trusted not to lose his head when he found himself on a platform only ten feet in depth.

The narrowness of the Greek stage will not appear surprising, if we divest our minds of modern associations. It was in no way the object of the Greek stage manager to produce, by means of well-arranged groups and elaborate scenery, the effects of depth and distance which we get in modern theatres and modern pictures. Such effects would have been altogether inconsistent with the simple character of early Greek art, which, as compared with that of modern times, was deficient in the qualities of depth and perspective. The spectacle presented by the Greek stage was rather that of a painted frieze or bas-relief: the statuesque figures of the actors and their attendants, arranged in line upon the narrow proscenium, with the long flat scene behind them, combined to form a tableau such as the Greeks were accustomed to see in various works of art. To produce a spectacle of this kind a narrow stage was not only adequate but essential.

Dr. Dörpfeld asks what reason there could have been for making the stage as high as ten or twelve feet. Two reasons may be suggested. In the first place, as the auditorium rose tier above tier to an immense height at the back, the increased elevation of the stage would bring the actors more on a level with the audience, and improve the

view. In the second place, when the chorus had lost all connexion with the action of the plays, and become an inconvenient excrescence, it would be an advantage, as Dr. Verrall points out in his recent article, to emphasize the separation between the actors and the chorus by raising the stage still further from the orchestra.

Another objection of Dr. Dörpfeld's to the received theory is that in the old Greek theatres there is no connexion between the top of the proscenium and the orchestra. But the connexion was supplied, when required, by flights of wooden steps, as explained by Pollux (iv. 137), and Athenaeus *περὶ μηχανημάτων* (p. 29 Wesch.). Dr. Dörpfeld appears to doubt their statements, and asks why the steps were made of wood, the rest of the proscenium being of stone. The objection does not apply to the fifth century, when both steps and proscenia were made of wood. It only applies to the tall stone proscenia of the fourth and succeeding centuries; and the reason why, in the later proscenia, the steps formed no permanent part of the structure, but could be removed at will, was simply this, that they were only required on very rare occasions. The use of the steps was to supply a means of communication between the chorus and the actors. Now in the fourth century the chorus had either disappeared altogether, or been reduced to the position of the band in a modern theatre. The only occasions when a connexion between orchestra and stage would be required was in the revivals of the plays of the great masters of tragedy. Revivals of Aeschylus, at this period, were exceedingly rare; and in Sophocles and Euripides it is altogether exceptional for the chorus to ascend the stage. Practically therefore, during and after the fourth century, a connexion between orchestra and stage by means of steps would only be necessary at the revivals of a very few plays of Sophocles and Euripides. Hence when the large stone proscenia of the fourth century came to be built, there was no reason whatsoever for making the steps a permanent part of the design. Dr. Dörpfeld further objects (1) that the steps would hardly have harmonized with the architectural ornamentation of the proscenium, (2) that they must have been placed in front of the central door leading out of the proscenium, (3) that they would have projected a long way into the orchestra. All these objections, which refer solely to the elaborate and lofty proscenia of the later period, fall to the ground at once, when we

remember that the steps were not permanently affixed, but as a matter of fact were only used on very exceptional occasions.

A further proof of the use of temporary steps in front of the proscenium in Greek theatres is supplied by the representations of comic scenes in vase-paintings from Magna Graecia, belonging mostly to the third century B.C., in which the proscenia are depicted sometimes with, and sometimes without, such steps; and in certain paintings the steps are given by themselves. Dr. Dörpfeld asks why all these paintings come from Magna Graecia only; and why, out of the thousands of vase-paintings from Greece proper, there is no representation of actors performing upon a stage. The simple answer is that of the thousands of vase-paintings from Greece proper which belong to this period, there is no certain instance of a representation of a dramatic performance in the theatre. He further points out that in none of the vase-paintings is there any sign of a chorus in front of the proscenium. But the purpose of the artists in these paintings is merely to give the proscenium and the actors: the space in front of the proscenium is not included in the designs. Considering the strong connexion in many points between the Greeks of South Italy and those of Greece proper, the fact that these paintings exhibit steps corresponding exactly to those ascribed by Pollux and Athenaeus to the theatres of Greece, is at any rate a strong presumption in favour of the authenticity of their information.

One of the strongest objections to the new theory is the aesthetic one. If actors and chorus had been on the same level, the chorus, standing in front of the actors, and between them and the audience, would have hidden them from view. In fact, supposing Dr. Dörpfeld's theory to be correct, the only natural arrangement for the chorus would have been one similar to that adopted on the modern stage, when crowds of soldiers or citizens are introduced. The chorus, at any rate during the dialogue, would have arranged themselves *behind* the actors, and would have come forward to perform their dances when the dialogue was over. To this objection Dr. Dörpfeld makes the following replies. (1) He says that the chorus did not conceal the actors from view, because it was 'usually' divided into half-choruses, which stood on each side of the orchestra. But in the first place, even if this had been the case, the chorus would still have obstructed the view of the persons sitting on each side of the auditorium. In the second place, there is no

evidence to show that the chorus was 'usually' divided into half-choruses. On the contrary, the evidence upon the subject proves that under ordinary circumstances the chorus was drawn up in a rectangular formation in front of the actors, with its back to the audience and its face towards the stage. (2) He points out that the chorus was small in comparison with the large size of the orchestra. But the dimensions of the orchestra would do little to remove the impropriety of placing a chorus of fifteen or twenty-four persons *in front of* the three actors, upon whom the principal attention of the audience was concentrated. (3) The actors, he says, would easily be discriminated from the chorus by their dress and by the use of the cothurnus. To this I would reply that, as far as comedy is concerned, the cothurnus was not used at all, and the dress of the actors was not nearly so conspicuous as in tragedy. Yet a means of discrimination between actors and chorus would be more essential in comedy than in tragedy, seeing that the comic chorus was nearly twice as large as the tragic. It is true that in tragedy the dresses of the actors were most magnificent, and the use of onkos and cothurnus would cause the actors to appear about a head taller than the chorus. But the only effect of this arrangement would be that the spectators would never altogether lose sight of the actors, but would have a continuous view of their heads, and catch frequent glimpses of their bodies between the bodies of the choreutae. No amount of magnificence in the dress of the actors would compensate for the fact that a chorus of fifteen persons was stationed permanently between them and the audience. (5) Dr. Dörpfeld points out that as the auditorium rose in gradually ascending tiers, the higher a person sat, the more he would see of the actors. But surely it is a peculiar theory which compels its author to admit that the ordinary citizens, who paid their two obols for a seat at the back, had really a better view than the great dignitaries sitting in the front rows.

There is one criticism of mine (*Attic Theatre*, p. 145) to which Dr. Dörpfeld makes no reply. On looking at the ground-plan of the theatre at Epidaurus it will be found that within the orchestra there is a large circular dancing-place, marked off by a stone border, and approaching to within two or three feet of the front of the proscenium. The same arrangement was probably to be found in other theatres of the period. The purpose of the circle was obviously to enclose

the performers in a symmetrical manner. Now it is evident that, if the actors stood in the orchestra, and in front of the proscenium, a circle whose circumference reached to within two or three feet of the proscenium would be an altogether inappropriate figure for the purpose intended. The actors would have to stand on the very edge of the circle. To bring them well within the circle would be to remove them too far from the palace or temple or other background, before which the action was supposed to be taking place. But if they stood within reasonable proximity to the background, they would be standing almost on the border of the circle. The arrangement would be most unsymmetrical and displeasing to the eye. Supposing Dr. Dörpfeld's theory to be correct, we should have three actors, with occasional attendants, standing in front of the proscenium, and a chorus facing them from the orchestra. Such being the case, the only natural figure to mark out upon the ground for the purpose of enclosing the performers would be a figure of the nature of a semicircle, with its base formed by the proscenium itself. It appears therefore that the arrangement of the orchestra in the theatre at Epidaurus is in itself a strong confirmation of the ordinary view about the position of the actors and the chorus.

There are certain passages in Aristophanes which bear upon the present subject; but I have only space to refer to them very briefly. (1) The words *ἀναβαίνειν* and *καταβαίνειν* are used by Aristophanes in much the same sense as 'enter' and 'exit' on the English stage, plainly showing that the actors appeared upon a platform. Dr. Dörpfeld contends that this meaning arose in the sixth century, when the actor used to mount on the thymelê to deliver his speeches. It is true that in this way the words might have acquired the meaning 'to begin a speech,' or 'to end a speech'; but they could hardly have come to denote 'enter' and 'exit' in the modern theatrical sense, unless the actors had appeared on a platform throughout their performance. (2) Philocleon, in the *Wasps* (1514), when he sees the sons of Carcinus in the orchestra, exclaims, 'I must go down to them,' (*ἀτὰρ καταβατέον γ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*). Dr. Dörpfeld prefers to translate 'I must contend with them'; and this, as I myself pointed out, is a possible rendering. But I still think the other translation the more natural. The fact that a few lines previously Philocleon had been giving an exhibition of dancing (not 'leading the dance,' as Miss Harrison puts it) is no proof that

he was already in the orchestra. To assume that dancing on the stage was impossible is to assume one of the points at issue. (3) In the *Birds* (175-178), when the Epops is told to 'look down, look up, and look round about him,' and is then asked what he sees, he replies that he sees nothing but 'the clouds and the sky.' Dr. Dörpfeld explains the request to 'look down' by saying that the scenery on the proscenium depicted a cavern with an *ascending* pathway. But how could a scene with a cave and sloping pathway be affixed to the long and low proscenium in such a manner as to give an actor in the orchestra the appearance of standing on an eminence; so that it would be natural for him, when asked to look down, to reply that he saw nothing but the clouds and the sky?

There is also the passage in Plato's *Symposium* (p. 194), where Agathon is said to have 'mounted the stage along with his actors, and gazed in the face of the audience.' Dr. Dörpfeld is mistaken in supposing that I imagined the reference to be to a performance in the theatre. I expressly stated (*Attic Theatre*, p. 145) that the reference was to the Proagon, which was held in the Odeion. Whether the Odeion here meant was the 'theatre-shaped' Odeion near the Enneakrounos, or the circular Odeion of Pericles, is a question of too great intricacy to be discussed in the present place. Nor does it affect the argument. The salient fact remains that the poet and his actors took their stand upon an elevated platform at the Proagon. The Proagon was a preliminary spectacle, in which poet, actors, and chorus exhibited themselves to the people. If in ordinary dramatic performances actors and chorus had stood on one and the same level, it would have been only natural to adopt a similar arrangement at the Proagon. The fact therefore that at the Proagon the actors stood on a raised platform tends to show that a difference in level between actors and chorus was considered to be the proper arrangement. Of course the ceremonies at the Proagon do not *prove* anything one way or the other concerning the performances in the theatre. But as far as the evidence goes, it is distinctly in favour of the ordinary theory regarding the position of actors and chorus.

To sum up the general results. I think I have shown that the recent architectural and archaeological discoveries, so far from confirming the new theory, tend strongly in the opposite direction. The dimensions of the proscenium are proved to have been exactly

such as Vitruvius describes; and the existence of a circular dancing-place immediately in front of the proscenium points evidently to the conclusion that the proscenium did not serve as a background to the actors. Then we have the unanimous opinion of the ancient grammarians and lexicographers, who had access to contemporary evidence. Further, there is the inherent improbability of an arrangement which places the chorus *between* the actors and the audience. On the other side there are merely certain *a priori* considerations as to what the size of the Greek stage *ought* to have been. Such considerations, based on modern associations and ideas, should be received with the greatest caution, in discussing archaeological problems which refer to a period two thousand years ago. I have shown that the narrowness of the Greek stage was entirely in harmony with the scenic character of the Greek drama. On the whole I fail to see, in the facts and arguments which have recently been brought forward, any sufficient reason for departing from the old opinion, that the actors performed upon a stage, the chorus in the orchestra.

A. E. HAIGH.

ACQUISITIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

1. A cameo of elliptical form .04 in. long by .025 wide, found at Cyzicus. The design represents a right hand holding a right ear between the first finger and thumb: above this is festooned an object which may be a purse or a string of beads. Around the margin runs an inscription ΜΗΜΟΝΕΥΕ-ΜΟΥΤΗΣΦΙΛΙΑΣΟΠΟΥΠΟΤΕ..... Μνημόνευέ μου τῆς φιλίας ὅπου ποτέ... The lower right hand portion of the cameo is broken away, including the wrist and part of the hand, and about a quarter of the inscription. Mr. Murray suggests as a restoration the words [τῆς πορεύεις]. The Museum already possesses three gems of this class (Cat. Nos. 2148-2150) but these have merely the single word *μνημόνευε*.

2. (i). A sard scaraboid of beautiful Greek work; a Seilenos moving to the l. in a stooping position, carrying on his back an askos: in his r. he holds the spout of the askos, in his l. a cord which passes around it.

(ii). A lenticular gem in haematite: two figures seizing a bull by the horns. The one figure stands in front of the bull, the other is represented lengthwise in the space over the bull's back. This gem seems to confirm the opinion expressed by Heydemann (*Arch. Anzeiger*, 1889, p. 190), as to the figure over the bull in the celebrated Tiryns wall painting: the position of this figure is not that of an acrobat, but is merely due to an archaic defect of perspective; the style of the gem seems to mark it as of that period.

(iii). A circular gem in steatite, engraved on both sides in a rough archaic style. *Obv.* a running figure (of the 'kneeling' type) holding some object above his head in either hand: in the field a bough. *Rev.* a Pegasus springing away to the right; between his feet a bough. Acquired in Athens.

(iv). A similar gem in steatite: on the surface is traced in line a primitive representation of a Gorgon mask, with tusks and protruding tongue.

(v). A similar gem in steatite: intaglio of a water-bird with an eel or snake in its beak: above it, a dolphin. From Galaxidi.

(vi). Eight bronze fibulae of various forms, found near Rome. On the arch are different ornaments consisting of rings of bronze loose or fastened, beads of glass and amber, and engraved patterns.

3. (i). Limestone mould for casting coins: there are six separate types with a channel running into each. The types are of late date, and are grouped in pairs: two are representations of Tyche, two of Athene with helmet, spear, and shield resting on ground, and two of Nike holding up a wreath, with a palm-branch. From Rome.

(ii). A terracotta model (.035 m. high, solid) of a kantharos, wanting one handle and the foot. Across the orifice is incised ΘΕΤΗΣ. From Smyrna.

(iii). A rosette, and a minute figure, in terra-cotta gilt.

(iv). A bronze spike.

4. A two-handled cup of glazed ware which is green on the outside and yellow within; around it are moulded patterns of ivy. From the Greek islands.

5. A series of fragments of pottery, painted stucco, and of a vitreous substance (κύανος?) from

the floor of a room, from Tiryns: and a fragment of Mykenae ware from the Akropolis at Athens.

6. Ten wreaths of various flowers and shrubs (rose, myrtle, henna, immortelle—the helichrysos of the ancients), from Graeco-Egyptian tombs at Hawara in the Fayoum. See Petrie's *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, pp. 46-53.

CECIL SMITH.

AN INSCRIPTION FROM PAPHOS.—Among the inscriptions found at Paphos and published in the *Hellenic Journal*, vol. ix. p. 225 ff., No. 14 occupies a prominent position. The stone is now in the British Museum, and the document will, no doubt, eventually take its place in the publication of the inscriptions which is now proceeding. In the meantime I would offer the following essay towards its final restoration.

Mr. Cecil Smith has kindly sent me an excellent impression: there is little to alter in the text. In line 6 the first letter is ο, not Ω: at the beginning of line 15 I only see the upper horizontal stroke (part of Τ or Σ not Ε): line 18 should be ΣΘΕΕΓΣΓΟΡΡΙΑΙΟΥΚΘ: after ΩΜΑΙ, in line 23 is a vacant space. We have here two letters of King Antiochus (probably Antiochus IX.): the first and longest (ll. 1—18) is addressed to King Ptolemy Alexander, the second (ll. 19 ff.) to the Seleucians.

Letter I.

Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ καὶ
 Ἄλ[ε]ξάνδρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν· εἰ ἔρρωσαι εἴη ἂν ὡς βου-
 λόμεθα, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑγιαίνομεν καὶ σοὶ ἐμνημονεύομεν
 φιλοσ[τ]όργως. Σελευκεῖς τοὺς ἐν Πιερίᾳ τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου,
 5 ἐξ ἄρχῆς] μὲν τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν προσκληρωθέντας καὶ τὴν
 πρὸς αὐτ[ὸν] εὐνοίαν μεχρὶ τέλους βεβαίαν συντηρήσαν-
 τας ἐπιταβέ]ντας δὲ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστοργίᾳ καὶ ταύ-
 την διὰ μεγάλων καὶ καλῶν ἔργων καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐπει-
 γουσιν ἀναγκα]ιότατοις καιροῖς ἀποδειξαμένους καὶ κα-
 ταφανῶς καὶ μεγαλ]οψύχως καὶ αὐτῶν ἀξίως, ἐπανήσαντες
 10 μὲν εἰς τὸ ὑπάρχον προσηγάγομεν ἀξίωμα, καὶ νυνὶ δὲ, τῆς πρώ-
 τῆς καὶ μεγίστης εὐεργεσίας καταξιώσαι σπουδάζοντες
 αὐτοὺς, κατεστήσαμεν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέρους,
 παρενεγράψαμεν δὲ αὐτοῦς αἰς ἐποισάμεθα πρὸς ἀλλή-
 15 λους συνθήκας δόξαντες οὕτως καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα
 αὐτῶν πεφιλανθρωπημένον] ἐκφανέστερον ἔσεσθαι.
 δοκεῖ δὲ, ἵνα τὰ πάντα παρα]κολουθῆς, καλῶς ἔχειν
 εἰδέναι σέ ἔρρωσθε. Ἐ(τους) γς. Γορπιαίου κθ.

Whatever the exact sense of προσκληρωθέντας in line 5 may be, the reference seems to be to the expedition of Antiochus Sidetes to Syria, after the defeat and capture of his brother by the Parthians. Seleucia was the first town which opened its gate to him.

In line 15 a supplement containing two letters less

is required. As King Antiochus' reasons for sending to Ptolemy the copy of his letter to the Seleucians which follows are by no means obvious, I think that lines 17—18 must contain a statement of them, but I cannot find room for any satisfactory restoration in this sense. For this use of παρακολουθεῖν see *Liddell and Scott*.

Letter II.

20 Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Σελευκεῶν τ]ῶν ἐν Πιερίᾳ τῆς ἱε-
 ρᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βο]υλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
 χαίρειν· εἰ ἔρρωσθε ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡ πόλις εἴη ἂν] ὡς βουλόμε-
 θα· ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν ἀντίγραφον τῆς στηλ]ῆς ἧς γέ-
 γραπται συμμέτοχος ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν· αὐτὸς ἔρρωμαι.
 Δεῖ οὖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς ὅπως ἅπαντα γίνηται ἀ]κολου-
 θως τοῖς συντεταγμένοις.]

A word as to the date. The month Gorpiaeus of the year 203 of the Seleucid aera falls in the year 108 B.C. This was already known to be the date of the autonomy of Seleucia (Eckhel *D. N.* III. p. 327). The Seleucians henceforth began to date their coins

from this year. The dates on the coins range from 4 to 26. This takes us to B.C. 83—82. Seleucia then retained its autonomy during the reigns of the last Seleucid kings, and lost it when taken by king Tigranes.

The two fragments (Nos. 3 and 4 *ibid.*), found on successive days and therefore, I suppose, near each other, certainly seem to be parts of the same inscription, the two last lines fitting exactly, but the editors possibly had good reasons for dissociating them.

W. R. PATON.

LIDDELL AND SCOTT: s. v. *τρίλιθος*:—*τὸ τρ. α temple (at Bálbeck) with huge columns consisting of three stones each*, Io. Malal.

The allusion by John Malalas occurs at p. 344 of the Bonn edition; and there is a similar allusion in the Paschal Chronicle, vol. i. p. 561, same edition. To elucidate this, Dindorf reprints Markland's dissertation, where the above explanation of the term was first suggested: see vol. ii. p. 398. Markland, however, bases his explanation entirely on a statement by Maundrell, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 136, edition of 1721: and his perversity is truly astonishing. Maundrell observes incidentally that the columns consist of three stones each, without laying any stress upon this detail: but on the next page he thinks it necessary to vindicate his own veracity before giving the measurements of the three celebrated stones in the outer wall.

CECIL TORR.

ARISTOTLE, *Economics*, ii. 2, 23.—Timotheos was commanding an Athenian force at Corcyra, and was extremely short of money; but when his men began to clamour for their pay, he pacified them all by giving them (according to the present reading) their allowance for rations for three months in advance, *τὴν προδεδωμένην τριμήνου σιταρχίαν*. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, v. 4, 63, says that Timotheos took sixty triremes with him to Corcyra in 375 B. C. Demosthenes, in *Timotheum*, 11, says that he obtained a sum of seven minae from each of the sixty trierarchs to supply the crews with rations. Isocrates, *de permutatione*, 109, says that he took with him fifty triremes (clearly, sixty) and only thirteen talents in money. Thirteen talents, divided among sixty triremes, gives thirteen minae for each; and the seven minae from each of the sixty trierarchs increases this to twenty minae for each trireme. In estimating the cost of a fleet, Demosthenes, in *Philippum*, i. 28, puts the allowance for rations for each trireme at twenty minae monthly, *τοῦ μηνός*. I would therefore venture to read *τοῦ μηνός* for *τριμήνου* in the phrase quoted above. According to the author of the *Economics*, ii. 2, 29, the allowance for rations was properly payable in advance at the beginning of each month.

CECIL TORR.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. 1888, vol. ix. no. 2.

1. Harrison: publishes the Orpheus fragments by (probably) Euphronios: plate. 2. Excavations in Cyprus 1887—8 (i) Hogarth: the first season's work, preliminary narrative: (ii) James: on the history and antiquities of Paphos: (iii) Elsey Smith: the temple of Aphrodite: its architectural history and remains: (iv) E. A. Gardner: the temple: results of the architectural evidence. (v) The same: contents of the temple. (vi) Gardner, Hogarth, James: inscriptions of Kuklia and Amargetti: (vii) Hogarth and James: tombs: five plates, several cuts. 3. Ely: discusses the rendering of the Theseus-Skiron legend in art and literature and gives a cut of a new instance on a kilyx at Vienna. 4. Middleton: the temple of Apollo at Delphi: gives (i) evidence gleaned from ancient sources: (ii) a suggested restoration, based on this and on actual measurements: plan, fourteen cuts. 5. Hicks: a sacrificial calendar from Cos: two

fragments were given in the *Bulletin* vol. v. p. 216: two more are here published, found by Mr. Paton. 6. The same: four new inscriptions from Iasos. 7. Hogarth: notes upon a visit to Celaenae-Apamea: discusses the question of the spring connected with the Marsyas legend. 8. Ramsay: a study of Phrygian art, part i: 'a statement of the historical views to which he has been led by a study of the Phrygian monuments': description of two series of Phrygian monuments: thirteen cuts.

Notices of books. Petrie's Tanis vol. II.: Mayer's Gigantea: Winnefeld's Hypnos; Arndt's Vasenkunde: Abbott's History of Greece: Baedeker's Griechenland: and the Guide Joanne, Grèce I.

C. S.

Archäologisches Jahrbuch. Part iii. 1889. Berlin.

1. Schleuning: Velia in Lucania, colonised by the Phokaia in the second half of the sixth century B. C.: a detailed description of the site and the visible remains: two plans, twenty-five cuts. 2. Schneider: publishes the Andokides cup (*Meistersignaturen*? p. 191, No. 6) which has mixed designs of both black and red figures on the exterior: discourses on (i) the amphorae of double technique; (ii) the artistic position of Andokides; and (iii) his historical position: plate. 3. Boehm: Aphrodite riding on a goat: publishes a r. f. vase with this scene, and collects other instances of the same type. Identifies type with Attic *πάνδημος*. This vase is the earliest representation of it known in painting: two cuts. 4. Schumacher: publishes a series of archaic vases from La Tolfia, recently acquired by the Karlsruhe Museum: one is a Korinthian-Attic amphora, with an interesting representation of the freeing of Prometheus: double plate. 5. The same: publishes a drawing, found among some private papers, of a third fragment of the underworld vase-picture in Karlsruhe (Winnefeld p. 62): plate. 5. Hülsen: the Regia: (i) earlier excavations between the temples of Castor and Faustina, (ii) excavations in the Regia 1888-9: (iii) the Regia of Domitius Calvina: two plans and ten cuts in text.

Anzeiger: Obituary, de Witte. It is arranged to give here in future a report of the acquisitions and growth of all the German collections, as well as that of Berlin, together with small cuts to serve as notes. Such a report is here commenced of Berlin, Munich and Dresden. Acquisitions of British and Boston Museums. Note on the Rogers collection. Notes of new casts purchasable in Louvre, London, &c. P. W. writes on certain forgeries of inscribed fragments of pottery, now on sale at Athens. Meetings of the Institute. News. Notes on *Jahrb.* iv. p. 109 (Weizsäcker) and *ibid.* p. 119 (Wolters): on *Anzeiger* 1889 p. 45 (Furtwängler). Bibliography.

C. S.

The same. Part iv. 1889. Berlin.

1. Hauser: republishes certain marble fragments in the Museum at Palermo which formerly (Serradifalco, *Antich. di Sicilia* v. pl. 39 &c.) were thought to belong to a candelabrum: they are parts of a throne with reliefs, of the Neo-Attic school, and throw light on the Zeus throne at Olympia: five cuts. 2. Heydemann: (i) publishes a late vase painting (Jatta no. 412) to show that this and *B. M. Cat.* 810 are not Hektor's departure but merely genre scenes: the Homeric subject is represented on two gems in Berlin (Tölken iv. 284 and 288): (ii) two late vase pictures conceived under the influence of Homer's account of the slaying of Lykaon by Achilles: (iii) the scene on a b. f. hydria with Πάρις καλός is the departure of Priam to beg Hektor's body: plate. 3. Treu: the

Eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia : considers the various new views and criticisms proposed since his original arrangement (*Arch. Zeit.* 1882, pl. 15) : finds reason for alteration only in one particular, viz. the relative positions of the two female figures : plate, plan of the positions of the fragments as found, and twenty cuts.

Anzeiger : Newton testimonial. Meeting of philologists at Görlitz. Meetings of the Institute at Berlin. Report of Acquisitions : Dresden, Stuttgart, Hanover, Cassel, and a series of minor collections in

West Germany. Note on the von Wagner Institute of Würzburg University, by L. Urlichs : on a collection in the Museum at Boulogne sur Mer, by M. Mayer. News. Notes on the second *Ergänzungsheft* of the *Jahrb.* p. 27 (Fabricius) : on *Jahrb.* iv. p. 113 (Hauser) : on *ibid.* p. 119 (Heydemann explains the 'acrobat' of the Tiryns wall-painting by reference to a Mykenæan gem : the position of the man over the bull's back is merely an archaic fault of drawing). Bibliography.

C. S.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Hermathena. No. xvi. 1890.

J. P. Mahaffy writes on *The Slave Wars against Rome*. Among other points he explains that the number of slaves engaged in the first war was far larger than in the later insurrections owing to the latifundia in Sicily being agricultural, while those in Italy were pastoral. And why were the slaves Cilicians and Syrians? The slaves came from Carthage after its fall (146), and Carthage bought its slaves thence, conveying them direct from Tyre and Sidon to Carthage, not competing with Rome in the great Greek slave markets.—Robinson Ellis reviews very favourably Owen's *Ovid's Tristia* ; and in the following passages proposes conjectures of his own :—II. 79 'carmina ne nostris te devenerantia libris' for Owen's 'quae te venerantia' ; II. 157 'per patriam quae te et tuta et secreta parente' for O.'s 'quae te tuta' ; II. 449 'fallere custodem damnum docuisse fatetur' for O.'s 'custodes totiens' ; II. 479 'ut par nelle sequisciat' for O.'s 'et comitare sequens sciat' ; III. 1, 63 'quaeque uiri docto ueteres peperere noui' for 'cepere' ; III. 5, 47 'non aliquid dixiue, elataue lingua loquendo est' for 'non aliquid dixi velataue lingua,' etc. (Owen 'uesanaque') ; III. 6, 16 'claudent' for 'claudens' ; IV. 1, 62 'retusa' for 'secuta' ; III. 10, 11 'petit' for 'patet' ; V. 8, 20 'macra' or 'mota' for 'nostra' ; V. 13, 6 'sic me non modico' for O.'s 'scilicet immodico.' Many other passages are handled.—A. Palmer also proposes the following conjectures in the *Tristia* : II. 125 'in electu' for 'in eventu' ; II. 358 'Carmina mulcendis auribus apta fere' for 'plurima...feres' ; II. 381 'haec quoque materiam saepe ruboris habet' for 'semper amoris' ; II. 553 'catervis' for 'coturnis' ; III. 3, 21 'si iam deficiam suppressaque lingua lababit' for O.'s 'si iam deficiat sub crasso lingua palato' ; III. 6, 15 'sed mea me in poemam nimirum Parca trahebat ; o mala ne claudant utilitatis iter' for 'fata trahebant' ; III. 6, 30 'pavor' for 'pudor' ; 31 'alio' for 'adeo' ; IV. 5, 31 'uiuens' for 'iuuenis' ; V. 7, 53 'fonte' for 'forte' ; V. 10, 41 'in me aliquid linqui' for O.'s 'in se aliquid statui' ; V. 13, 6 'saeva quod' for O.'s 'scilicet.'—R. Y. Tyrrell is severe upon *Verrall's Agamemnon*. 'One feels that he deliberately casts away the burden of his learning when his Ariel-fancy tempts him to flit after some empty creation of its own,' and 'the only principle I can detect in the edition is a determination to recoil as much as possible from received opinion, whether that received opinion maintains or impugns the evidence of the MSS.' 'Dr. Verrall should apply his conspicuous literary ability to the writing of a history of Greek literature.' The same reviewer highly praises *Tucker's Supplices*.—W. J. M. Starkie reviews *Rob. Ellis's Catullus*, and regrets the non-acceptance of not a few of Palmer's conjectures.

The reviewer adduces Apuleius 2, 38 'sic in modum superbi iuuenis Adonei domo proturbor' to 29, 8 'ut albulus columbus aut Adoneus,' takes 'nox' in 63, 21 to the archaic='noctu,' in 63, 54 proposes 'ad inuia' for 'omnia,' and in 104, 1 suggests 'Vetti' for 'vitae.'—L. C. Purser says of *Haigh's Attic Theatre* that it is 'one of the finest specimens of exposition we have ever met,' and adds some remarks on details.—J. B. Bury supports by a new hypothesis the theory that Pindar's third Isthmian is really two hymns joined together.—A. Palmer would read in Aesch. *Pers.* 280 *πλαγκτοῖς δειπνα δάκρυον* for *ἐν διπλάκρυον* ; in *Agam.* 562 *τί δ' οὐ τείνοντες οὐ χαλῶντες ἥμας μέρος* ; for *στένοντες οὐ λαχόντες* ; in Arist. *Eccl.* 177 *σάπεντα* for *ἅπαντα* ; in Catull. 64, 108 'indomitus subito contorquens flamine turbo' for 'turbo contorquens flamine robur.'—Other articles are : J. Quarry, notes, chiefly critical, on the Clementine Homilies and the Epistles prefixed to them ; J. Gwynn, the older Syriac Version of the four minor catholic epistles ; T. K. Abbott, the new edition of the Vulgate ; T. K. Abbott, Margoliouth on Ecclesiasticus.

The American Journal of Philology.

No. 39, Oct. 1889. A. Emerson, *On the conception of low comedy in Aristophanes*. An attempt to collect Aristophanes' opinions from the plays and fragments. Passages are classified as follows : (1) Plain statements of what is right and wrong in drama and comedy ; (2) Self-glorifications to the audience ; (3) Censure of predecessors and rivals ; (4) His view of comedy—not as 'art for art's sake,' but as an instrument for inculcating sound principles, political and moral. 'Not a word of censure for the writings of rivals and not a self-glorification in the whole of Aristophanes but contributes to make more and more distinct, the line that divides the low comedy, that of his predecessors and rivals on the comic stage, from the grand, which is his own.'—J. H. Moulton, *Notes in verbal morphology*. These include : (1) Some types of dissyllabic roots ; (2) The *-nā*-class of unthematic verbs ; (3) The suffix of the subjunctive ; (4) The formation of the sigmatic aorist, and (5) The reduplication vowel *i*.—Windelband's *Geschichte der alten Philosophie* is reviewed by Prof. Shorey. 'A well-composed lucidly-arranged repetitorium of the external facts of Greek philosophy, which will doubtless be very serviceable to young German candidates who have no time to read their Zeller.' For others it is a disappointing book, and especially so as regards Plato.—There are brief mentions of the following :—The 2nd edition of Brugmann's *Griechische Grammatik* in the second volume of the *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, *Der freie formelhafte Infinitiv der Limitation*

im Griechischen in Schanz' Beiträge by Dr. Grünwald, Prof. Crusius' interpretation of the proverb, οὐδὲ τὰ τρία Στήσιχρόνον γινώσκει in one of the *Commentationes Ribbeckianae*, and Prof. J. E. B. Mayor's *Latin Heptateuch*.

No. 40, Dec. 1889. E. P. Morris, *On the sentence-question in Plautus and Terence*. First paper, introductory. An elaborate article, with lists and analyses of questions with *ne*. A. *Ne* appended to the verb. B. *Ne* appended to pronouns. C. Nouns with *ne* appended. D. Adjectives and participles with *ne*. E. Adverbs with *ne*. F. *Itane*. G. *Satine*. H. *Potin*. —G. B. Hussey, *On the use of certain verbs of saying in Plato*. The dialogues are arranged in an order conditioned by the use of various verbs of saying, with a view to show that 'the stylistic method of finding the order of the dialogues has an unquestioned value.'—R. Seymour Conway, *The Duenos inscription*. An attempt to show that here 'we have before us a literal translation of a Greek formula preserved intact in a dozen curse inscriptions from the temple of Demeter at Cnidos.'—Paul Shorey, συλλογισμοὶ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως in Aristotle. τὸ μεταλαμβάνον does not mean (see L. and S. s.v. μεταλαμβάνω) a changed proposition, but a term (or possibly a proposition) taken in place of another in an argument by consent of the disputants—ἐξ ὑποθέσεως.—C. D. Buck, *On the forms ἄρτεμις, ἄρταμις*. From an examination of the occurrence of the word in various dialects it is probable that ἄρτεμις is the original form, and etymology should take this form as the basis.—R. C. Seaton contributes notes on Ap. Rh. III. 744 foll. and on βληχρός, ἀβληχρός. There is no trace of βληχρός=ισχυρός.—Prof. Gildersleeve has an interesting review of Ritter's *Untersuchungen über Plato*, in which the statistical method of determining the order of composition is rigidly applied.—B. P. notices *Ueber den zweiten Teil der Odyssee* by C. Reichert, which is a dissertation to prove that Kirchhoff's 'Fortsetzer' and 'Bearbeiter' were one and the same (see *A. J. P.* viii. 415).—There are brief mentions of Prof. Towle's *Protagoras* as compared with Sauppe's and of Prof. Flagg's *Iphigenia Taurica*, both in the White and Seymour series.

This number completes the tenth volume, and contains an excellent index to the *A. J. P.* from the beginning.

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeiger. 1889, No. 17—1890, No. 4.

No. 20, Oct. 1. J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Maass). An attempt to present the genealogy of the distinguished Athenian families. Good in the main, though at times, considering the material at hand, not so satisfactory as could be wished.

No. 22, Nov. 1. R. Meister, *Die griechischen Dialekte auf Grundlage von Ahrens' Werk: de Graecae linguae dialectis*. Band II.: Eleisch, Arkadisch, Kyprisch. Verzeichnisse zum ersten und zweiten Bande (O. Hoffmann). Explanatory and historical remarks precede in each case the presentation of the dialectic peculiarities. Syntax as well as word-formation considered. The work is thorough, and presents a comprehensive view of the subject. The material is well arranged and well presented. The author's occasional ignorance however on points of detail renders caution necessary to the inexperienced student.

Nos. 24 and 25, Dec. 1 and 10. W. Soltau, *Römische Chronologie* (Matzat). A great part of the work is directed against Matzat's book on the same subject. The reasonings and conclusions are not convincing. The criticism deals with details.

No. 26, Dec. 20. M. Wiassak, *Die Litiskonstitution im Formularprozess*; H. Schott, *Das ius prohibendi und die formula prohibitoria*; A. Wach, *Der Feststellungsanspruch*. Ein Beitrag zur Lehre vom Rechtsanspruch (J. Merkel). 1. An attempt to fix the form of the *litis contestari* in the written proceedings of the Roman court. 2. A discussion of the meaning of the terms *ius prohibendi* and *formula prohibitoria*.

No. 3, Feb. 1, 1890. S. P. Lambros, A collation of the Athos Codex of the *Shepherd of Hermes*. Trans. and ed., with a preface and appendices by J. Armitage Robinson (Loofs). A collation of the 14th century MS. (6 pages) found in 1880 by Prof. Lambros, with the Simonides text (3 pages) at Leipzig. We are now in possession of nine-tenths of the *Shepherd* in one MSS.

No. 4, Feb. 15. P. Egenolf, *Die orthographische Stücke der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Blass). This does for the orthographic pieces of the Byzantine literature what Mannheim's programme does for the orthoepic pieces. Herodian and his sources considered.—*Teletos Reliquiae* edidit Prolegomena scripsit Otto Heuse (Hans v. Arnim). Here are considered questions relating to time of composition of the matter, personality and philosophic tendencies of the author, &c.—T. Bergk, *Griechische Litteraturgeschichte*. Vierter Band, aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von R. Peppmüller (O. Crusius). The last of Bergk's great work. It contains (1) some pages on comedy; (2) stray pieces on pre-Aristotelian prose; (3) an article introductory to the study of Alexandrian and Roman literature. It goes without saying that the work is not so satisfactory as it would have been had it received the final revision of the author.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

Dir (C. M.) A Second Latin Reader and Writer. Post 8vo. 106 pp. (Parallel Grammar Series). Sonnenschein. 1s. 6d.

Euripides. *Alcestis*, with introduction, notes, appendices, and a complete vocabulary by M. A. Bayfield. 12mo. 116 pp. Macmillan. 1s. 6d.

— *Iphigenia in Tauris*. A literal translation by G. F. H. Sykes and J. H. Haydon. 12mo. Clive. 2s. 6d.

Fox (H. F.) and *Bromley* (T. M.) Models and Exercises in Unseen Translation. Latin and Greek. 434 pp. Frowde. 5s. 6d.

Frazer (J. G.) *The Golden Bough: a Study in Comparative Religion*. 2 vols. 8vo. Macmillan. 28s.

Herodotus. Book V. *Terpsichore*, with introduction, notes, and map, ed. by E. S. Shuckburgh. 12mo. xxxv, 225 pp. Cambridge University Press. 3s.

— Book VI, with introduction, notes, etc. by W. F. Mason and C. S. Fearenside. 12mo. 128 pp. Clive. 3s. 6d.

Josephus. Whiston's translation, revised by Rev. A. R. Shilleto, with topographical notes by Sir C. W. Wilson. Vols. IV. and V. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. (Bohn's Standard Library.) Bell & Sons. *Plutarch's* *Lives of Galba and Otho*, with introduction and explanatory notes by E. G. Hardy. 12mo. 394 pp. Macmillan. 6s.

- Postgate* (J. P.) The First Latin Primer, being an adaptation of the New Latin Primer for the use of beginners. Post 8vo. 120 pp. Cassell. 1s.
- Prudentius*, translations from, a selection from his works, rendered in English verse, with an introduction and notes by Francis St. John Thackeray. 8vo. lxxiii, 231 pp. Bell & Sons. 7s. 6d.
- Rutherford* (W. G.) First Greek Syntax. 12mo. 180 pp. Macmillan. 2s.

FOREIGN BOOKS.

- Aristophanes*. Die Wespen. In den Versmassen der Urschrift übersetzt von R. Lang. 8vo. v, 141 pp. Schaffhausen. 2 Mk.
- Ball* (H.) Die Bekanntheit römischer Schriftsteller mit Herodot. (I.) 4to. 24 pp. Pr. Berlin.
- Baumack* (J.) Aus Epidaurus. Eine epigraphische Studie. (I.) 4to. 20 pp. Pr. Leipzig.
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- Büdingen* (M.) Katull und der Patriciat. Eine historische Untersuchung. 8vo. 40 pp. Wien, Tempsky. 70 Pfg.
- [Extract: Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften.]
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- Collection de Reproductions de Manuscrits publiées par L. Clédat. Classiques latins, I. Catulle, manuscrit de Saint-Germain des Prés (Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 14, 137) précédé d'une étude de E. Chatelain. 8vo. vii, 77 pp. Paris, Leroux. 15 fr.
- Consbruch* (M.) De veterum $\pi\epsilon\lambda\iota$ $\pi\alpha\iota\chi\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ doctrina accedunt commentarii qui circumferuntur $\pi\epsilon\lambda\iota$ $\pi\alpha\iota\chi\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ Hephaestionei cum scholiis editi. 8vo. vii, 127 and xxxii pp. Breslau, Koebner. 5 Mk. 40.
- [Berliner philologische Abhandlungen. Band V. Heft 3.]
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- Ebeling* (H.) Schulwörterbuch zu Homer's Odyssee und Ilias. 5te verbesserte Auflage. 8vo. iv, 263 pp. Leipzig, Hahn's Verlag. 1 Mk. 80.
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- Schau* (R.) De formulis quas poetae graeci in conclusionis orationis directae posuerint. Dissertatio inauguralis. 4to. 33 pp. Tilsae. 1 Mk. 20.
- Schmidt* (K.) Bemerkungen zu A. Scheindler's lateinischer Schulgrammatik. 8vo. 72 pp. Wien, Hölder. 1 Mk. 20.
- Schulze* (E.) Ueber Verschmelzung lateinischer Adjektiva mit nachfolgenden Substantiven zu einem Gesamtbegriffe. 4to. 16 pp. Homburg. 1 Mk.
- Schwarz* (I.) Kritik der Staatsformen des Aristoteles. Mit einem Anhang enthaltend die Anfänge einer politischen Litteratur bei den Griechen. Vermehrte Ausgabe. 8vo. v, 138 pp. Eisenach, Bameister. 3 Mk. 60.
- Siebert* (W.) Griechisches Lese- und Uebungsbuch für den Unterricht der Gymnasien und Progymnasien im Anschluss an die Schulgrammatik von Koch. 8vo. vii, 249 pp. Osterode. 1 Mk. 50.
- Sonntag* (M.) Bemerkungen zu Caesar de Bello Gallico. iv, 17. 4to. 9 pp. Frankfurt a/O. 60 Pf.
- Sophokles'* Antigone. Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen für den Schulgebrauch herausgegeben von J. Rappold. 2 Theile. 8vo. Wien, Hölder. 1 Mk. 40.
- [Contents: I. Einleitung und Text. vi, 76 pp. 80 Pf. II. Anmerkungen. 60 pp. 60 Pf.]
- Studien, Bonner. Aufsätze aus der Altertumswissenschaft. Reinhard Kekulé zur Erinnerung an seine Lehrthätigkeit in Bonn gewidmet von seinen Schülern. 8vo. iv, 260 pp. Plates. Berlin, Spemann. 20 Mk.
- Tacitus*. Dialogus de oratoribus. Erklärt von E. Wolff. Ausgabe A. Kommentar untern Text. 8vo. iv, 103 pp. Gotha, F. W. Perthes. 1 Mk. 20.
- Ausgabe B. Text und Kommentar getrennt in 2 Heften. iv, 34, 68 pp. 1 Mk. 20.
- Vergil's* Aeneide. Buch V., Metrisch übersetzt von E. Irmischer. 8vo. 31 pp. Leipzig, Fock. 60 Pf.
- Bucolica. Herausgegeben von F. Hermes. 12mo. 34 pp. Dessau, Kuhle. 60 Pf.
- Voigt* (P.) De Luciani libellorum pristino ordine quaestiones. Particula I. 8vo. 40 pp. 5 plates. Cassel, Hülm. 1 Mk. 50.
- Wernicke* (K.) Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsnamen. Eine archäologische Studie. 8vo. vii, 143 pp. Berlin, G. Reimer. 4 Mk.
- Wormstall* (A.) De Corinthiacis tabellis fictilibus. 8vo. 42 pp. Münster. 1 Mk. 20.
- Zöbner* (F.) Betrachtungen zu Dr. A. Scheindler's lateinischer Schulgrammatik. 8vo. 39 pp. Wien, Konegen. 60 Pf.

The Classical Review

JULY 1890.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *ILIAD* IN ROME.

A NECESSARY preliminary to a new critical edition of the *Iliad* is a complete list of the manuscripts that contain the whole or a part of it. Having been entrusted by the University of Oxford with the task of examining and recollating the manuscript evidence for the *Iliad*, I hope to also put together as exhaustive a catalogue as possible of the copies of it that exist in different parts of Europe. The latest attempt at such a compilation, the list that forms an appendix to La Roche's *Homerische Textkritik* (1866), will be familiar to every one acquainted with the subject. It does not pretend to be complete and consists almost entirely of statements at second-hand, descriptions taken from the printed catalogues of the various libraries. The accuracy therefore of any particular description is only that of the authority of which it is a reproduction, and it is needless to say that the statements of even the greater librarians of the last century need both revision and addition to give them practical value to the student of any author in particular. The accounts that are given in the present catalogue rest entirely upon the responsibility of the writer. It will naturally be supposed however that in the case of many libraries the actual catalogue has been the starting-point. In such instances as Oxford, London and Paris, the MSS. have already been catalogued so completely that a separate list of them must find its justification in the convenience of having the information collected in a little space and near at hand, rather than in the superior accuracy or novelty of the descriptions themselves. Elsewhere, as at Venice and Florence, the existing printed catalogue, while needing revision

throughout, is an admirable foundation for more detailed work. The greatest utility however that may be expected to result from such an undertaking will be in the case of those libraries—such as the Ambrosian, the Estense and others—where there is no catalogue in print, or the Vatican, where the printed catalogue is only in progress.

The order in which I may hope to deal with the different libraries is of necessity a matter of chance. The instalment that I now present will serve to fill the most conspicuous gap in La Roche's list, that namely which should contain the MSS. of the *Iliad* at Rome. I have included, for convenience, the abbey of Grotta Ferrata. Signor Enrico Stevenson's labours have lately given us full catalogues of the Palatine collection and that called after the Queen of Sweden, and these I need not say have been invaluable aids to the registering of the contents of the often mutilated and dislocated MSS. For the other collections I have used the manuscript indices that are put at the disposition of readers in the Vatican. For part of the 'Vatican' collection proper M. de Nollac's book *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* has been of service, and many references to Vatican MSS. are to be found here and there in Prof. Ludwig's *Aristarchs homerische Textkritik*, vol. ii. The other Roman libraries possess catalogues in MS. Father Rocchi's catalogue of the Grotta Ferrata library needs no commendation from me.

There are no manuscripts of the *Iliad* in the following Roman libraries: the Alessandrina, the Casanatense, the Corsiniana, or those belonging to the families Borghese and Chigi. I have not found any trace of a

fourteenth century copy which Montfaucon (*Palaeogr. Graeca*, p. 71) notices as being in the possession of 'illustrissimi Leonis Strozii Romae.'

It is a pleasant duty to express my thanks to S. E. Monsignor Ciccolini and the Rev. Giovanni Bollig S. J., Prefects of the Vatican, and to the staff under them; to the Rev. Antonio Rocchi, Superintendent and Librarian of Grotta Ferrata; Comm. Ettore Novelli of the Angelica: the authorities of the Barberini, the Vallicelliana and the Vittorio Emanuele; and, as ever, to Mr. W. H. Bliss who, beside assisting me generally with his great experience of Roman libraries and archives, was good enough to help in the elucidation of some western hands in several of the Vatican MSS.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *ILIAD* IN ROME.

BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA.

Vaticani graeci.

1. Vat. 26. bomb. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in., ff. 406, 14 ll., signed quaternions, s. xiii.: few scholia, but metrical periochae and interlin. glosses throughout, hypotheses to some books.

Contains the *Iliad*, perfect.

2. Vat. 27¹. chart. $12 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ in., ff. 363, 22 ll., signed quaternions and quinions, a. 1465, written by John Rhosus at Bologna; periochae, but no hypotheses, scholia, or glosses.

Contains the whole *Iliad*.

Subscription, f. 360v.,

ἐτελειώθη ἡ τοῦ ὁμήρου ἰλιάς
ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῦ τιμίου
καὶ λογίου ἀνδρὸς κυροῦ
βεράρδου
χειρὶ δὲ ἰωάννου πρεσβυ
τέρου βώσου τοῦ κρητός.

εἰ
ετ ᾠ ξ ε
μνὸς μαίον κη
ἐν βοωνία

3. Vat. 28. bomb. $16 \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ in., ff. 254, 28 ll., 2 cols., signed quaternions, s. xiv—xv. Text and prose paraphrase of Moschopoulos in parallel columns, hypotheses and occasional scholia in marg. in red, some stichometrical notes, no init. hexam.

Contains *Iliad* A—A 288.

f. 1 at top, *Volumen Barthi de columnis*.

f. 254, an epitaph in four lines εἰς τὸν τάφον κυροῦ ἀλεξίου τοῦ γαβρά: inc. [σ]ῆμα τόδ' ἔνδον ἀλέξιον μέλ-
ρακα δῖον ἐέργει.

4. Vat. 29. ff. 484, 12×8 in., in three or four hands. Partly a. 1292.

(A) ff. 2—60 [A—B 817], 63—278 [Γ—Δ], 297—320 [N—Ξ 112]. Bomb. 20—48 ll., signed quaternions, text and Psellus' paraphrase in alternate lines. Periochae, no scholia or glosses. Hand appears to be of the xiiith century.

(B) ff. 61, 62 [B 818—877]: chart. s. xv., no paraphrase.

(C) ff. 279—296 [M], 321—328 [Ξ 113—337]; chart. s. xvi., no paraphrase.

(D) ff. 329—483 [Ξ 338—Ω]. Bomb. 24 ll., no paraphrase. Hand appears the same as A: a. 1292. ff. 483, 484 twelve epigrams and minor poems. Subscription f. 484v.

ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον διὰ χειρὸς

ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ παισίου ἔτους ςω

Beneath, in capitals, *argintia* [?] | *mai* [?] | *garatoni* | c | *tarvisanus* |.²

5. Vat. 30. Bomb. $14\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$, ff. 304, 26 ll., signed quaternions, s. xiv—xv. Scholia and the paraphrase of Man. Moschopoulos in marg., interlin. glosses and periochae.

Contains the entire *Iliad*, with Proclus' life and metrical prolegomena.

6. Vat. 31. Bomb. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in., ff. 265, 25 ll., partly in 2 cols., signed quaternions, s. xiii; hypotheses, paraphrase sometimes interlinear sometimes in parallel column, occasional marg. scholia. Damaged at beginning and end.

Contains A 449—Ω 262, with two leaves (ff. 264, 5) of Dionysius Periegetes (according to the index).³

7. Vat. 50. Bomb. and chart. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in., ff. 232, quaternions, s. xiv—xv.

Contains ff. 1—79, Eur. *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoen.* c. scholl.

80—90 Theoc. *Idyll.* (part) [84—90 on paper].

91—169 Sophocles *Aiac.*, *Electra*, *O. T.*

170—190 Hesiod, *O. D.* [187—197 paper].

190—210 Pindar, *Ol.*

211—232 *Iliad* A—B 222 mutilated at end.

Periochae and marg. scholia; inc. scholia μῆνιν ὀργίζεσθαι, θυμοῦσθαι.

8. Vat. 97. Bomb. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, ff. 331, signed quaternions, s. xiv.

Contents, various, chiefly grammatical works of Man. Moschopoulos, ff. 260—305, *Iliad* A—B 493: paraphrase, interlin. glosses, periochae, marg. scholia.

At beg. βίβλος ὁμήρου μουσπολόκος, κλήσιν ἰλιάδος ἐπωνυμίαν φορέουσα. At end, οὔτοι ἡ [ex δ] βίβλος πέλει γεωργίου τοῦ πασιδαίου, followed by a monocondylion apparently to the same effect.

9. Vat. 902. Bomb. 10×7 in., ff. 246, signed

² Christophorus Garathon was the owner of the ms. Laur. 70, 34 written in Constantinople in 1427.

³ MSS. Vat. 32 and 33 contain scholia minora to the *Iliad*; the latter is alluded to by Ludwich, *Aristarchus hom. Textkritik* ii. 512 note, and Maass, *Scholia Townleyana* vol. 2 p. . It may be well to give some additional particulars of the former, which seems to have escaped notice. Vat. 32, membr. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, ff. 139, signed quaternions, has the last leaf (f. 139) restored by a later hand upon a piece of palimpsest; after six lines necessary to complete the text come the following in the same hand: ἐγγράφη ἐν ἀρκαδία ἐν τῇ πελοποννήσῳ διὰ χειρὸς | τοῦ φιλοσόφου προφήμου τοῦ ῥητόρος ἐν ἔτει ςχ ε[1097]. | οὗτος εὖρον ἐν τῷ τέλει χάρτην παλαιὰν κεκειμένην: | νικόλαος ἁμαρτωλὸς ταχυγράφος. And beneath, δόξα σοι θε δὲ οὐ καὶ διηπόσαντο τὸ φιλοτέχνημα πάνν ὀφέλημον ὁ σὸς ἐκείνης ῥήτορ ὁ πρόφθμος ἀρκαδινὸς πέλοπος τοῦ κρεῦνυργου βλέπεται οὐ θέλωντες οὐ τὰς λέξεις σφῶς ἀρίωμενοι (?) καὶ ποιούντοισι τὸ νουν ἐπ' ἀρδέβεσθ.....(?) The book therefore with the exception of the last page was written by Prophemus in Arcadia in 1097, and this agrees well with the style of writing. Vat. 33 is similar, but may be somewhat earlier in point of time; it is in excellent preservation. A more or less contemporary copy is a MS. at Grotta Ferrata, Z. a. xxv, but mutilated and containing scholia alone to A and B; they begin at the words ἐὺς δὲ πέμψας ἐρμῆν πρὸς αὐτόν. The view taken by Peipers (*ap. Ludwich, Uebers. Mus.* xxxii. p. 187) of the age of this MS. is far too modest.

¹ In the same year a copy of the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Batrachomyomachia*, now Laur. 32, 6, was written at Bologna by Rhosus. I have not been able to identify κυρὸς βέραρδος.

quaternions, s. xiii. Paraphrase in parallel columns for some books, scholia, hypotheses, periochae.¹

Contains ff. 1—190, A 16—K 94.

191—214 Dionysii *οικουμενης περιήγησις*, c. scholl. 215—246 Pindar, *Ol.* (defect.) c. scholl.

On f. 180r. at bottom, *ετους ς φ ν β*, i.e. 1044, but I cannot think that this has any reference to the date of the manuscript.

Inscriptions :

f. 33r. top, *εγω ιω του μρωωντηνου (?)*

f. 72r. bottom, *αυτη η βιβλος πεφυκεν του (?) καταρρη*

10. Vat. 903. Membr. 9 × 6 in., ff. 239, 31 ll., quaternions, s. xii—xiii, palimpsest. Scholia and interlin. glosses, mostly in later hands. Defective at beginning and end.

Contains A 62—Ω 587.

11. Vat. 915. Bomb. 10 × 7 in., ff. 258, 2 cols., s. xiii. ? written by a scribe named George.

Contains ff. 1—47, selections from Musaeus, Theocritus, Theognis, Phocylides, Pindar.

47v.—142 *Iliad*, beginning at A 29, with scholia, interlin. glosses, hypotheses, periochae : 39 lines to the page.

142—end, *Odyssey*, Hesiod with Tzetzes' scholia, parts of Theocr., Dionysius Perieg., Lycophr. *Cassandra*, al., many leaves being out of order.

On f. 134 at the end of X,

ω χε βοήθει μοι τω σω δούλω γεωργίω

At the end a note relating to the birth of a child contains the date *ωδ ν θ* [1296].

12. Vat. 1315, parts 1 and 2.

Membr. 12 × 9 in., ff. 558, 32 ll., signed quaternions, s. xiv—xv, in an archaistic hand.

Contains the *Iliad*, from A 23, one f. being wanting. Long hypotheses, periochae, occasional scholia.

At beg., *Ex libris Fulvii Ursini*.²

13. Vat. 1316, in two parts.³

Bomb. 9 × 6½ in., ff. 355, 27 ll. 2 cols. Def. at beg. and end.

Contains A 109—Ω 216, with the exception of A, M, N. Prose paraphrase in parallel column, which however does not extend throughout ; in some places (e.g. in the *Βοιωτία*) text and paraphrase are in different hands. Hypotheses, periochae, most books are followed by abundant commentary : e.g. after A, f. 10—17, *ιστορίας του αλφα ομήρου ραφιδίας* : inc. *ἐξίτηται εὐθὺς διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν τελευταίων ἡρέσατο κ.τ.λ.* After B, 26v.—30v., *ιστορίαί του β ομήρου ραφιδίας*. 31r.—36v. *συλλογή ἀλληγορίων ιωάννου γραμματικου του τζετζου* [on A only].

ff. 337—352 *Εὐκλείδου ὀπτικοὶ ὅροι*, membr., with 3 ff. added on bomb.

Inscriptions :

At beg. : *Ex libris Fulvii Ursini*.

f. 332 on a piece of flyleaf mounted, *Ἀλβέρτον πλου καρπαίων ἀρχοντος κτήμα. Homeri Ilias vetus.*

M. de Nohac justly observes that Giorgio Valla's signature has perished in the processes of binding.

14. Vat. 1317 in two parts.⁴

Bomb. 9 × 6 in., ff. 265, 18 ll., s. xii—xiii.

Contains the whole *Iliad*, without scholia or hypotheses, but with periochae ; the first 20 ff. (A—B 531) restored according to Orsini's inventory (p. 339 *ap.* Nohac) by Giovanni Onorio of Otranto (s. xvi).

Subscriptions :

At beg. *Ex libris Fulvii Ursini*.

At end of text, in minute letters : *αὐτόχειρ*

Λιροκὸν (?) σφάκελις ἐπιβάτης τιμίο (?)

f. 265v. a monocondylion, and beneath

σίμωνος χρίστου ζηλωτοῦ ἦδε βίβλος.

15. Vat. 1318⁵ bomb. 9 × 7 in., ff. 249, 16 ll., 2 cols., quaternions ; s. xiii.

Contains *Iliad* A 494—Ω 685 ; paraphrase on marg. or between the text in paragraphs, scholia, hypotheses, periochae : repaired with paper, according to M. de Nohac, by Onorio.

16. Vat. 1319⁶ bomb. 10½ × 7 in., ff. 221, 35 ll., signed quaternions, s. xii—xiii, xv, xvi.

Contains the whole *Iliad*, in one original hand, which has twice been restored.

A. s. xii—xiii, ff. 31r.—213v. Γ 35—Ω 302 with the exception of the parts supplied by B. No periochae, rare scholia and interlin. glosses, which are usually in the later hands.

B. s. xv. ff. 25—30 (B 529—Γ 34), 64, 65 (H 37—119), 214—220 (Ω 303—796).

C. Onorio (s. xvi), ff. 1—25 (A 1—B 528), 221 (Ω 796—end). At the beginning Onorio has collected all the hypotheses and periochae.

Inscriptions :

At beg. *Ex libris Fulvii Ursini*.

f. 168v. margin [A]—

χρίστε βο μοι

[τ]ω σω δού θεοδιω⁷

in a hand not much later than that of the text.

17. Vat. 1404⁷ Bomb. 10 × 7 in., ff. 332 signed quaternions, s. xiv.

Contains ff. 1—156, *Varia Grammatica*, 157—208 Philostr. *Imagines*, 209—245 Paul. Silentiarius 246—293 Philostr. *Heroica*.

294—331 *Iliad* A and B without the catalogue.

Paraphrase following the text in paragraphs, no scholia, hypotheses or periochae.

332, *Archiae eis αγωνας επιγραμματα.*

At beg. *Ex libris Fulvii Ursini*.

f. 244v., after Silentiarius, *αντιδλήθη ὕλον.*

Palatini Gracchi⁸

18. Pal. 6. chat. 11 × 8 in., ff. 191, s. xv.

Hypotheses, periochae, prose paraphrase in red. Scholia.

Contains A—Ω 388, with the exception of A 189—611, K 80—234, 549—579, A 1—118 (according to Sig. Stevenson).

19. Pal. 12. Bomb. 12 × 9 in., ff. 269. quaternions, s. xiii.

Paraphrase, perioch., abundant marg. scholia, no hypotheses.

Contains the whole *Iliad*, but with many leaves restored by late hands : ff. 1. [A 1—22] and 269 [Ω 752—end] are in the hand of Giorgio Valla⁹ ; ff. 10, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 26, 50 are in another and later hand. The scholia fail in the later books. The fly-leaves have perished.

20. Pal. 150. Chart. 8½ × 6 in., ff. 186, 23 ll. s. xv.

Contains ff. 1—7 *Batrachomyomachia*, 9—91 *Iliad* A—Z, with hypotheses, periochae, occasional marg. scholia and interlin. glosses ; E and Z

¹ Upon the paraphrase cf. Ludwich *l.c.*, p. 548.

² Cf. de Nohac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, p. 336.

³ De Nohac, *l.c.*, p. 167n. 3. I confess to having taken from M. de Nohac the statement that books A—N are missing. The fact had escaped me.

⁴ De Nohac, *l.c.*, p. 165 n. 2.

⁵ *ib.* n. 3.

⁶ Cf. de Nohac, *l.c.*, *ib.* n. 4.

⁷ De Nohac, *l.c.*, p. 339, n. 49.

⁸ *Codices Manuscripti Palatini Gracii recensuit et digessit Henricus Stevenson Senior. Romae 1885.*

⁹ This fact has escaped Sig. Stevenson.

have a prose paraphrase. On the derangement of pages v. Sig. Stevenson.

93—189 Apollonius Rhod., *Argonautica* (part).

21. Pal. 180. membr. 10 × 7 in. ff. 256, 30 ll., quinions, s. xv. : written by Joannes Scutariota.

Contains the entire *Iliad*, with scholia to the first books. On the pages out of place v. Sig. Stevenson. At beg. *Jannoçii Manetti Ilias homeri xxviii*.

22. Pal. 310. Chart. 14½ × 11 in., ff. 247 s. xv.

Contains *Iliad* A 51—Ω, with paraphrase, scholia, hypotheses; for a list of the prolegomena v. Sig. Stevenson.

Urbinate Graeci.

23. Urb. 136. membr. 12 × 6½ in., ff. 435, 32 ll., quaternions, s. xvi.

Contains ff. 1—245 the *Iliad*, 246—435 the *Odyssey*, with periochae.

24. Urb. 137. membr. 15 × 10 in., ff. 214, 37 ll., quinions, s. xv.

Contains the *Iliad*, with periochae.

At beg.

τόπος α: δμήρου ιλίδς κτήμα βησσαρίωνος
καρδηγάλεως τοῦ τῶν τούσκλην.

Iocus primus homeri Ilias. b. Car. Tusculani bes-
lis

sarion Car. antonio filiolo suo. Comiti montis feletri librum hunc dono dedit ut is quem sciebat | greeis litteris operam dare cupisse: haberet poemam optimum maximum. quem teneris cibibus annis: non modo doctrina | sed etiam moribus principe dignis ornaretur. et in re militari apprime instructus patre avoque dignus

efficeretur; b. Car. nicens man. propria.

There follow six hexameters from Bessarion to Antonio, and a translation by N. Perottus, Archiepiscopus Syportinus.

25. Urb. 138. membr. 8 × 6, ff. 244, quaternions, s. xv.

Contains the *Iliad* to Ψ 130, in three different hands:

A. ff. 1—24, 97—216; 20 ll., with scholia.

B. 25—96: no scholia.

C. 217—229: no scholia.

Ottoboniani Graeci.

26. Ottobon. 58, in two parts.

Chart. 11 × 8 in., ff. 403, 22 ll., quinions, a. 1538.

Contains ff. 1—25 *Prolegomena in Iliadem, Procli vit. Hom.*

29—389 *Iliad*, entire, with copious marg. scholia, hypotheses, periochae, interlin. glosses.

390—393 *Vit. Homeri*.

395—402 *ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις ἐκ τῶν ὁμηρικῶν ποιημάτων εἰλημμένα, πονηθέντι χριστοφόρῳ τῷ κοντελέοντι.*

Subscription: 403 v. ἐτελειώθη μὲν αὐτοῦ στῶ εἰς τὸν δ' τοῦ ἰνδίκτου α ἔτει ζμς καὶ οἱ ἐνταυθ' ἀναγινώ-

σκον καὶ ψάλλοντες εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν κν ὅτι ὁ γράφων περιγράφει.

Ff. 383—end are in a second, but contemporary hand.

At beg.: *Ex codicibus D. Ducis ab Altaemps.*

27. Ottobon. 303. chart. 8½ × 5½ in., ff. 25, 14 ll., s. xv.

Contains ff. 1—3 prolegomena and hypotheses to A.

4—25 A—B 23, with interlin. glosses and periochae.

28. Ottobon. 342. bomb. 9½ × 6½ in., ff. 197, 31 ll., 2 cols., s. xiv.

Contains ff. 1—185 the *Iliad* entire, with hypothe-

ses, interlin. glosses, periochae, and after each book *ιστορίαι καὶ ἀπορίαι τῆς ἱλιάδος—βαψωδίας.*

186—190 *στίχοι γεωργίου καὶ σκευοφύλακτος τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τοῦ πρίσδου εἰς τὴν ἐξάμειρον.*

191—194. (chart. and later) similar eccl. verses, there are the following notes:

f. 194 v. (chart.) τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἡγοράσθη ἀργυρίων τριάκοντα παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ συνήθους ἡμῶν μη | μαρτί ν δ' τοῦ ς *Θ* δ' ἔτους [1396].

Beneath, a monocondylion.

195 v. (bomb.) at top. τοῦ μελιτηνιώτου—δημη-
τρίου πέφυκεν ἡ βίβλος.....φίλος, and again below, even more erased. Also, ὁ γεώργιος τοῦ σταννίδα, often repeated, various faint monocondylia.

196—7. ἐν τη β τοῦ μηνὸς ἀπρι ἐπὶ τῆς ζ' ν ἐν
ς *Θ* κ β ἔτει [1414] ἐποιήσαμην ἀρχὴν τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐγὼ
ὁ κωνσταντῖνος. Two other similar notes, of the years 1396 and 1418.

*Codices Reginae Graeci.*¹

29. Reg. 92. chart. 11½ × 7½, ff. 173, quaternions s. xv.

Contains 2—44 Pindar. *Ol.* (part).

45—50 Hom. *Batrachomach.*, in a later hand.

51—82 *Iliad*, A—B 493, in the same hand as Pindar.

Hypotheses, periochae, Moschopoulos paraphrase, scholia inc. *ὀργιέσθαι θυμοῦσθαι.*

83—107 Hesiod *O. D.*

108—153 Aeschylus *Prom., S.c. Th., Persae.*

154—173 Theocrit. (part).

At end: ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἀγίου ἡμῶν
αὐθ[εν]τ[οῦ] καὶ | βασιλεῖ ἀντωνίου ὁ κοσμάς νταμουρτα-
νέγρος (?)

Codices Pii PP. II.

30. Pius II. 38. chart. 9 × 6½ in., ff. 111, 23 ll., s. xvi.

Contains ff. 2—12 Herod. *vit. Hom.*, Dio Chrys. *λόγος περὶ δμήρου.*

13—111. *Iliad*. A—H with hypotheses to Θ. hypotheses, periochae, interlin. and marg. glosses.

BIBLIOTHECA ANGELICA.

31. C. 1. 2. bomb. 15 × 10 in., as now repaired, about 12 × 9 originally, ff. 174, 2 cols., 26 ll., quaternions.

Contains the *Iliad*, entire with hypotheses, periochae, interlin. glosses, few marg. scholia. Books A—M are followed by *ιστορίαι καὶ ἀπορίαι τῆς—βαψωδίας.*

The pages are repaired with paper, and some of the text supplied by a xvth cent. hand, perhaps that of Giov. Onorio.

At the beginning the stamp *Bibliothecae Passionae*.²

BIBLIOTHECA BARBERINI.

32. I. 161. bomb. 9½ × 6½ in., 28 ll., quaternions, a. 1304.

Contains the whole *Iliad*, preceded by the commentary of Moschopoulos on A, B: hypotheses, periochae, interlin. glosses, marg. scholia rarely after B. 493.

¹ *Codices Manuscripti Graeci Reginae succorum et Pii PP. II., recensuit et digessit Henricus Stevenson Senior, Romae 1888.*

² There is a full description of this ms. in Heyne, vol. iii. p. xlvi. he says 'notitiam eius debco humanitati Viri Cl. Louis Lamberti.'

Subscription f. 246, ἡ βίβλος ἥδε τετέλεσται διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ μανουῆλ τοῦ ἀργυ...'. τ. κατὰ τὴν κῆ τοῦ ἰουνίου μηνὸς τῆς ἐνισταμένης β' ν' ἔτους ς ψ ω ι β. ἀγία τριάς βοήθει τῶ σῶ δούλω. ψ is doubtless a mistake.

F. 1 at bottom: *Caroli Strozze Thome fil.*

33. I. 93. chart. and membr. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in., ff. 30, s. xvi.: in three parts.

A. ff. 1—10 chart. *Odyssey* α—β 19.

B. 11—22 chart. II. κατάλογος νεῶν ἡ βοιωτία, with alternate Latin translation. On f. 11, *Catalogus Navium* | *Homeri* | *Donati Rodulphi* | *apud*

Petrum Meliokottum AN. MDXLVIIJ.

C. 26—30. membr. *Iliad* A 1—160.

34. 110. chart. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ in., ff. 64, 23 ll., s. xvi. Contains ff. 1—32 *Aristophanis Plutus*, cum trad. Lat.

41—57 *Iliad* H—Θ 190, with periochae, and Latin glosses.

35. II. 16. chart. $11 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. ff. 71, 31 ll., s. xviii?

ff. 1—13 *Iliad* Γ—Δ 320.

15—24 A—B 493, with the heading of the Catalogue.

31—69 Latin translation of B and Γ, al.

GROTTA FERRATA.¹

36. Z. α. xxiv. membr. $9 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in., ff. 84, 24 ll., signed quaternions, s. xiv. palimpsest (cf. Rocchi on MS. Z. α. xxiv.). Defective at beginning, the first quire being γ.

Contains *Iliad* I 604—M 179, M 442—N 21, N 500—Φ 384, X—Ω. Marginal and interlin. glosses, but no scholia, hypotheses, or periochae. Φ—Ω are in a second hand which added the glosses.

BIBLIOTECA VALLICELLIANA.

37. F. 16. chart. s. xv. ff.

Contains ff. 2—44 various ecclesiastical writings.

45—52 *Iliad* K 302—Σ 467, without scholia or glosses.

¹ *Codices Cryptenses digesti et illustrati cura et studio D. Ant. Rocchi Tusculani*, 1883.

53—60 Arist. *Acharn.* 661—893.

61— Hesiod *O.D. Theog., Scut. Her.*, with scholia.

BIBLIOTECA VITTORIO EMANUELE.

38. Vitt. Em. 8. chart. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in., ff. 85.

ff. 1—4 prolegomena. 9—80 *Iliad* A, 6 lines to a page, on the recto only, copious grammatical annotations, partly in Latin.

84. misc. grammatical notes.

At beg.: *Colle. Rom. Soci. Jesu Cat. inscript. ex bibl. Mureti*.²

² In the number of this *Review* for October 1889 I gave some particulars of the MS. 6 in this library, which contains scholia minora to the *Iliad*. I was then unaware that the manuscript had been studied in detail by Prof. Sittl, *Sitzungsberichte der philosph.-philolog. u. historisch. Classe der K. b. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München*, 1888 Bd. II. Heft. ii. pp. 255 sqq. Herr Sittl has shown without a doubt the importance of the MS. and its position in the tradition of the text of Homer, as Prof. Ludwig has recognised (*Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, February 16, 1889); but he appears to me to be in error in two points. Firstly, in so decidedly assigning the MS. to the ninth century: it is however at latest of the early part of the tenth; further, p. 257, 8 Sittl explains a double quire-signature that runs through the MS. (e.g. ζ του α, ς: ι του πρώτου, θ: κ του πρώτου ἀλφάβητου, ι:) as if the entire book originally consisted of several volumes, and ι του πρώτου meant the tenth quire of the first volume. But, as a matter of fact, these quire-signatures are in a quite late hand, and mean nothing more than that when, at some late period, the book was trimmed and rebound, the trimmer, with unusual care, noted the 'correspondence' of his own signatures, which are the ordinary numerals, with the old ones that had been shorn away, and which were the letters of the alphabet in their natural order. The book may have originally been bound in several volumes, but there is nothing to prove, or even to suggest, that it was so. Moreover MSS. consisting of two or more volumes are more often than not signed continuously.

T. W. ALLEN.

ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF ANCIENT GREEK.¹

THERE is a certain practical ground for teaching ancient Greek with the pronunciation used by the modern Greeks; inasmuch as there is a spoken Greek language, and it would make the spoken language easier to learn when we want it, if we were used from our childhood to representing its sounds by the same written letters which it uses for itself. But those who advocate the modern pronunciation are not content with the practical ground alone. The proposal would have no interest for any of its supporters, if it was not accompanied by a

historical theory, that the Greeks of a fairly early period, say the Christian era, used the same letter to represent the same sound as their modern successors, or, as it is generally phrased, 'pronounced the language in the same way'; but that form of statement begs the question whether what they pronounced was the same language at all, in respect of vocabulary, accent, or syntax, a question on which I will not enter.

The letters in dispute fall into the following groups: (1) β, γ, δ, (2) θ, φ, χ, (3) α, η, ε, (4) ο, υ, (5) ε, α. The evidence which I will take first is the latest, that of the Gothic transliterations of Greek proper names. As is well known, the Gothic Bible

¹ *The Pronunciation of Greek. With Suggestions for a Reform in the Teaching of that Language.* By E. A. S. DAWES, M. A. (Lond.). London: 1889. 2s.

dates from about 370 A.D., and its Greek represents the pronunciation of Constantinople. Our fragmentary MSS. of it belong to the next century; but we have no means of knowing whether the pronunciation of Gothic had changed in that interval (with one possible exception which I will note); we shall be treating ourselves most rigorously if we say that it had not; we will say that we have proved our case 'up to 350,' when we might say 'up to 450.'

Take the groups (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), in order as they occur in Gothic. As regards (1), I think we must admit that the 'modernist' case is proved for β . The Calendar-fragment writes 'Naubainbair.' The fragment was written in Italy, and the spelling must mean that the Latin word was pronounced 'Novemver,' with two English *v*'s, not 'Nobember' with English *b*'s. For *d* the ground is less certain, but the tendency to write *d* for final β , chiefly in St. Luke's Gospel, seems to show a change from English *d* to English δ in the period between Ulphilas and our MSS. For γ we can scarcely speak, unless we are to take 'Kreks' for 'Ἑλλην' as a proof that the Gothic *g* also was a spirant. For the group (1) therefore, we do acknowledge that the modern pronunciation was fast becoming established in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

For the group (2) we must acknowledge the same thing even more decidedly. β is always the Gothic θ , ϕ is always the Gothic f . In the face of these two facts, we cannot lay any weight on the Gothic *kh* for χ .

For the group (3) we can speak with certainty. The Gothic $\bar{e}$ represents the Greek ϵ and $\bar{i}$ indiscriminately, so these two had already become alike. But η is always the Gothic $\bar{e}$. Now the Gothic $\bar{e}$ is certainly the $\bar{e}$ of Latin, and of the cognate Teutonic languages; that is, speaking with due latitude, the $\acute{e}$ of French, the $\bar{a}$ of English, the $\bar{e}$ of German and Italian. *ai*, on the other hand, is always the Gothic *ai*. That of itself might mean the true diphthong $\bar{a} + i$, the sound which we always fancy to be, but which strict phonologists tell us is not, the sound of the English $\bar{i}$. But the Gothic *ai* cannot be that sound, because it is also used to represent ϵ . The man who is not afraid to write *Aifaisus* for Ἐφῆσος would never have written *Kaisar* for Καῖσαρ, if the ϵ and *ai* had not had to his ear the same sound (apart from quantity, which may or may not have been perceptible). So the Gothic *ai* is a lengthened ϵ , and of course this agrees with the long-standing habit of Graeco-Latin transliteration. But this lengthened ϵ is not

the Gothic $\bar{e}$, English $\bar{a}$. It must have been (speaking again with due latitude) the English vowel of *there* and *fair*. (For the future I shall call this 'English *air*,' using *r* as the diacritic, which to nine-tenths of English speakers it is.) In short the modern Greek scheme for α , η , ϵ is English $\bar{a}$, $\bar{e}$, $\bar{e}$, the Gothic scheme is English *air*, $\bar{a}$, $\bar{e}$.

(4) In modern Greek α and ν have the same sound as $\bar{i}$. In Gothic we have unfortunately no Greek word containing α ; the passage which mentions $\Phi\alpha\beta\eta$ is lost. The Gothic η appears in Greek words only. We cannot identify the pronunciation from Gothic alone, but there can be no doubt that it was some one of the sounds which are written with $\bar{u}$ in German, and *u* in French. Anyhow, Gothic shows that it was not $\bar{e}$ or $\bar{i}$.

(5) *av* and *ev* appear in Gothic as *av* and *aiv* (where of course *ai* means ϵ , as mentioned above). Of course this is seized by the 'modernists,' who are not familiar with Gothic, as a proof that *av* and *ev* were pronounced with an English *v*. But in fact the Gothic *v* cannot have been an English *v*; it must have been something scarcely distinguishable from an English *w*; for, besides the collateral evidence of the other Teutonic languages for *v* as *w*, we have seen that Gothic wrote the English *v* as *b*.

To sum up the evidence from Gothic, we find that in about 370 A.D., at Constantinople, the consonants in dispute had almost completely reached their present stage, but of the four vowel-sounds which are now identical with $\bar{i}$, only one had reached its present stage.

How long had the 'Gothic scheme,' as we may call it, been prevalent when Ulphilas found it? As regards its vowels, certainly since about 200 B.C., that is, during the time for which we have a continuous stream of Greek and Latin intertransliterations. Nobody doubts the identity of α and $\bar{a}$, and the confusion of $\bar{a}$ with $\bar{e}$ does not begin till the very end of our period. The identity of η and $\bar{e}$ is guaranteed by hundreds of cases in both languages; the two or three cases like $\Sigma\kappa\eta\pi\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ and $\Sigma\epsilon\rho\omega\nu\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ are cases of substitution. $\Sigma\kappa\eta\pi\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ must be due to popular etymology on Greek soil; the $\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ words have substituted a suffix that did exist in Greek for one that did not. α is *oe*, and $\bar{a}$ is a sound on the point of becoming $\bar{u}$. ν is *y*, from the time when the Latin ear begins to perceive that it is not *u*. As to the consonants we cannot speak with certainty. There is a time when ϕ is not f ; then there comes a time when ϕ is f ; for θ and χ Latin

has not the means of giving evidence. About β we have evidence for b , and evidence for v (whether Φούβιος does or does not prove that the Latin v was English v , it certainly proves that that particular scribe sounded his β as English v , or German w). Doubtless the digamma- β 's which we know from glossaries ($\alpha\beta\omega\rho$, $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$, &c.) also mean v ; and probably they come from collections made within these limits of time. For δ and γ Latin evidence is impossible, but we must acknowledge the spirant pronunciation of intervocalic γ (for Egypt), for it is not only wrongly left out but wrongly inserted (κλαίγω).

As regards av and ev , the general absence of any Greek av and ev seems to be proved by the occasional $a\beta$ and $e\beta$ which represent the Latin av and ev before a vowel. If av had meant 'av' there would have been no reason to write *Flavius* as Φλάβιος. (I am assuming that by the Christian era the Latin v , in certain intervocalic situations, had become v , or German w , or some sound making the general impression of v on the ear.) Of course the numerous cases of $a\mathcal{F}$ or $av\mathcal{F}$, $e\mathcal{F}$ or $ev\mathcal{F}$, only prove that $\mathcal{F}$ was w or something near it. At the same time, $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ do prove that ev was beginning in certain places.

In short, the pronunciation of Greek, in the main centres of civilization, remained with little change from a time earlier than B.C. 200 to a time later than A.D. 370. But it is right to acknowledge sporadic appearances of innovation, even in the best-speaking cities, and still more, the complete anticipation in certain places of changes which were not to become universal for many centuries. To the former class belong the occasional Ἡποκράτης and ἐπόεισεν , to the latter probably the nearly consistent η 's of Olbia (Miss Dawes, p. 36). These exceptional cases are naturally the great argument of the modernists. If they were at all common, they would be of serious importance. As it is, it cannot be stated with too great emphasis that the countless thousands of η 's and v 's coming in the right places down to 300 or 400 A.D. make the occasional wrong ones a mere drop in the bucket. As to the suggestion, which Miss Dawes is inclined to put into life, that as far back as the Athenian dramatists (p. 21) the Greeks learned to spell out of books and went on writing different letters when the sounds were all alike, I will believe that when any passage is produced out of a Greek writer to suggest such a thing. Meanwhile, the fact that $\epsilon\iota$ and ι , which undoubtedly were

pronounced alike, are abundantly confused, is surely enough to prove that the letters which are not confused were not pronounced alike.

Can we go behind the Roman period? We have not the same external evidence, but we can do something with the help of comparison of Greek inscriptions in different places, and of the *à priori* inferences which are necessarily drawn from the inspection of the alphabet. The great question is the meaning of $\epsilon\iota$, η , $\alpha\iota$. To describe it the *à priori* consideration is that the first writers of Greek must have intended their letters to be signs of their sounds, as fixed as they could make them. Miss Dawes is inclined to dispute this, but only on the ground that the more primitive alphabets cover two or three sounds with one sign. But this does not prove that they used two or three signs for one sound, but rather the reverse. Their means were smaller, and they used them more economically. When we compare the primitive or prae-Ionic alphabets with the Ionic alphabet, e.g. the prae-Eucleidean with the post-Eucleidean Attic inscriptions, we find at least three long vowels kept plainly apart. (1) The true diphthong which appears as $\epsilon\iota$ on all inscriptions alike,¹ that is the diphthong arising from $\epsilon + \iota$ (whether the coalescence is Hellenic or prae-Hellenic), e.g. $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\iota$; (2) the 'adulterine diphthong,' arising from $\epsilon + \epsilon$ or from $\epsilon +$ suppressed consonant, which appears as ϵ in the prae-Ionic alphabet, and in the Ionic alphabet as $\epsilon\iota$ or η according to time and place, beginning as η and ending as $\epsilon\iota$ where we have a complete series of documents for the development of the dialect, e.g. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\iota$ or $\eta\acute{\mu}\iota$; (3) the 'common Greek η ,' and 'Attic-Ionic η ,' which appear equally as ϵ in the prae-Ionic alphabet, and in the Ionic alphabet as η in all times and places (except of course where the second of them is $\bar{\alpha}$, which has nothing to do with our present question).² Obviously, these sounds were all different, because (1) and (3) are never written alike, and (2), which has to borrow its sign from one or the other, passes from (3) to (1) in a fixed order. Let us call them 'the diphthong $-\epsilon\iota$,' 'the adulterine $\epsilon\iota$, $-\bar{\epsilon}$,' 'the $\eta = \bar{\epsilon}$.' We see that they ran in a scale which had the diphthong $-\epsilon\iota$ at one end, nearest to $\bar{\iota}$, and the $\eta = \bar{\epsilon}$ at the other, nearest to $\bar{\alpha}$, and that both the $\epsilon\iota = \bar{\epsilon}$, and the $\eta = \bar{\epsilon}$, sounded to a Greek ear,

¹ It is an error which appears in some otherwise well-informed books, that the true diphthong appears as ϵ in the prae-Ionic alphabet.

² The Naxian use of η and $\bar{\epsilon}$ is isolated, and points to a separate pronunciation of the Attic-Ionic η .

very nearly like a lengthened ϵ . Unhappily, we have only two sounds in English which we can put into the places of these three (and I am writing for those who cannot readily reproduce any but ordinary English sounds), namely English $\bar{a}$ and English *air*. But, considering that the Eucleidean Athenians wrote $\epsilon = \bar{\epsilon}$ as ϵ , we shall not be doing great violence to the facts if we assign, at Athens in 404 B.C., English *air* to $\eta = \bar{\epsilon}$, and English $\bar{a}$ to both $\epsilon = \bar{\epsilon}$ and diphthong $-\epsilon$, in other words, if we say English 'air = my' for $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$ ('I say'), and English 'Amy' for both $\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}$ and $\bar{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}$.

On the same principles, we must assume that the first writers of α meant the sound of $a +$ the sound of ι , in other words, that α , up to and including the Eucleidean transition, was pronounced as we commonly think. And so we get a scale of three sounds (strictly four, but we will include the adulterine $\bar{\epsilon} = \epsilon$ under the diphthong ϵ as above), which happen to be found in order in the word $\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. In Roman times, as we have seen, this was English *air-nay-seece*; at the Eucleidean transition, we assume that it was English *I-nair-sayce*. But what was it at the same time in Boeotia? Its component vowels were written as η ,¹ ϵ , ι , and the whole word, if it came on a Boeotian inscription about the date of 400 B.C., would be $\eta\acute{\nu}\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$. How was this pronounced? Surely with the pronunciation of the same word in Roman times, *air-nay-seece*, but not with the pronunciation of the same written letters in Roman times. In other words, Boeotian (and Thessalian) anticipated the other dialects by one or two centuries, in changing its pronunciation, but did not, like them when their time came, keep the old spelling to indicate the new sounds. So we must distinguish two stages after B.C. 404 (1) when the Athenian said 'kye' and spelled it $\kappa\alpha\iota$, while the Boeotian said 'care' and spelled it $\kappa\eta$, (2) the Roman stage, when the Athenian and the Boeotian alike said 'care,' but the Athenian spelled it $\kappa\alpha\iota$, and the Boeotian spelled it $\kappa\eta$. That this was so, seems to be proved by the Boeotian retention of ϵ as a separate sign from $\bar{\epsilon}$. Confessedly, the Athenian of Roman times had only three sounds for his four signs α , η , ϵ , $\bar{\epsilon}$. But the Boeotian must have equally had three sounds for his three signs η , ϵ , $\bar{\epsilon}$, or he would not have hesitated to reduce his three signs to two, just as he previously did not hesitate to reduce his four signs to three.

How did the Eucleidean Athenian pro-

¹ On a few Boeotian inscriptions we can catch the transition from α to η , in the spelling $\alpha\epsilon$.

nounce α and ν ? Well, he did not pronounce them alike, because he does not write them alike, but there his evidence stops, and here again the question is settled by the Boeotian, with his unsophisticated instinct for phonetic spelling. Where the Athenian writes $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$, the Boeotian writes $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\chi\alpha$ or $\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha$, but where the Athenian writes $\delta\acute{o}\pi\omicron\iota$, the Boeotian writes $\delta\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ or $\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota$. That is, the Athenian and the Boeotian both meant the sound $\bar{u}$ when they wrote ν . But the Athenian said $\bar{u}$ where his ancestors had said u (Eng. *oo*), and went on writing his changed pronunciation with an unchanged sign; the Boeotian said $\bar{u}$ where his ancestors had said α , and wrote ν accordingly, while he went on saying Eng. *oo* (or Eng. *yoo*) where his ancestors had said Eng. *oo*, and marked his unchanged pronunciation by a changed spelling.

The Boeotian α is enough to prove, as we have just seen, that the Eucleidean Athenian α means Eng. *oo*. But it cannot always have meant this, for ν once meant Eng. *oo*, and then α meant something else. Of course the Eucleidean α includes both the 'diphthong $-\alpha$ ' and the ' α — $\bar{o}$ ' (to repeat our ϵ and $\bar{\epsilon}$ -notation) of the prae-Eucleidean inscriptions, both $\alpha\upsilon\kappa$, with its common-Greek α , and $\tau\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$ — $\tau\alpha\varsigma$ — $\tau\alpha\varsigma$, with its adulterine α . Repeat the reasoning which we used for ϵ — η — α , and we shall come to the conclusion that when ν meant Eng. *oo*, α (both α — $\bar{o}$ and diphthong $-\alpha$) meant Eng. $\bar{o}$ or something like it, and ω — $\bar{o}$ meant Eng. *aw* or something like it. Only the fact that ν meant $\bar{u}$ in 404 shows that α had come to mean Eng. *oo* centuries before ϵ came to mean $\bar{\epsilon}$. To put it according to our formula, there was a time everywhere in Greece when $\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ was *I-nair-sayce* and $\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon$ $\nu\acute{\iota}\nu$ was *mawn oh noon*; but at Athens *mawn oh noon* had become *moan oo nūn* when *I-nair-sayce* was still in unimpaired vigour.

For the consonants we have not the same means of judging. It is quite conceivable that the spirant values of β — γ — δ and of θ — ϕ — χ might begin at any time without betraying themselves in the spelling. But we can be certain that β , γ , δ were still explosive sonants in the Chalcidian colonies when the Latin alphabet was borrowed, and we can be all but certain that θ , ϕ , χ were still explosive aspirates when Aristophanes' Scythian reduced them to τ , π , κ .

But we cannot insist on the details of the prae-Roman period with complete certainty. We only believe that we can pronounce the vowels that Sophocles heard; we know that we can pronounce the vowels that Cicero heard, and they are not those pronounced in the Athens of to-day. T. C. SNOW.

REMARKS ON MR. BAYFIELD'S PAPER.¹

SPEAKING generally, I must say that this paper confirms my opinion as to the injury caused to syntactical studies by the excessive importance which has been of late years attributed to comparative philology, and to the statistical method of inquiry. Syntax cannot dispense with logic and metaphysics any more than with common-sense: statistics can voice no signification, except some man shall guide them, and statisticians are usually the poorest guides in matters of insight and interpretation.

Speaking particularly, the paper seems to me to ignore at least two well-known doctrines: (1) The unreal, or contrary-to-fact value in a conditional formula is secondary (A. and G. *L. G.* pp. 320 and 327, *Gil. L. G.* § 599 and refs.); and such a formula, even after it has acquired the unreal value, is still used also in its original sense. Thus ἡδίκηκε ἄν, ἡδίκησεν ἄν may be only iterative, indefinite, potential, and not unreal (*Gil. L. G.* § 598 R. I., § 569 R; A. and G. *L. G.* § 309, *Madv.* 347a, obs. 2, first example. (2) In unreal conditions only the protasis is essentially contrary to fact: the apodosis may be unreal only in relation to that protasis. In 'If he *had* invited me, I should not have gone,' the protasis is essentially contrary-to-fact: the apodosis is unreal only as a consequence of that protasis, and real in itself (*Good. M. T.* § 412). 'If a man had heard Demosthenes speak,' rendered by εἰ ἤκουσεν, si audisset, would, in model writers, mean that the supposed persons did not hear Demosthenes, even implying that nobody ever heard him; but perhaps Mr. Bayfield has in mind the idea that requires εἰ ἀκούοι, si audiverat, with imperf. indic. apodosis, which is not unreal, but general or indefinite; or he might prefer si audiret, oblivisceretur (cf. si peteret, proficeret, *Hor. Sat.* 1, 3, 4), covered by (1) above.

Omitting *Eur. Ion*, 354, as adequately treated in the November *Review* (p. 417), I dispose of *Meno* 93 E, *Xen. Hellen.* 3, 4, 18, as potential forms that have not yet reached the unreal stage. (See (1) above, and *Good. M. T.* § 244, *Gil. L. G.* § 252 and refs.) In

Soph. O. T. 220, the participle, as best understood, is not a true conditional, but a virtual causal, and need not be considered here (*Good. M. T.* §§ 171, 818).

Meno 94 D is certainly unreal; and Socrates simply repeats there the refrain (first sounded in 89 C) that 'virtue is not teachable,' whatever modification of the view he may hold or intend to make.

Of the Latin examples, *Verr.* 3, 29 is an instance of 'partial obliquity' (or attraction) (A. and G. *L. G.* § 340, *d* and refs., *Gil. L. G.* § 509, 3, *Madv.* § 369), for fut. perf. *Livy* 22, 54, as an apodosis, needs no comment; though as a matter of fact the individual calamities of the time, happening to the Romans, could not of course happen to other nations, whence the unreality. *Livy* 22, 24, *Verr.* 4, 23, *Man.* 11, are potentials of the past not yet developed into unrels (*Roby* 1544, *Madv.* 350a). *Verg.* 6, 879, also an apodosis, is noticeable (though I am not aware that the peculiarity of this use has been noticed) as a virtual unreal fut. perf. expressed as past because the case is already settled (*Gil. L. G.* § 599 and refs., cf. *Livy* 22, 60, si postulassent, peregissent).

Finally, in rendering Mr. Bayfield's 'Even a stoic would have jumped if a wasp had stung his nose,' following model writers, I must first determine whether or not I deny that a wasp ever stung a stoic: for the former interpretation, I use only the past unreal formula: for the latter I use iterative, indefinite, general forms, including the Latin impf. subj. in both members.

The rule holds: the unreality, though a secondary acquisition, has become inherent; and the hearer knows from the mere formula that the supposition is, and is designed to be, contrary to the facts assumed and asserted by the speaker. When Mr. Bayfield hears his debtor say 'I would pay you if I had the money,' he knows from the formula that the speaker assumes and asserts his lack of the money, even though he may otherwise know that the scamp has a full purse; and Sir Gorgius Midas may assume and assert the fact of indigence and say, 'If I were not a poor man.' These assumptions and assertions constitute the whole distinctiveness of unreal or unfulfilled wishes in present or past time: without the concomitant opposition the expressions would be pointless. Independent knowledge may or may not

¹ Abbreviations used:—

A. and G. *L. G.* = *Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar* (Ginn).

Gil. L. G. = *Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar* (Univ. Pub. Co.).

Good. M. T. = *Goodwin's Syntax of Greek Moods and Tenses*, last edition (Macmillan).

exist, but it is of no importance in determining the value of the formulae.

While I find less to object to in the latter part of Mr. Bayfield's paper, I confess my inability to see any advantage in the proposed scheme of conditional sentences; for, from what is said above, it follows that the difference between 'the sentences marked (B) and those marked (A)' in 2 and 3 is not only that the former (B) 'present the hypothetical idea less positively.' The indicative with *āv*, as distinguished from the mere indicative, recalls and reasserts the potential idea, inherent in its continuative and in its indefinite tenses alike, one of its original implications as the generic mood. In other words the indicative alone may become hypothetical by means of the conditional sign or by an implied relation: the indicative with *āv* is *per se* modal, like the subj. and opt. And, by a curious irony, Mr. Bayfield must see that an unreal condition, asserting its opposite, is really more positive than a pure condition asserting only relation.

As to A (B), Gildersleeve has finally disposed of that. If Mr. Bayfield seeks novelty in conditional classification he will discover fresh fields in an arrangement by mood-value instead of by time-value; and I suggest to him as unfinished questions (1) the real time of the apodosis in 2 B and (2) the future-perfect value sometimes included in 3 B, already hinted at.

The distinction in favour of *Indefinite Sentences* seems to be without a difference. 'Conditional' and 'indefinite' are reciprocals. Everything general or indefinite is so far conditional; and conversely, the conditional is indefinite, though it may be a general principle applied in a special case. The negative used is to be noted. Goodwin seems to have adequately separated the indefinite value in the pronoun from that in the time, showing how they may exist together or separately. My objection is not to discrimination in terms, but to the argument on which this one is based (cf. *M. T.* 192, 2).

'Sequence' is not well used here. The practical formulae of the 'Sequence of Tenses' (or Moods) have not even convenience, unless the antecedent term can be settled; and, in conditional sentences proper and all sentences so far as they acquire a conditional value, both terms are settled at once, or each is settled without regard to the other (cf. *M. T.* § 409): in neither case is there sequence. And Goodwin's view, that the accord of protasis and apodosis is only as-

simulation appears to put relation at the mercy of accident (cf. *M. T.* § 239).

All that remains is to except to Mr. Bayfield's statement that his 'Indefinite Sentences' (Goodwin's General Conditional and General Conditional Relative Sentences) do not use the indicative. Gildersleeve (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assocn.*, 1876) shows that they do, as does Goodwin. Why they should not is difficult to understand: the indicative, as the generic mood, may reassert the potential value that was one of its original uses, and its continuative tenses are specially prone to develop this modal force (cf. *Gil. L. G.* § 218 R. 1572, 569 R. 1). Accordingly I cannot accept Goodwin's explanation of these indicatives any more than Mr. Bayfield's discovery. Since Goodwin's 'general conditional relative sentence' must contain a double indefiniteness, half cannot serve for the whole; and the indicative cannot be held to 'refer to one of the cases in which the event may occur as if it were the only one—' which, in view of *M. T.* §§ 24, 25, is simply making a difficulty by going beyond the record. (The same objection applies to *M. T.* § 155, after 56, 57.) And there is no such thing as a 'timeless' tense, neither definite nor indefinite: a present tense may refer to the single, immediate present; or it may refer to the general present, true as a principle at any individual point for repeated or possible acts of the same or of different persons. The tense is present, because the repetition or possibility is asserted only as a characteristic of present time: in past or future it may not hold good. It is timeless only as being general or indefinite by applying to the acts of different persons, which implies more indefiniteness than different acts of the same person.

The indicative of a purely descriptive clause in Latin oratio obliqua is not in point, as the Latin regularly uses the indicative in general or indefinite sentences, but the Latin present subjunctive may certainly refer to a present act with no more of indefiniteness or futurity than mere verification requires. Similarly, the Greek subjunctive and optative may refer to what is now true, as will be found out later (*M. T.* §§ 92, 93, 238, 409, 458); and examples cited *M. T.* 444 will show that a Greek did use *ἐάν* + subj. for a definite future time. In any case, Mr. Bayfield has not succeeded in proving that the indicative, however it be explained, is not available for his 'indefinite' sentences.

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ETH. NIC. V. 10, 1137 *a* 31—1138 *a* 3.

It seems to be generally agreed that this chapter is misplaced in the *textus receptus*. Mr. H. Jackson puts it at the end of the book; Ueberweg (*Hist. Phil.* vol. i. p. 147 English Transl.) inserts it (preceded by chapter 9 §§ 14—17, 1137*a* 4—30) after chapter 8, *i.e.* after *συγγνωμονικά* 1136 *a* 9. The reasons for preferring Ueberweg's rearrangement are (1) that the constructive treatment of Justice becomes continuous, and the *ἀπορίαι* contained in chapters 9 and 11 of the *textus receptus* form an appendix to the book: (2) that the remarks on *ἐπιείκεια* follow closely on the discussion contained in chapter 8. A comparison of *Rhet.* i. 13 makes it probable that they ought to follow even more closely than they do in Ueberweg's rearrangement—*i.e.* that chapter 9 §§ 14—17 ought not to intervene between the end of chapter 8 and the beginning of chapter 10, but be otherwise disposed of—I do not venture to suggest how. In *Rhet.* i. 13 the discussion of *ἐπιείκεια* arises immediately out of a discussion, closely resembling that in *Eth. Nic.* v. 8, of the various degrees of guilt attaching to the *βλάβαι* which come before the courts of justice. If, as seems probable, the writer of *Eth. Nic.* v. 8 had *Rhet.* i. 13 before him, or in his recollection, when he wrote, he would naturally go immediately on from *συγγνωμονικά* (1136 *a* 9) to the discussion of *ἐπιείκεια*.

Ueberweg accounts for the disorder in the *textus receptus* of the last three chapters of *Eth. Nic.* v. by the misplacement of the leaves in an archetype MS.

It may be only an accidental coincidence—but it seems worth noticing in connexion with this hypothesis of misplaced leaves—that the mass of text from 1176 *a* 11 to 1177 *a* 30 (*Eth. Nic.* x. ch. 5 § 9—ch. 7 § 4), omitted by the Laurentian K^b is twice as large as that contained in the chapter on

ἐπιείκεια, v. 10; twice as large as that contained in v. 11; and equal to that intervening in the *textus receptus* between the end of chapter 8 (1136 *a* 9) and the beginning of the chapter on *ἐπιείκεια*, chapter 10. There are 88 Bekker's lines in the passage (1176 *a* 11—1177 *a* 30) omitted by K^b; 43 in the chapter on *ἐπιείκεια*; 43 in the following chapter v. 11; and 87 from the end of v. 8 to the beginning of v. 10.

The lacuna in K^b was probably caused by the absence of two leaves (each containing about 43 Bekker's lines) from the ancient manuscript of which K^b is a transcript. Fol. 121^r in K^b ends with *τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ τοὺς* (1176 *a* 11) and fol. 121^v (the other side of the same leaf) begins with *μὲν κεχορηγμένων ὁ μὲν* (1177 *a* 30), the lacuna not being indicated in any way by the scribe, who, it would seem, was unconscious of its existence.

On the other hand it would be going too far if we were to say that the disorder in the *textus receptus* of v. 9—11 was probably caused by the misplacement of archetype leaves containing each about 43 Bekker's lines. The 'disorder' to be explained by the hypothesis is, after all, not a definite indisputable fact like the lacuna in K^b. At any rate it would be satisfactory, before attaching much importance to the quantitative relation subsisting between the lacuna in K^b and certain passages in v. 9—11, to be able to point to other cases of 'disorder' in the *Eth. Nic.* which could be explained by the hypothesis of an archetype leaf of 43 Bekker's lines. I confess that as yet I have not found any such cases. The space intervening between v. 4, 12 (1132*b* 9) and v. 5, 9 (1133, *a* 14), to which I turned first, does not seem to have anything to do with an archetype leaf of 43 lines.

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THE AGAMEMNON OF AESCHYLUS, With an Introduction, Commentary and Translation by A. W. VERRALL. 308 pages. Macmillan and Co. 12s.

If Dr. Verrall can only curb the importunity of his inventive genius, he may yet produce a valuable edition of Aeschylus. He has no lack of literary appreciation, nor of sympathetic imagination. He is a trained scholar. His erudition and learning are very considerable. His power of expression

also is far beyond what is ordinarily found in commentators, and in this respect the dedication of this book to Professor Jebb is quite appropriate. His translation is terse, vivid, and by no means unreadable, notwithstanding the strangeness of many renderings. His interpretation of the great

Cassandra scene contains much that is excellent, and in explaining the Herald's speeches he puts very forcibly (although with what the late Professor Kennedy would have called 'undue exaggeration') a conception of the texture of dramatic speech (of the *τραγικὸς λόγος*) which has not yet commended itself sufficiently to the generality of scholars. Moreover, he is fully aware of the necessity of returning to the Medicean text as the basis of criticism.

But, as things are, his method is notwithstanding vitiated by pervading fallacies, and it is by these, unfortunately, that the book is likely to produce an effect. To do the writer justice, he himself disclaims any intention of laying exclusive emphasis on his own theories. He says, truly enough, that the greatness of the *Agamemnon* remains under any theory. But in urging this he speaks to as little purpose as F. A. Wolf did when he discoursed on the essential unity of the *Iliad*, or praised the perfect structure of the *Odyssey*. In both cases it is not the old and familiar, but the new and startling, that will awaken interest and create an impression.

Πῶς οὖν ἂν εἰπὼν καὶ ἀκάληθῇ τύχοι;
σχισθέντα δ' οὐκ εὐκρυπτα γίνεται τάδε.

It becomes important to ask, as John Conington would have done, 'How much of what is new in this edition is also true?' (although it is not to be forgotten that even groundless paradoxes may indirectly serve the cause of truth).

Before attempting to answer this question, I desire to make one more admission in Dr. Verrall's favour. He has rightly accepted several interpretations which, although not new, have not hitherto been generally received. For the sake of brevity I must simply refer to II.—

299. *πορευτοῦ* (taken as gen. of *πορευτής*, an explanation due, if I mistake not, to Mr. H. Richards).

313. *τῶν εἰρημένων*, 'than what was bidden them' (a meaning first pointed out by M. Henri Weil, of the Collège de France, one of the most sane-minded of critical scholars).

667. *ἐξηγήσατο* (rightly defended against the emendations *ἐξηρήσατο* and *ἐξηγγήσατο*).

1118. *μελαγκέρω...μηχανήματι*, 'with her crafty weapon, her black horn.'

1329. *καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνων μᾶλλον οἰκτείρω πολὺ*, 'And this I say is the more pitiable by far.' ... 'The murder of the poor slave may count for little beside the murder of the

great king; and vulgar opinion may esteem, as it is apt to do, the overthrow of prosperity a more tragic thing than the extinction of misery which is only just on this side of nothing. But *this*, not *that*, is truly the more pitiable case.'

Of all Mr. Verrall's notes this is the best and soundest. *O si sic omnia!*

What I have ventured to speak of as a flaw pervading the whole work may best be described through the Greek proverb, 'Avoiding smoke, he falls into the fire.' Taking occasion from the shadow of difficulty he invents some new hypothesis, which, however ingeniously put forth, is seen on closer inspection to be, not difficult, but impossible. His wit, unlike that of some amongst his compeers, cannot 'keep the roadway.' His originality is not of the right breed. It is like a fiery horse that shies at tufts of grass and runs his rider against stone walls. This remark applies both to the details of interpretation and to the criticism of the drama as a whole.

The same wrongheadedness—there is no other word for it—appears alike in dealing with the most subtle minutiae and with the principles of tragic art. The notes and appendices abound with examples of the same ingenious avoidance of the obvious, the same finding it fourteen o'clock at noon, the same 'credo quia impossibile est' with reference to some rash invention, which are applied, in the interestingly written introduction, to the brilliant but unsatisfying justification of a bold, and hitherto unthought-of reading of the whole drama.

I.

In dealing with language the editor's procedure rests on two habitual assumptions, which seem to play into one another but are mutually contradictory: (1) 'Such a use or meaning is *impossible*' (a familiar dictum supported with the usual wealth of verbal subtlety, but often without regard to *naturalness* of expression); (2) 'Considering how little of Greek literature is extant, why should not this form, this use, this meaning, occur here for once?' Now the 'impossibility' is often far from evident, while the new invention, which is meant to obviate it, is often improbable in the last degree.

This editor, like some others, seems to forget that Agathon's saying about the likelihood of the unlikely is nullified if perpetually called in. New forms (such

ἀσ οἷτας, τοπάν, ταγάς, κλάβη, ἐγγονοῦσα), new derivations (γενναίως 'naturally,' σωματοφθορεῖν, 'to stain by wearing,' παλαιᾶς from πάλη), new punctuations, new connexions and dislocations of words, imaginary meanings supported with imaginative arguments, at once excite and balk one's curiosity at every turn. It is impossible to do more in an occasional review than to illustrate this general statement by the discussion of a very few selected instances. The reader who desires more proof will not have far to seek, if he turns to the notes themselves.

L. 15. τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ. This Paley renders, 'so that I cannot close my eyelids soundly in repose.' See also Goodwin's *Syntax*, new edition, § 811. He quotes *Eum.* 691 (τὸ μάδικεῖν σχίσσει), *Xen. Cyr.* V. 1, 251, *Anab.* II. 3, 2.

Mr. Verrall renders, '(I am haunted by this fear) that by sleep I might close my eyes for ever.'

He takes τὸ μὴ . . . συμβαλεῖν as equivalent to μὴ συμβάλλω. Now, is this 'possible'? The commentary cites Plat. *Legg.* 943 D χορὴ πᾶσαν ἐπιφέροντα δίκην ἀνδρὶ πάντ' ἀνδρα φοβεῖσθαι τὸ μὴ ἐπενεγκεῖν ψευδῇ τιμωρίαν. But here, as in the passages quoted by Goodwin, the meaning includes prevention: 'ought to entertain a sense of fear that should withhold him from imposing a false punishment.' Mr. Verrall's rendering, 'should always have before him the fear of inflicting a wrong penalty,' though it might pass as a free translation, does not truly convey the syntax of the passage. The ordinary view, as given by Paley, &c., is rejected (1) because 'τὸ . . . ὕπνῳ is then worse than superfluous, and the weakest word in it (ὕπνῳ) has the place of emphasis.' The place of emphasis in a senarius is not the last foot but the first. In this very speech, are δίκην (3), βροτοῖς (5), ἔχω (12), δοκῶ (16), particularly strong or emphatic words? And even feeble tautology is more in keeping with the rustic character of the man than the condensed although cumbrous witticism with which Dr. Verrall charges him. But it would be better to reject the verse than to break up the continuity of a phrase which hangs so naturally together as βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ, and so to set in opposition, *sans facon*, the literal and metaphorical 'slumber.'

L. 49-51. τρόπον αἰγυπῶν, κ.τ.λ. 'Like vultures, who, vexed by boys in the supreme solitudes where they nest, wheel round and round.'

In putting forth his new interpretation here Mr. Verrall does not sufficiently con-

sider its effect on what may be called the rhetorical as distinguished from the metrical rhythm. By separating ὕπατοι λέξεων as a generally descriptive parenthesis from στροφοδινούνται, he checks what a recent popular writer might call the 'crescendoing climax' of a fine passage. That seems to be a minor consideration with our editor. Mr. Housman, whose striking and suggestive article in *Journal of Philology*, xvi. 32, has evidently a peculiar fascination for him, has made him discontented with the received version, and his invention is set to work accordingly. 'If ὕπατοι λέξεων is correct, the genitive must, as Mr. Housman says, be of the partitive kind. But why not? No one would demur to Ὁρώπιοι ναίουσιν (or εἰσὶν) ἔσχατοι τῆς Βοιωτίας, or to a description of the Athena of the Acropolis as ἡ ὑπάτη οὔσα ἱερῶν, *she whose sanctuary is highest*, literally, *she who is highest among sanctuaries*,' &c. Now the former of these two phrases, even if we accept it, is not quite parallel, and the latter is a purely imaginary expression. The new view of ὕπατοι is supported by an equally novel construction of ἐκπατίους. The word is explained, with Hesychius, by ἔξω πάτων, which is *assumed* to mean 'away from the haunts of men.' And this is no doubt admissible. But it is construed, by hypallage, with ἀλγεσι. 'The word applies properly to the birds themselves, but is transferred to their feelings (ἀλγη) by a usage in which Greek poetry is particularly bold.' It is perhaps vain to urge that the boldness is increased by the new meaning given to παίδων, which makes it doubtful whether the vultures or the boys are 'out of the way.' Has Dr. Verrall thought of a somewhat easier hypallage—'grief inflicted by truant boys'?

This brings us to what seems to me the veriest 'shadow of smoke,' Dr. Verrall's difficulty about παίδων. It is based first of all on one of those absolute minute distinctions in which verbal scholarship has delighted from the time of Prodicus:—'παῖς does not mean "offspring," but "a young human being."' Does Dr. Verrall really contend that παῖς never implies the filial relation, with all the tenderness which it involves—that, for example, in Soph. *Ant.*, 1182, κλύουσα παιδός means 'having heard about the young man'? Then are human attributes nowhere transferred to the lower animals in Greek poetry? Or is δέμνιον (as in δέμνιστήρη here) the κύριον ὄνομα for a bird's nest? So much for the 'smoke'; now for a touch of the 'fire.' Taking Dr. Verrall's interpretation of ἐκπατίους and

ὑπατοί—are not these mischievous ‘young human beings’ as much out of place in those ‘supreme solitudes’ as a chorus of Lemnians would be in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles? (I ought in fairness to say that my own attempt at an interpretation of the passage is given in the *American Journal of Philology*, I. 4.)

L. 498 foll. *κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς*, κ.τ.λ.

Here Mr. Housman again acts the jackal to Dr. Verrall, by suggesting that the cloud of dust is not raised by the Herald at all, but by the crew of Agamemnon's ship, who in the distance are escorting him, and are mistaken by the coryphaeus for the returning army. This ‘means something decisive, either victory or defeat.’ ‘Not the crew of Agamemnon's vessel only,’ says Dr. Verrall in effect, ‘but the faction of Aegisthus, who, under the pretence of a guard of honour, are taking care that there shall be no rescue.’ Thus the passage is twisted to support his main theory (see below).

The ‘difficulty’ lies in *ὥς* (*ὥς οὐκ ἄναυδος*, κ.τ.λ.).

‘The conventional answers may be divided thus’ (says Dr. Verrall): ‘(1) the dust is that which the herald raises; this shows his haste and therefore the importance of his news; (2) the dust and mud are upon the garments of the herald (the mud being on his shoes and the garments on his clothes they are “neighbours” or “contiguous”); they show that he has come a long way and so suggest that he has come from Troy.’ (Dr. Verrall calls this ‘Paley's explanation’.) ‘But neither of these is tolerable.’

Although Dr. Verrall says ‘the riddle of this passage awaits solution,’ I venture to repeat the answer to it which I gave in 1880:—

‘Bishop Blomfield was I believe the first who suggested that these words applied not to a cloud of dust raised by the herald and his companions (cf. *S. c. T.* 81, 2, *ib.* 494), but to the dust and mud upon his clothes. It was perhaps natural that an English scholar should be reminded of Sir Walter Blount,

“Marked with the variation of each soil

Between that Holmedon and this seat of ours,”

but it is strange that others should not have perceived the inappropriateness of such a remark as applied to the herald who is seen approaching from the neighbouring shore (*ἀπ' ἀκτῆς*), where he has arrived by crossing the Aegean from Troy.’ (Do clothes con-

tract dust on shipboard?) ‘The dust raised by his approach (perhaps not unaccompanied) at once shows his haste as the bringer of important tidings, and also proves that he is a real solid human being, and not a voiceless phantom or imponderable element, like the light which brought the earlier message.’—(*American Journal of Philology*, I. 4, p. 434.)

Dr. Verrall's treatment of the words *κάσις* *πηλοῦ ξίνουρος* is extremely characteristic. He has elsewhere, if I mistake not, said with perfect truth that an Athenian audience cared little about the exact topography of neighbouring countries. But here, in controverting Mr. Housman's very natural remark that the words are ‘mere ornament, like *αἰώλην πυρὸς κάσιν* of *Sept.* 481,’ he has recourse to the testimony of a recent traveller, Colonel Mure of Caldwell, who says that ‘the streams in the eastern part of the plain are all drunk up by the thirsty soil,’ but that ‘at the south-western extremity, near the sea, there is a large number of copious springs, which make this part of the country a *marsh or morass*.’ Then he continues, ‘It is a reasonable conclusion that the brother and sister whose lands lie side by side, the *Dust* and the *Mire*, is simply an ancient and traditional description of the plain of *Argolis*, parched in its eastern part, drenched in its western. The speakers are looking from Argos eastwards towards the sea, across the waterless region; and it is therefore the Sister, the *Dust*, which tells them that a large body of men is approaching from the port.’

I am not concerned to controvert this reasoning, which makes no difference to the general drift of the passage. But is the reader satisfied? If so, there is no more to say.

L. 816. *ἵππου νεοσσός* ‘may perhaps allude distantly (!) to the stratagem of the wooden horse; but . . . it is possible, I think probable, that both the *horse* here and the *lion* of v. 878 are emblematic animals, connected with Argolis and its people by some heraldic (or totemistic ?) tradition.’

The ‘avoidance of the obvious’ is tolerably striking here, but it is ‘poor and single business to compare’ with the treatment of *πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα* in l. 656, or of *εἰμάτων βαφάς* in 951. Dr. Verrall out-Hermann's Hermann in punning upon *βαφή*. In Appendix O, wherein these symbolic meanings are developed, his genius fairly carries him away, and he ‘cannot avoid’ conclusions, into which few of his readers, after cool reflection, will be able to follow him.

I have no room for the further discussion

of single passages. I can only indicate my inability to believe that in 1438 Hermann's difficulty about the article is a sufficient reason for making the corpse of Agamemnon, instead of the living Aegisthus, Clytemnestra's 'shield,' or that *Λήδας γένεθλον* (905) conveys a sarcasm, or that *θάρσος ἐκούσιον* (794) means the 'willing wanton,' Helen, or that *δείγμα προστατήριον* means an 'advertisement' as expounded in Appendix S, or indeed in many other minor articles of Dr. Verrall's belief. I turn now to the more general aspect of the drama.

II.

Dr. Verrall's peculiar theory of the plot of the *Agamemnon* rests principally on two points (*a*) the foreshortening of the action, which appears to him excessive in the ordinary or 'Byzantine' view, and (*b*) the fact that there is a line or two here and there in the play which can with difficulty be assigned to any of the usually recognised *dramatis personae*. The latter observation he has subsequently connected with what Pollux says on *παραχορήγημα* (*C. R.* vol. iv. p. 3) (Cf. Liddell and Scott, *s.v.*)

(*a*) Dr. Verrall has recently observed (*C. R.* vol. iv. p. 224) that in matters of stage management we are thrown back upon the evidence of the plays themselves. The remark is so valuable that we can afford to wait for the 'original' developments which are pretty sure to follow it. Yet before finally discarding tradition it may be well to listen to Dio Chrysostom, who had a wider command of the Attic theatre than we can have. In defending Aeschylus for frankly permitting an improbability which Euripides called attention to by trying to explain it away, he says (*Or.* lii.) *εἰ μὲν ἐδύναντο πάσας διαφεύγειν τὰς ἀλογίας ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις, ὥσως ἂν εἶχε λόγον μηδὲ τοῦτό παραπέμψαι· νῦν δὲ πολλὰ ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ παραγινόμενοι ποιοῦσι τοὺς κήρυκας πλείονων ἡμερῶν δόδον.*

And we may take notice of the fact that Aristotle, in recording the rough generalization which became stereotyped as the 'Unity of Time' (although it is doubted by some critics whether he is not merely speaking of the time occupied in the performance of a play), has qualified it with the addition that in the earlier drama there was in this as well as in other respects a certain Epic breadth of treatment. In editing Sophocles some years ago, I ventured to apply this latter observation to the *Antigone*, and to hint

moreover that a 'Time-Analysis' of other Greek Plays might yield unexpected results. The following sentences are here in point:—

'Between night and morning there has been time for the following events:—the burial of Eteocles with military honours; the proclamation which reaches the ears of Antigone; her act in sprinkling the dust and keeping the wild beasts and dogs from the dead; the setting of the watch by Creon; the summoning of the elders, while it is still early morning—for the discovery of the act by the first day watch is still recent when the *φύλαξ* comes.'

'...When the sun has hardly touched the body of Polynices—supposing him to have been slain the previous night—it is already in a state of decomposition (l. 409 ff.).

'...Creon's authority is not six hours old, and yet he speaks of certain mutterings of secret disaffection, which he has long since heard (289 ff.).

'The word *τότε* in ll. 391, 480 implies something more than the space between morning and mid-day.¹ And it may be observed in passing that the storm which filled the sky has not for a moment interrupted the action on the stage, which is in the open air..... When these points are considered, it will not seem strange that while for the most part such vague words of time as *ἄρτίως*, *πάλαι*, *τότε*, are employed, as elsewhere in Tragedy, Teiresias in denouncing the catastrophe which is imminent should use the phrase "Not many days hence," or that he should speak of the effect which Creon's action has produced in distant cities.' Soph. vol. i. (second edition 1879, pp. 454—5, see also first edition 1871, pp. 398—9).

To put the question now with immediate reference to Aeschylus:—Do we find that he was compelled by the expectation of his audience to confine himself within the limits of an action that could be distinctly thought of as taking place in the course of a single revolution of the Sun? The interval which divides the first scene of the *Eumenides* from the rest of the play has been ruled out, as not in evidence. That is not quite fair. The absence of the Chorus no doubt makes some difference. But the assumption of such a license in any case throws an instructive light on the freedom of stage-convention generally with respect to time. And although this is an extreme instance, it is by no means unusual that many things should be supposed to happen between the Prologos and the Parodos. In the

¹ Cp. Aesch. *Ag.* 587 ff., 1372, *Cho.* 973 ff.

Oedipus Rex the summons for which *Oedipus* gives order is obeyed the moment he has spoken his command. The case of the *Antigone* has been noticed above. In the *Ajax* the exit of *Odysseus* is immediately followed by the entrance of those who have been excited by the report which he takes with him in leaving the stage. Now if in the *Eumenides* months or years might elapse between the exordium and what follows it, why may not the action of several days be silently assumed elsewhere between one epeisodion and the next? I say 'silently,' because the interval is of course not thought of. In the continuity of the idealized action the interruption of darkness and repose is eliminated, together with many other irrelevancies of actual life, by a tacit agreement between the poet and his audience. The skill of the playwright generally veils such breaks by using vague marks of time, such as *πάλαι*, *τότε*, *αὐτίκα*—but not *always*. And it may be instructive to note some cases in which *Aeschylus* has not done so.

(1) When *Orestes* knocks at the palace gate in the *Choëphoroe*, night is approaching (*Cho.* 660). He and *Pylades* are received and entertained, *Aegisthus* is sent for and is killed. *Clytemnestra* laments over him and is also killed. Then, while *Orestes* makes an elaborate defence, the web in which *Agamemnon* was entangled is spread out that the *Sun* may see it (*Cho.* 985). Is it not evident here that the poet, relying upon the strong impressions that have intervened, takes for granted that his audience have forgotten the approach of darkness which happened to suit the feeling of the previous scene? Nor is this all. *Orestes* afterwards (*Cho.* 1034) declares that he is setting out for *Delphi*, and the *Erinyes* chase him thither. It might add to the horror of this if it were supposed to take place at or after nightfall. That would be a strange moment for beginning a journey. But no such thought is present either to the poet or the spectators, who are too much absorbed in the scene before them to compare it critically with what precedes or follows.

(2) Similarly, in the *Supplices*, when the ship that brings *Aegyptus'* sons is seen, *Danaüs* consoles his daughters by telling them that the landing cannot be effected late in the evening (*Supp.* 769). Within 100 lines afterwards (*Supp.* 842) the Herald comes, and no contradiction is hinted as arising between this and that.

(3) In such a drama as the *Prometheus* one does not look for marks of time. Yet were

the play examined from this point of view, it would be found (1) that the alternation of day and night is one of the elements of the Titan's threatened suffering (*Prom.* 23); (2) that the effects of this are manifest in his appearance when *Io* visits him (*Prom.* 563); (3) that he himself who foresees all things anticipates a long sojourn in that joyless glen (*Prom.* 93). It does not follow that the spectator thinks of time as an element of the action at all. But he does not positively conceive of the whole action as occurring 'within one revolution of the sun.'

The difficulty that is made about *Agamemnon's* crossing the *Aegean* is thus reduced to very thin smoke indeed. 'But if the night was stormy, how could the beacon-light be seen?' My contention is that the herald need not be thinking of the night just past; but if he were, the contradiction would not be felt, any more than in the *Antigone* the dust-storm which saddens all the sky interrupts the colloquy between the Elders and *Creon*. No 'law of storms' was known to *Aeschylus* or his hearers by which the weather at *Lemnos* or *Athos* could be conjectured from a squall in the *Cyclades*. Nor is it likely that the spectator who is engrossed in the description of the tempest is expected to think at the same moment of the fire-signals.

There are two places in the *Agamemnon* which may be adduced to illustrate the *systole* and *diastole* which belong to the ideal management of time in Tragedy. *Clytemnestra* at l. 587 clearly speaks of the beacon-message as remote in time. (It is not the word *πάλαι* but the whole tenor of the language that conveys this meaning.) On the other hand *Agamemnon* speaks of the burning of *Troy* as if he had just seen it, l. 818:

καπνῷ δ' ἀλοῦσα νῦν ἔρ' εὔσημος πόλις.

As *Nauplius* has been referred to, it may be worth while to notice a similar touch in *Lycophron* 384, where the men whom he inveigled are said to have been 'heavy-headed' after their revel at *Troy*. How long had they been in crossing the *Aegean*? Or did they sail, like *Plato's* mariners, *πίνοντες καὶ εὐωχοῦντες εἰς μάλα*?—As to the leaping of the light from *Athos* to *Macistus*, the question of its actual possibility may be left with that of the shadow of *Athos* falling across the *Lemnian* cow, on which *Mr. Tozer* judiciously remarks:—

'The thing is an impossibility; but it is

not difficult to conjecture how the idea arose. . . . At one period of the summer the sun is seen from this part of Lemnos to set behind Athos. . . . This must be a striking sight, and one that would appeal to the imagination. In these facts we have the data from which the belief may have arisen. The desire of completeness, which is characteristic of the human mind, would readily supply what was wanting to amplify the fable' (*Islands of the Aegean*, p. 248).

The imposing height of Mount Athos (6500ft.) and of Macistus (Mount Dirphe in Euboea) would on the same principle suffice to supply grounds for a belief in the other marvel that would be strong enough for purposes of stage illusion. And if Time may be foreshortened why not Space likewise? On the whole, it seems to me that the difficulty raised by Dr. Verrall is no difficulty, simply because the *Agamemnon* is not a story but a play, in which the *neuvus* required is of a different kind. M. Francisque Sarcey's answer to the criticism of Aristotle and Voltaire on the *Oedipus Rex*, that *Oedipus could not have remained so long in ignorance of what was reported about Laius' death*, applies to many such misunderstandings: 'If this could not be supposed, we could have have had no play, and the play is excellent.'

But if the difficulty is slight, the theory by which Dr. Verrall seeks to remove it lands us in a much more serious difficulty. In all the other plays of Aeschylus the setting forth of the situation in the prologos and parodos is marked by the most luminous simplicity. In the *Agamemnon*, as the first play of a trilogy, one would expect the exposition to be more than usually straightforward and clear. And it is very full and clear according to the ordinary view. The beacon announces to Agamemnon's queen that Troy is taken. The watchman darkly hints at something wrong—whereon those who knew the outline of the story may think of Aegisthus. Before the entry of the Chorus, Clytemnestra has already caused sacrifices to be offered throughout the city in honour of the event. The success of the army, for which this occasions hope, recalls the doubtful omen at their setting forth, and the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Then Clytemnestra enters and confirms the news. Thus the groundwork of the action is sufficiently laid.

But according to Mr. Verrall, the Athenian spectator was expected to read between the lines, to go behind the watchman who is deceived, and Clytemnestra the

deceiver, and to foresee the development of a most intricate plot. The mere name of Mons Arachnaeus, the 'Spider Mountain,' is supposed to be enough to suggest to persons, who as we have seen were careless of topography, the nature of a district peculiarly well suited to be the lurking-place of a seditious band. The mention of the beacon, recalling the very different fraud of Nauplius, would raise the suspicion of a ruse, which the incredible story of the queen would turn to certainty. Not the taking of Troy, but the landing of Agamemnon and the march of Aegisthus on the city would be immediately inferred by the keen-witted Athenian audience, who would recognize accordingly in the 'conspiracy of sea and fire' an allusion to the plot arranged between the *deep* woman and the beacon-lighting man.

The obscurity of such an opening, in which it may be fairly said that mystification takes the place of exposition, is really without a parallel in dramatic literature. But it is more akin to the subtle ingenuity of Ford or Webster than to the simplicity of Greek tragedy. And if all this were implicit in the opening, it would be evolved in the *dénoûment*. But no such condition is fulfilled by the occurrence here and there of a few hesitating words, or the doubtful reading of 1644 ἀλλὰ σὺν γυνή, nor by the sudden appearance, which is required in any case, of Aegisthus with his body-guard.

(b) This leads us to the other limb of Dr. Verrall's theory, viz. his innovation in assigning speeches to conspirators in attendance on Clytemnestra, or to a soldier of Aegisthus' guard.

That in the plays of Aeschylus at certain crises the stage is crowded with supernumeraries, is an important fact, which the mere reader is apt to lose sight of. The attendants of the Danaïdes, the Cadmeian citizens whom Eteocles addresses, the guards of Aegisthus, the πρόπομποι in the *Eumenides*, with others who take part in the ceremonial there, are essential to the effect which he produces, in so far as this is spectacular and consists in outward magnificence (ὄψις). But nothing of this kind interferes with the parsimonious simplicity of the dialogue, in which even the second actor is as yet very sparingly employed. If it is proposed to give certain lines to one or other of the Choreutae, I have nothing to object. The dispute over the death-shriek (*Agam.* 1347 foll.) clearly shows that the chorus of the *Agamemnon* are not unanimous. Their action is hindered

(as it must be if the action is to proceed) not only by the feebleness of age or the fatal spell on Cassandra, but also by the want of loyalty in the last two speakers (ll. 1365—8). Timidity, the habit of submission and of assent, distrust of one another, may readily come out at moments in the evolution of the plot. And one of them may endorse Clytemnestra's declaration of her innocence (*Ag.* 618), and another may pray for the good of the Argive State (362 foll., 506—7) without being involved in any profound intrigue with Aegisthus and Clytemnestra. As for lines 1522—3:—

οὐτ' ἀνελεύθερον οἶμαι θάνατον
πῶδε γενέσθαι,

if they are to be retained at all, they should be made part of the speech of Clytemnestra with the simple change of οὐδ' for οὐτ'. Most certainly at this moment it would be quite intolerable for any third party (such as 'one of the Conspirators') to intervene and break the solemn altercation.

But, it is objected, the *πρόπομποι* in the *Eumenides*, and possibly the attendants in the *Supplices* have lines allotted to them. The latter requires proof. And in either case the exceptional treatment belongs not to the dialogue but to the choral business. It essentially forms part of the spectacular and lyrical effect. One scruple remains unremoved. Pollux (*Onom.* iv. c. 15) distinguishes *παραχορήγημα* from *παρασκήνιον*, as the introduction, not of an additional chorus, but of a *fourth* actor, and adds,

'they say this was done in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus.' But in which of the places, to which Mr. Verrall points, are these three actors already on the stage? The distinction drawn by Pollux lacks confirmation, and his reference to Aeschylus is not made at first hand.

Quotations and references in ancient writers are often puzzling. The opening of the *Choëphoroe* is quoted in Aristophanes as the beginning of the *Oresteia*. May not Pollux, in speaking of the *Agamemnon*, be thinking of the whole trilogy; and may not his remark refer to the exceptional treatment of the part of Pylades?

Dr. Verrall has very unusual powers, he is a clever writer, and he is genuinely in love with his subject. His influence is supported by the prestige of a great institution, whose services in the cause of Greek letters the whole world values. But it is the more necessary that the eccentric quality of his work should be honestly characterized, ὡς ὅσῳ ἂν ἐρρωμενέστερον ᾖ, τοσούτῳ πλείω κακὰ ἐργασόμενον.

One merit of his edition of Aeschylus must in conclusion be gratefully acknowledged. It is no small comfort to have at last issuing from an English press a text of the poet diverging so seldom from the Medicean. This advantage would be enhanced if such divergences as do occur were more distinctly noted—e.g. 429 *πειθήμονες, 463 *συγκότων, 720* οὔτας, 791 *ἐπη κεύσω, 1076* κάρτα, val.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA.

Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia. Recognovit
GREGORIUS N. BERNARDAKIS. Vol. II
Lipsiae, Teubner, 1889. 3 Mk.

THIS volume, being the second of the Work noticed in Vol. iii p. 35 f, contains—besides the five spurious compositions, the 'apophthegms of kings and great commanders,' 'Laconic apophthegms,' 'Laconic laws,' 'the Greek and Roman parallels,' 'apophthegms of Spartan women'—the following treatises:—'concerning the virtues of women,' 'the Roman questions,' 'the Greek questions,' 'on the fortune of the Romans,' 'of the fortune or valour of Alexander the Great,' 'whether the Athen-

ians were more renowned for their warlike achievements or their learning,' and the theosophical essay on Isis and Osiris. The notes on the text are somewhat scantier than those in the former volume, in which the editor's work was considerably lightened by the labours of his predecessor R. Hercher. There is no attempt at an *apparatus criticus*, which is reserved for the promised larger edition. Until the appearance of this, it is premature to pronounce an opinion on the editor's qualifications as a textual critic: we must take on trust for the present the results which he offers us of his collation of MSS. There is so far a disadvantage in issuing the smaller edition in advance of the larger.

M. Bernardakis has therefore some reason to complain of the discourteous comment on his labours by the celebrated Professor Wilamowitz Möllendorff of Göttingen in the *commentariolum grammaticum* which accompanies the *Index Scholarum* of his University for the summer session of 1889. The Professor's critical examination of a long passage from Erotian's *Lexicon Hippocrateum* leads him incidentally to a comparison of that writer's long periods with those of Plutarch, and he goes out of his way to notice a *bella res*, as he phrases it, in connection with Plutarch. In the treatise περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας Plutarch ch. i. quotes a line from Homer and in the next chapter a verse from the *Laocoon* (not, as the writer gives it, the *Antenoridae*) of Sophocles. Hercher had referred to Nauck's *fragmenta tragicorum* for both quotations *fraudis in hexametro tragico nihil odoratus*. Bernardakis has unfortunately repeated the error, placing too much confidence in Hercher to think it worth while to verify his references. Several other instances might have been adduced of similar negligence, e.g. p. 60 F, where ὑπερόπτως is given by both as Wytttenbach's reading instead of ὑπόπτως. But, says our Editor, *pusilli animi est talia premere et castigare*; we will therefore not expose ourselves to the charge, though we are free to confess that our confidence is shaken in an editor who omits to verify his references. However, Möllendorff professes that he should not have taken notice of this slip, but for the undeserved praise which has been bestowed in some quarters upon the *mercennaria opera*, *quam ille in provincia collocavit per Hercheri mortem deserta*; and he continues thus: *Hercle aliud est recensere librum, aliud emendatiunculas aliquot excogitare quamvis elegantes et hiatus pernumerare. Bernardaces quid ipse possit, in proximis demum tomis aestimari poterit; unum iam nunc constat, fundamentum recensione non esse iactum, atque vehementissime optandum est, ut is qui indefesso studio, prospero successu, summa modestia viam ad codices Plutarcheos et cognoscendos et aestimandos aperuit, ab aemulo parum liberaliter virtuti et gloriæ suæ detractante ne se patiatur deterri*—*Maximilianum Trevium dico* (A list of the writings of Treu on the subject is given in the *Class. Rev.* vol. iii p. 36 note 1). Bernardakis after indignantly repudiating the notion of his *opera* being *mercennaria*, if by that is meant a speculation *quaestus causa*, dwells on the trying circumstances under which he pursued his task—difficulties which, he ventures

to assert, the Göttingen Professor would never have faced. He then appeals to the preface of his first Volume in disproof of the charge which his antagonist brings against him of wantonly depreciating the labours of Treu. He has said nothing against that scholar, the truth of which cannot be demonstrated. The fact is that Wilamowitz-Möllendorff is not such an *idoneus index* as he thinks himself. We have only to look at his comments on the passage from Erotian, which he has undertaken to amend, to convince ourselves of this. Bernardakis then, after passing a trenchant criticism on the suggested emendations of this obscure writer, in order to prove the Professor's *summa graeci sermonis imperitia*, concludes by saying that he might have spared himself the trouble, if he had referred to the *Index Schol. Gott.* 1884 where the Professor proposes to substitute the optative προσπίπτει (sic) for the indicative προσπίπτει. After this every one must allow *Udalricum de Wilamowitz-Möllendorff illotis manibus scriptores graecos attricare*.

Such is Bernardakis's spirited vindication of himself against an unmerited attack. The director of the gymnasium at Mitylene may hold his own against any German Professor in knowledge of Greek, but his Latinity certainly leaves something to be desired: such slips as *non ipso auctori deberi, liber quo error insit, textus emendatio ipsius scriptoris sermoni innitenda est* are unbecoming a Head Master according to English notions.

Studia critica in Plutarchi Moralia. Scripsit
SOPUS CHR. LARSEN. Hauniae: 1889. In
Libraria Hagerupiana. 3 Mk. 50.

This is a dissertation, which has obtained for its author the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In the preface he has some sensible remarks on the MSS of Plutarch: he differs from Bernardakis in his estimate of the Paris *D*, some of the apparently good readings of which he regards as conjectural emendations and interpolations. Such was the opinion of Dübner also.

He attempts to account for the unsatisfactory condition of the existing MSS of the *Moralia* by supposing that the originals from which they were transcribed were written not on parchment but on paper: hence the number of *lacunae*, which can never be restored. The rest of the dissertation is taken up with critical notes on various passages from the treatises contained in the first volume of the Teubner edition.

Our limits prevent us from making more than a general statement, that some of the corrections the writer proposes carry conviction with them, and must be accepted by

future editors, while nearly all show great ingenuity and an intimate knowledge of the language of Plutarch. His criticism both of Hercher and of Bernardakis is very just.
H. A. HOLDEN.

A PLAUTINE PALIMPSEST OF THE AMBROSIAN LIBRARY.

T. Macci Plauti Fabularum Reliquiae Ambrosianae, by GULIELMUS STUEMUND (Berlin, Weidmann, 1889). 70 Mk.

THE present year will be memorable in the annals of Plautine criticism by the publication of a work which Plautine scholars have been eagerly expecting during a quarter of a century. Hitherto the *Codex Ambrosianus*—a palimpsest of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, containing, beneath a roughly executed MS. of parts of the Old Testament, a MS. of Plautus of the fourth or even the third century—has been in a certain sense the *peculium* of one man. The late Professor Studemund devoted the main energy of his life to deciphering the sadly mutilated and obliterated text, and it has been generally recognized among Plautine scholars that he had acquired a special skill in reading it. Others have no doubt published their readings of parts; so old a MS.—perhaps the very oldest specimen in existence of any Latin author—could not fail to attract attention: and as early as 1815 Cardinal Mai published his *M. Acii Plauti fragmenta inedita*. Mai was followed by Ritschl, Schwarzmann and Geppert, and in recent years by Loewe. But the *Apographon* of Studemund has two advantages over the work of these scholars; firstly it is the only complete collation of the whole MS.; secondly it comes later and has been drawn up with full knowledge of what previous collators have read or believed themselves to have read in it.

The *Apographon* is not a mere facsimile of the palimpsest, such as it would have been easy to produce by the aid of photography, but which would have been of comparatively little value: for to the ordinary scholar this MS. is illegible, as the single page of facsimile (from Wattenbach-Zangemeister) appended to the present volume shows. The *Apographon* presents us with all that Studemund was himself able to read, in the light of his intimate knowledge of the MS. as a whole; the results of his indefatigable labours in interpreting the riddle which each page offers are here made public property. Each

letter has been made the subject of special study, and an elaborate system of signs shows with the utmost clearness what is legible, what is partially legible, and what is illegible.¹ On the occasion of a recent visit to Berlin I enjoyed the privilege of inspecting Studemund's MS., on the basis of which 'copy' was prepared for the printer. It is evident at a glance that incredible pains have been bestowed upon the work; every page is covered with notes and comments, in which difficult passages are discussed and the results of an examination of the readings of other scholars (published while the *Apographon* was in progress²) are recorded with the most conscientious care. But what is of even greater interest is the evidence which these pages afford that Studemund was not concerned to read *more* than others; he did not give the rein to his imagination or allow the wish to be father to the thought. On the contrary he appears to have imposed upon himself the most severe restraint, and to have fixed his mind upon determining with all possible definiteness and finality what is to be recovered from a study of the palimpsest and what is lost for ever.

His collation will thus command the confidence of scholars. Any one who collates hereafter will have in Studemund's work a firm basis of operations. But it is a great question whether anything further can be gleaned. It is hardly likely that any one will approach the task with Studemund's knowledge and perseverance; moreover the effects of time and of the severe tests to which the MS. has been submitted have rendered it less legible than it was fifty years ago. One hears—almost with a sigh of

¹ See the specimen page forwarded by Messrs. Nutt with the April No. of the *Classical Review*.

² The readings of Geppert (published in his *Plautinische Studien* I., II.) and those of Loewe (published in the *Analecta Plautina* by him, in the editions of the *Epidicus* and *Mercator* by Ritschl's successors, in the *Miles* and the *Rheinisches Museum* by Ribbeck) have all been compared with the original. A very valuable feature of Studemund's collation is that he frequently appends notes stating what *cannot* have stood in the MS. That Studemund owed a good deal to the labours of his predecessors—especially of Loewe—is highly probable.

relief—that it is falling to pieces. From the ashes of the palimpsest arises the phoenix of the *Apographon*—a splendid substitute, which no Plautine scholar can afford to neglect and which must find a place in every classical library.

For the publication of this invaluable work we are indebted to Professor Oskar Seyffert, whose name is with characteristic modesty appended to only two notes, but who undertook the task of completing and issuing the *Apographon* after the death of his friend last autumn. More than half of the elaborate *Prooemium*, which supplements the collation by a number of important facts, and nearly the whole of the *Index Orthographicus*, a valuable addition running to twenty-five quarto pages, are Dr. Seyffert's work. The work of the editor was commenced under the direction of Studemund, as he lay on his death-bed, and has been faithfully completed within some eight months of his decease.

The question presents itself: Why did Studemund so long delay the publication of this much needed work? He began his collation in the year 1864 and part of it was in type as early as 1866. The answer must be found partly in the character of the man, who was never willing to publish anything until he had satisfied himself that absolutely every means of securing accuracy had been exhausted; he repeatedly visited Milan in order to test his readings by a comparison with the original and with the readings of other scholars. Partly too the elaborate character of the work accounts for the delay; to carry out consistently through 251 leaves of the MS. a system of signs indicating the precise degree of legibility of each word and letter is no light task. Again the scheme of writing a comprehensive *Prooemium*, which was to contain the exposition and justification of his method, was a formidable piece of work for one whose studies extended to many other fields besides that of Plautine criticism, who was a most energetic teacher, and who, when Professor at Strassburg, took an active part in organizing secondary education in Alsace. Lastly he appears to have intended to wait for the completion of the edition of Ritschl—still in progress—in order to submit its critical apparatus to a final comparison with his own collation.

It would be difficult and perhaps premature to estimate the total effect which this publication will have upon the text of Plautus. On some passages where previous collations have been defective it throws a flood

of light. Thus the next edition of the *Mostellaria* will certainly differ from all previous editions in lines 940—945, which in the *Apographon* runs as follows:—

... SSENEXQUIDTUPERCUNCTAREA ... QUOD-
NIK'IL ... TIN ...
... LADMEATTIN ... NISIFORTEFACTUSPRAE-
FECTUSNOUUS
QUIRESALIENASPROCURESQUAERASUIDEASAUDIAS
... N ... NTISTAEAE ... UBISTATIS QUIDAISANI-
AMUENDIDIT
AE ... KILOLACKESAUTQUIDEMISTENOSDEFRU.
RATURSENEX
UERADICOSEDQUIDUOBISESTNEGOTIKIC ELOQUAR
i.e.

ADV. Heús senex, quid tú percunctare ád te quod nihil áttinet?

TH. Nihil ad me attinét? ADV. Nisi forte fáctus praefectús nous,

Quí res aliénas procures, quáeras, uideas, aúdias.

TH. Nón sunt istae aedés ubi statís.² ADV. Quid ais? An iam uéndidit

Aédes Philolachés? PHAN. Aut quidem iste nós defrustratúr³ senex.

TH. Véra dico: séd quid uobis ést negoti hic? ADV. Éloquar.

The extent of the gain may be seen by a comparison with the passage as read by Geppert and printed in recent editions:

ADV. * nec quid tu percunctator * * *
* * * * prae triennio bonus
* * * quae * * audias
* quid uis animule * * *
* * * huc quidem est * *
TH. * * sed quid uobis est negoti
hic? ADV. Eloquar.

It will be seen that Geppert's reading was not only far from complete, but also (it may safely be said) incorrect: Studemund's version bears upon its face the stamp of genuineness.⁴ It will be seen that the names of the speakers have disappeared

¹ H is regularly written K in the Ambrosian—an affectation of the scribe.

² 'The house before which you stand is not a *res aliena* to me': or should we read Nón sunt *meae* istae aedés ubi statís (as a question)?

³ A new compound of *frustari*.

⁴ The above passage does not appear at all in the 'Palatine recension' (BCD), which here and in many other passages (e.g. the last scene of the *Casina*) exhibits an abbreviated form of the original text. On the other hand there are passages in the *Bacchides* and *Captivi* (e.g. 1016-1022) in which the 'Ambrosian recension' presents the abbreviated form, verses being omitted in the latter which are contained in BCD. In neither case is the difference due to accidental omissions.

from the Ambrosian MS.; the reason is that they were written in *minium* and were washed out when the parchment was prepared for the reception of the book of Kings. The number of passages in which less extensive but still very valuable improvements may be made in the text of Plautus is naturally greater; an example is *Captivi* iv. 3. 7, where we must now read

Núnc ibo ut pro praefectura meá ius dicam
lárido.

How far astray criticism may go if based on imperfect collations of MSS. may be seen from the common reading (based on Geppert):

Núnc ibo ut properem in praefecturam, ut
ius dicam lárido.

The true reading in *Capt.* iv. 4. 5 is still not clear; but it is certain that Geppert read wrongly.

On the other hand there are a number of Plautine lacunae in regard to which the

Apographon will doubtless disappoint hopes of far-reaching improvements in the text (so especially in the *Trinummus* and in the last scene of the *Casina*); in such passages it is however at least satisfactory to know definitely that there is no chance of restoration from the Ambrosian MS.

This work of Studemund was a labour of love, which must have cost him both time and money. During his life he earned the gratitude of scholars by the courtesy with which he was ever ready to communicate his readings in answer to enquiries; now that he has been removed by an untimely death it is only possible *grata eius uirtutem memoria prosequi*.

It would not be right to conclude this notice without a word of recognition to the publisher and printer of this handsome volume, which appears to have been produced regardless of expense and is a model and masterpiece of typography.

E. A. SONNENSCHIN.

POSTGATE'S CATULLUS.

Gai Valeri Catulli Carmina, recognouit IOH.
P. POSTGATE. Londini: Bell, 1889. 3s.

It is an open secret that this dainty little volume forms the first specimen of Mr. Postgate's projected *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*. It belongs to that convenient sort of critical edition with short foot-notes, which is common in Germany, but rare in this country. Critical editions are of two kinds: the larger (such as Mr. Ellis's *Catullus*) contain a full apparatus criticus, and are addressed to scholars who are working exhaustively at the author in question or at minute points of language, spelling, literature, etc., upon which it is important to have the MSS. evidence about the smallest trifles: the smaller critical editions, like this of Mr. Postgate, give variations only in passages where serious doubt can arise. It is important that the evidence such as the larger critical edition contains should be once for all collected; but to most readers it is not important that they should be confronted with all these details. On the other hand the use of such a book as Mr. Postgate's is highly stimulating, and far preferable to a plain text. The variants at the foot of the page serve as danger signals; they indicate that it is

not all safe ground over which we are passing; they excite curiosity and reflection and render reading more thorough and effective than would have been the case had a plain text only been used. Mr. Postgate, whose recension is based on Schwabe's second edition (Weidmann, 1886), follows Schwabe in giving the main variations of O (the Oxford MS.) and G (the Sangermanensis, Paris 14137), which represent the Verona archetype, and when they agree are indicated as V. In lxii. the readings of T (Thuaneus, which contains this poem only) are quoted. The other MSS. are rarely mentioned. It is questionable whether it would not have been better to cite them occasionally either specially, as Schwabe does, or under some general sign; for it is clear that they do in many cases preserve the genuine tradition, which has been corrupted in V, and that the pedigree of MSS. as given by Ellis (prolegg. to ed. crit. p. lix.) is substantially correct. Thus their exclusion is likely to mislead; e.g. ii. 13 *ligatam*, Mr. Postgate's note is '*ligatam* Prisc. I. 22, *negatam* V.' As a fact *ligatam* is the reading of seven of Schwabe's and eleven of Ellis's manuscripts; and the evidence is hardly fairly stated by referring it to Priscian. It might indeed be argued that

all these MSS. represent a recension of some Italian scholar who got the true reading from Priscian, but that is far from probable. In li. 5, *misero quod*, for which V has *miseroque*, is the reading of several MSS., and it cannot be said to be proved that such a reading is due solely to the Italians, as the omission of its source in the note would lead us to infer. At any rate if Mr. Postgate holds that a large number of these numerous slight corrections of V were made by Italian scholars, it goes a long way to prove Mr. Ellis's position that the early Italian scholars have done more for the text of Catullus than their successors, of which Mr. Postgate says 'contra ipsum Ellis acerrime pugnabimus.' (Notable examples are xxxiv. 3, 23; xlv. 7; xlviii. 4; lxi. 158, where it might have been stated that *serviat* is the correction of Pisanus.)

Mr. Postgate dedicates his book to Mr. Ellis, and fully recognises his great services to Catullus. Indeed there is no scholar to whom the present generation in England owes more than to Mr. Ellis: he has taught us to study the classics with a thoroughness almost more than German, and with that enthusiasm and genuine love of learning which shrinks from no labour, and refuses to take account of no consideration even the slightest. It is by such patient toil that the pathway towards the truth is extended. Mr. Postgate's recension holds a middle place between the conservatism of Mr. Ellis and the wild adventurousness of Baehrens, and is typical of the cautious soundness of good English scholarship. The editor has introduced the following emendations of his own: ii. 7-8 *et solaciolum sui doloris*, | *credo, et quo gravis acquiescat ardor*, which is convincing. x. 26 *istos: commodum enim: uolo ad Sarapim*, this seems too abrupt; I think *commode* is right. xxix. 20 *eine Galliae ultima et Britanniae?* is clever but rather remote from the MSS. xxxi. 13 *liquidæ* for *lidie* is convincing. xxxviii. 2 *et, <ei>*, *laboriose* pleases me less than Sillig's *et <est> laboriose*; *est* might easily be absorbed into *et*. lv. 29 *quos iunctos, Cameri, mihi <ut> dicares* is an improvement. lxii. 22 *complexum* for *complexu* I do not like, as it involves a change of construction. *ib.* 53 from *acoluere* T, for which V has *coluere*, Postgate reads *a, coluere*, where the interjection is to my ear rather abrupt. Emendation by the insertion of interjections, *a*, *o*, and *ei*, one of the favourite devices of Baehrens, should in my opinion be used very sparingly, and I cannot think that Mr. Postgate is wise in following Baehrens in reading *tacita, a,*

quem mente requirunt in lxii. 37. lxiii. 63 *ego enim uir* is highly ingenious for *ego mulier*; but after Ellis' note I incline to think the MSS. reading genuine. lxiv. 11 *prora* is introduced (O has *proram* in the margin by a later hand); but the sense given is weak, *prima* the reading of the depreciated Datanus is more forcible. (Here it might have been stated that *Amphitrite* is the present reading of O, not a mere conjecture of Ellis. The line above the final *e*, which shows that *Amphitrite* was the original reading is very faint.) *ib.* 16 *illa (quaue alia?)* is read after Munro. *ib.* 109 for *lateque cum eius obuia (omnia) frangens* Postgate reads *late casu cuncta obuia frangens*. Here *cuncta* is harsh. I suggest *lateque comeis cadit obuia frangens*. Mr. Ellis has just communicated to me a new emendation of his own of this line for publication: he reads *late quæuis cumque obuia frangens*. lxvi. 59 for *hi dii uen ibi uario* Postgate reads *inde Venus, uario*. I propose *diuini hic uario*, supposing *hic* ('here in heaven') to have been glossed *ibi*, and then to have been transposed before *diuini*: for *diuini caeli* then *cp.* Prop. I. xviii. 27 'diuini fontes.' lxvii. 12 *uerum, is mos populi, ianua quippe facil* is hardly convincing. lxviii. 142 *opus* for *onus* is neat, as it gives the meaning 'thankless task' which Munro saw to be required. lxxiii. 4 *immo taedet obestque et magis atque magis* surely is not right, for besides being awkward, it leaves the *etiam* of the MSS. unaccounted for, and *nihil fecisse benigne* (l. 3) seems to have no construction. More probable is the reading of Avantius, adopted by Ellis and Schwabe, *prodest: immo etiam taedet obestque magis*: *cp.* Ou. *Trist.* III. iv. 8 'non prosit potius, si quis obesse potest.' xcix. 15 *poenam misero proponis amoris* for *amori* seems unnecessary; *misero amori* = *mihi misero amanti*, is quite in the manner of the Latin poets, see Postgate's Propertius intr. p. xcv. cxiv. 6 *saltus laudemus commoda, dum ipse egeat* is attractive. cxv. 1 *uester* for *instar* is ingenious, but it is hard to see how the common *uester* should have been corrupted into the harder and rarer *instar*. In vi. 7 a neat alteration in the stopping is made, but I cannot approve of *moechatur mentula? certe* (xciv. 2); no question is required in place of the effective ironical affirmative 'that is certainly the function of a mentula.' The parallels quoted by Ellis and Baehrens make against Mr. Housman's *aperit* for *perit* in lxiv. 282.

I venture to call Mr. Postgate's attention to the following points where I do not feel quite convinced: xlv. 9 and 18 it seems

necessary to read either with Ellis *dextram*, or with Schwabe *dextra* in both places. lxiv. 100 Ritschl's *fuluore* for *fulgore* is doubtful, for though *fuluus* is often used of gold, the colour *fuluus* was tawny rather than pale. lxiv. 140 *miseræ* V should perhaps be kept; Mr. Postgate reads *miseram*: but *iubeo* with dative though rare is accredited. lxv. 1 *defectum* O for *confectum* G seems doubtful. *ib.* 9 I fancy the defective line as preserved in D can hardly be due to an Italian corrector, who would never have left the line incomplete. Read: *adloquar, audiero numquam t<e> uo<ce> loquentem*. In lxviii. 65 *imploratei* Schwabe for *implorate* V is surely preferable to *implorata* ω, though Schwabe has abandoned it in his new edition.

In an exacting work like this a few errors have naturally escaped the editor. In ix. 1 it should be stated that all MSS. have *e* except O, which omits it, whence Baehrens read *o*. li. 8 the supplement assigned by Postgate after Schwabe (ed. 1886) to F. Ritter, and by Ellis to Heyse, who prints it in his text, seems to have been first made by Doering in his edition of 1834, to whom Schwabe (ed. 1866) assigns it. *ib.* 11 it should have been stated that the reading in the text *geminæ* is Schrader's conjecture, and is not found in any MS., as the note might lead one to infer it is. lxiv. 119 for 'Buchel,' read 'Buechel.' lxvi. 7 *limine* was conjectured by Heinsius before Baehrens. *ib.* 91 *siris* should apparently be assigned to Lachmann not Haupt: here also the MSS. reading is omitted: add *uestris* V. lxviii. 118 *qui tamen indomitam* is the conjecture of Heyse not Heinsius. *ib.* 128 *quam quæ* was printed in the edition of Avantius long before Voss. In lxxi. 1 the corrupt MSS. reading *uiro* (whence *iure* Palladius' restoration in the text) has been omitted in the note. lxxvi. 23 for *nom* read *non*. Frag. vii. in Ou. *Trist.* II. 429 *ea* not *eo* is the right reading.

I conclude with a few suggestions, bronze, I am afraid, for gold. v. 6 perhaps *dormi-unda* should be written, as thus the effective *u* alliteration is increased. vi. 12 read perhaps *nam mi te ualet ista nil tacere*. viii. 15 read *re re* from the Cuiacianus, 'what real life': cp. Cic. *Sest.* § 71 'respirasse homines uidebantur nondum re.' xxv. 5 I suggest *cum dira nauitas hiemps ostendit oscitantes*, i.e. gaping half drowned in the water, gaping and swallowing the water: cp. Hom. *Od.* xii. 350 πρὸς κῆμα χανὸν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι, Prop. II. xxiv. 27 'naufragus

ebibat undas,' *ibid.* III. vii. 52 'miser inuisam traxit hiatus aquam.' xxix. 20 read *hunc Galliae timent et hunc Britanniae*. lv. 9 read *auersas sic ipse flagitabam* 'with my own lips I kept asking them as they turned away.' lxi. 129 *punctuate satis diu|lusisti: nucibus lubet| iam seruire Tulasio*. lxii. 63 read after T partly, with Muretus, *tertia pars patris est, pars est data tertia matri*: cp. Mart. XIV. 174, 2 'pars est una patris, cetera matris habet.' lxiv. 16 read perhaps *illa haud multa alia* for the nymphs did appear occasionally, though not frequently, to mortals. *ib.* 118 as Minos and Pasiphae had four daughters (Apollod. III. i. 2) I propose *ut consanguinearum amplexum*. *ib.* 122 read *aut ut eam Diae deuinctam lumina somno*. Here *Diae* fell out on account of the neighbouring *Diae* in the line before: cp. lxvii. 27 where I think Ellis rightly reads *unde unde*, and see Palmer, Ovid's *Heroides*, pref. pp. xxvii—xxxi. *ibid.* 344 read perhaps *cum Phrygiae Teucro manabit sanguine tellus* cp. Culex 306 'Teucra quom magno manaret sanguine tellus.' *ib.* 368 here GO have *malescent*, and a British Museum MS. *polixene*. Read *alta Polixeniane malescent caede sepulchra?* The graphic question would imply that the prophesy will surely take effect. *ib.* 387 *reuisens* has, I think, crept in from 376. Read *reuertens* 'returning from heaven to earth': lxvi. 12 as Syria not Assyria seems to have been the country devastated read *uastatum finis iuerat ante Syros*. *ib.* 28 read *quo nil fortius*. *ib.* 77 read *quicum ego, dum uirgo quondam fuit omnibus expers, | unguentorum una milia multa bibi*. A Paris MS. 8236 (Rossbach p. vii.) has *unguentorum*. I take *omnibus expers* as 'free from lovers': cp. Plaut. *Pseud.* I. v. 83 'amoris expers.' lxviii. 156 read *domus usque in qua* cp. xlv. 14. xlviii. 2 (Postgate's *illa in qua* is paleographically improbable). lxviii. 157–160 as *domina* (156) must be the mistress of the house (Ellis), not Catullus' mistress, whom he would not mention slightly as *domina*, and then more fully in 157–160, I transpose the couplets and read *et longe ante omnes—mihist, et qui principio nobis te transdedit Anser, a quo—bona*. xcv. 4 I offer the following supplement: *milia cum interea quingenta Hortensius uno | <stans pede uerbosus carmina composuit>*. Cp. Hor. *Sat.* I. iv. 10. Horace often imitates Catullus, slightly varying his expressions, e.g. sup. 1 = A. P. 388: see Munro, *Criticisms* pp. 42, 210, 236, 243.

S. G. OWEN.

SOME EDITIONS OF THE *ILIAD*.

Homeri Ilias. Scholarum in usum edidit PAULUS CAUER. Pars I. Carm. I.—XII. Editio Maior. Vienna, Tempsky; Leipzig, Freytag. 3m.
Ditto. Ditto. Editio Minor. 1m. 75.

The First Three Books of Homer's Iliad, with Introduction, Commentary, and Vocabulary for the use of schools. By THOMAS D. SEYMOUR, Hillhouse Professor of Greek in Yale College. Boston, Ginn.

Homer's Ilias in Verkürzter Ausgabe. Für den Schulgebrauch von A. TH. CHRIST. Mit 9 Abbildungen und 2 Karten. Vienna, Tempsky. 1 fl. 30 kr.

CAUER's *Odyssey* was noticed in the first volume of the *C. R.* p. 198; it is now followed in due course by the *Iliad*, of which the first volume is before us. It is with Rzach's edition that comparison is challenged, for the two are issued by the same publisher, and appear to form part of the same series, though not quite uniform in size and type.

While Rzach gives a continuous *apparatus criticus*, chiefly from the scholia and grammarians, but with occasional reference to the variants of C and D as well as A, Cauer confines himself to only so much as is required to explain his deviations from the vulgate. In this he is wise; it is useless in our present ignorance as to the MSS. to attempt to offer an apparatus which is more than a mere skeleton. And Cauer's attitude is on the whole a conservative one; he does not vary from the MS. reading without cause. He has nothing to say to the digamma, believing it to have been entirely lost when the corpus of the Homeric poems took its present Ionic form, about 750 B.C.; though he yields so far to Fick as to admit that some fragments of the older Aeolic epic have been incorporated in it. It would be interesting to know what he makes of the evidence for a lost Φ for $\Phi\epsilon$, (ϵ) in Ω 154. If he admits this, and it is difficult to deny it, then it follows that Φ was a living sound even for the latest poets of the *Iliad*; for it is hardly conceivable that ϵ alone could have made position in deference to tradition while vanishing entirely from the text.

The Preface and Introduction (pp. 64) deal chiefly with questions of orthography, and contain many good remarks. The least satisfactory perhaps is the section in which the editor defends his consistent introduction of the non-assimilated forms of the verbs with vowel stems, *ἀντιάουσαν* for *ἀντιώσαν* and the like, which form the most important part of his deviations from the accepted text. Wackernagel's theory is hardly so unassailable as to justify the change in a school text.

In individual passages it may be noticed that he adopts Nauck's *καλέοντος* for *καλ δαιτός* in Δ 343, and Heyne's suggestion *ἐκευθον ἂν* for *ἐκευθάνον*, Γ 453. It is strange that he should still keep the unmetrical *γυναικα γαμέσεται* in his text in Γ 394, and mention Aristarchos' *γυναικά γε μάσεται* only in the note. On A 447 I am glad to see a correction of one of La Roche's careless blunders which has misled Rzach; it is quite true that *κλειτήν* is the reading of the MSS., not *ιερήν*, as La Roche distinctly implies. *μαρναμένους* in Z 256 for *μαρνάμενοι*, and *περὶ κάλλιμα* Z 321 for *περικαλλέα*, are quite needless changes. On every few pages Cauer writes *οὐ δέ* for *οὐδέ* when it is used in an adversative sense, with a note '*οὐδέ libri*.' How does he distinguish the two in a MS.?

The text is in short a conservative one, with curious and rather irregular tendencies to advanced reform. It is, however, a very useful one, and well printed. The only misprint I have noticed is *ἐπῆρατον*

or *ἐπῆρατον* in the note on Γ 223. The *Editio Minor* consists of the text only, without introduction or critical notes.

The name of Prof. T. D. Seymour is in itself sufficient guarantee for the excellence of the edition of the first three books of the *Iliad* which he has based on the well-known German edition of Ameis and Hentze. The one before us is a school edition condensed from the fuller adaptation in the 'College Series.' The notes in the main follow Hentze, expanding his very condensed style; but a great deal of illustrative literary matter has been added, especially in the shape of parallel passages from Milton and the Bible. The grammatical introduction has been adapted from Prof. Seymour's own *Introduction to the Language and Verse of Homer*. The most characteristic feature of the book is the vocabulary at the end. This is not merely a list of words with English equivalents, but contains a number of illustrations taken from Helbig. Considerable care has been bestowed on the explanations, particularly of the prepositions and particles, and on the mythological articles. As to the practical value of such a vocabulary in a book which is too advanced for mere beginners, schoolmasters must decide; but if that be granted, there can be no doubt that the edition is excellently suited to its purpose.

Schoolmasters too, not critics, must say if they require a condensed *Iliad* for teaching purposes, such as has been published by A. Th. Christ—who of course is not to be confounded with the Munich *Altmeister*. For Austria, where a virtuous government requires the use of Bowdlerized editions even of Homer, such a condensation has a justification; for the excisions are on so liberal a scale that the numbering of the lines affords no help to the naughty boy on the look-out for improprieties. A third of the whole *Iliad* is omitted. The lines rejected sometimes form whole episodes; for instance Thetis does not appear at all in Ω , and the deceiving of Zeus vanishes from Ξ . In other cases single lines only are left out, either as being superfluous, or as causing needless difficulties. There is no doubt that such a method of treatment has advantages, as giving boys more story and less digression, but it removes the book from the range of serious criticism. It is enough to say that the excisions seem to be ingeniously done, and that the text reads smoothly. There are two fair maps, and little illustrated excursions of no special merit on the armour and chariots, and on the scene of the war, indices of proper names, and an introduction which gives some hints at the problem of the composition of the poems.

W. LEAF.

Anthologia Lyrica, sive lyricorum Graecorum veterum praeter Pindarum reliquiae petiores. Post THEODORUM BERGKIUM, quartum edidit Eduardus Hiller. Leipzig: 1890.

WHEN Bergk died in 1881, he had almost completed a fourth and definitive edition of the *Lyrici Graeci*, but only the first volume, containing Pindar, had appeared. His literary executor Schäfer put the task of bringing out the second and third volumes into the hands of E. Hiller, who performed it so as to give general satisfaction. Hiller has now brought out in the Teubner series of Greek texts a new edition of Bergk's small text of the *Anthologia Lyrica*, containing the fragments of the iambic, elegiac, and melic poets, or substantially the same material as vols. 2 and 3 of the *Lyrici Graeci*. He proposes to edit in a separate volume the fragments of the later poets which were included in the first edition of the *Anthologia Lyrica*.

In this edition Hiller has further revised the text in a good many places, of which a list is given in the preface, and has considerably altered the arrangement. The iambic and elegiac poets are placed by him in a single series, in order, he says, to avoid the awkwardness of a cross division in the case of poets who, like Archilochus, Crates and Solon, wrote both elegiacs and iambs. Perhaps the matter is of little consequence, but it seems hardly worth while to disturb an arrangement with which every one is familiar; and if carried out logically, the principle would involve still greater changes, for there are many elegiac pieces among the fragments of the melic poets. An index gives the variations made in this edition from Bergk's numbering. Following the authority of Choeroboscus, Hiller makes Simonides of Amorgos appear under the name of Semonides.

J. W. M.

Xenophon's Hellenica. Book II. With Analysis and Notes, by the Rev. LAUNCELOT D. DOWDALL. Cambridge, Deighton, Bell and Co., 1889. 1s. 6d. (Cambridge Texts with Notes.)

THIS tragic chapter of Athenian history is a well-chosen addition to the present series. For the introduction of the junior student to the subjects of Athenian history, political antiquities, and topography, no better choice could be made. The present edition is based upon the text of Breitenbach (1884), with two or three deviations. A useful analysis is prefixed. The notes contain much excellent illustrative material, but insufficiently digested and ill-arranged. Critical and controversial matter has no place in an edition for the use of students who need the information that Βυζάντιον is the 'modern Constantinople, founded A.D. 330, taken by Turks 1453.' If critical notes must be given in such a book, they should be relegated to an appendix. The note from which a quotation is made above is an example of the editor's tendency to bring in irrelevant information. The mere mention of Byzantium in the text leads to the statement that the Turkish crescent is said to date from 339 B.C., when a light in the sky saved it from capture by the Macedonians.

Much of the historical and political matter contained in the notes might have been given more clearly and comprehensively in a general introduction, which should state also the situation at the opening of the work. Proper names are not treated uniformly here: e.g. we find Cleisthenes and Clisthenes; Piræus, Piræceus, and Peiræceus. The type is clear, but too small for a text-book. Misprints are not common. Oddly enough, the section-heading 1—4 is allowed to stand unchanged at the top of every page of the notes!

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Pauli Orosii Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII. ex recogn. CAROLI ZANGEMEISTER. Lipsiae. B. G. Teubner 1889. 3 Mk.

Little more than a reprint of Zangemeister's edition (1882) for the Vienna *Corpus*. There are a few additions (p. xvi.) to the critical materials, and a list is given of passages in which a change has been made. Upon the whole however the differences are trifling.

Studia Ambrosiana scripsit MAX IHM. Commentatio ex supplementis Annalium Philologicorum seorsum expressa. Lipsiae. B. G. Teubner. 1889. 2 M. 80.

A USEFUL book of reference for the student of Ambrose. It consists of four parts, treating of i. the

chronology of his life (*Fusti Ambr.*); ii. that of his works; iii. his imitation of Virgil; iv. a Trier MS. of his *Exp. psalmi* cxviii.

The second section is the most important. The decision of the Benedictines on the genuineness and date of the various works ascribed to A. are carefully reviewed, and found to be not unfrequently more definite than the evidence will warrant. Thus eleven of his letters to which they had assigned a date are thrown back into uncertainty. The genuineness of the *de Bello Judaico* is defended against Vogel; and the *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum* is assigned to Ambrose, in accordance with the statement of Ebedjesu followed by Rudorff. There is, however, one conspicuous omission.

We should have liked some notice of the *Explanatio Symboli ad initiandos*, so decidedly vindicated for A. by Caspari.

A History of Greece, from the Earliest Times to the Macedonian Conquest: By C. W. C. OMAN, M.A., F.S.A. Rivingtons: 1890. 4s. 6d.

THE object of this short history of Greece is 'the requirements of the upper forms in schools, and of the final pass examination at the universities.' It is not very clear what examinations are included under the last rather comprehensive expression, but there can be little doubt that, so far as the public schools are concerned, the author has fulfilled the greater part of his task with ability and precision. He writes in a clear and attractive style, and has contrived to peek his book with facts, without making it a mere epitome of events. The history, especially in the earlier parts, is brought up to the level of recent discoveries, and there are some useful maps and plans, but no chronological table.

At the same time, there are several points which invite a less favourable criticism. It a little offends one's sense of proportion to find a map of the Athenian Empire with its divisions as shown in the tribute lists, but to have to search in vain for the names of Aeschylus, Aristophanes, and, except for casual mention, Socrates. Plato is only mentioned as having visited Syracuse, Euripides as having been entertained at the court of Archelaus, Sophocles as commanding at Samos in 440, while a slip in the index makes him command in Sicily too. It looks as if the author had deliberately abstained, and even 'little Smith' does not, from touching on the literary side of Athenian history. A schoolboy can hardly obtain a just idea of what Athens really was from a book which omits all mention of her most characteristic feature.

The author has been much more successful with the earlier than with the later history. After 405 B.C. his account is in many places somewhat meagre: 103 pages are devoted to the Peloponnesian war, but only 113 to the remaining years 405—338 B.C. Athenian relations towards Sparta and Thebes are not very clearly indicated; Callistratus and Eubulus are never so much as mentioned. The result is that when the time of Demosthenes is reached, no attempt is made to describe his true political position, either before or after the peace of Philocrates. The general impression produced is that the latter part of the work has been rather hurried.

One or two minor points perhaps deserve notice. The Thirty did not 'soon earn for themselves the name of the Thirty Tyrants' (p. 412); the name occurs first in Diodorus. It is hardly correct to say that Pericles gave the deast three obols a day; the evidence is overwhelming that the τριώβολον dates from Cleon. The closing incidents in the rule of the Thirty are not quite correctly described, and the true

'amnesty,' as distinct from the *εἰρήνη* resulting from the efforts of Pausanias, is not mentioned at all. 'A few weeks after the treaty [of 371] had been signed, King Cleombrotus set out to invade Boeotia. Instead of attempting to force the passes of Cithaeron, he crossed the Corinthian Gulf...' (p. 464). Cleombrotus was in Phocis at the time the peace was signed (*ἔχων τὸ ἐν Φωκεΐσι στράτευμα*, Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4. 2); thus he was already across the Corinthian Gulf, and on the right side of Cithaeron. Xenophon describes his route with some care. There are a few misprints which require correction, e.g. *Chacion* (p. 66), *Canonus* (p. 401), *Melon* (p. 456), on p. 305 the date should be 429 and on p. 431 it should be 394.

A. H. COOKE.

An Inductive Latin Method, by WILLIAM R. HARPER, Ph. D., and ISAAC B. BURGESS, A. M. Ivison, Blakeman and Co., New York. 1888. Pp. viii. 323.

An Inductive Greek Method, by WILLIAM R. HARPER, Ph. D., and WILLIAM E. WATERS, Ph. D. Ivison, Blakeman and Co., New York, 1888. Pp. viii. 355.

THESE books are constructed on the principle that the study of Latin or Greek should begin with the 'living facts of the language'—that is, with a passage of connected discourse taken from a classic author—rather than with the same facts as tabulated in the grammar. The opening chapters of Caesar's *Gallie War* and Xenophon's *Anabasis* are the foundation. The first sentence is given, with an interlinear word-for-word translation. Full directions for pronunciation and full explanation of the meaning of the grammatical apparatus actually appearing in the passage are given in the 'Notes' which follow. Thus the student has before his mind a complete sentence of the language, with the meaning of the whole and of each element. This sentence is learned by heart, so that the English can be given from the original or the original from the English. From the material thus far mastered, those principles which are of the most importance are pointed out under the head of 'Observations.' Thus the first step in generalization is taken. Next the grammatical material is arranged, and references are given to leading grammars (of Allen and Greenough and of Harkness for the Latin, of Goodwin and of Hadley and Allen for the Greek) under the head of 'Grammar Lesson.' The words of the passage are then arranged alphabetically, with their meanings, in a 'Vocabulary.' Next follow 'Exercises,' for translation into and from English, involving new combinations of the words and other material. Finally, under the head of 'Topics for Study,' further generalization is called for, and the student is required to restate all the new grammatical principles involved in the lesson. When all this is mastered, a new portion of the text is taken up in the same manner. After a time the translation is omitted and the pupil is required to work it out in the ordinary way with the vocabulary at the end of the book. In the Greek book a very useful additional vocabulary gives all the words of the first book of the *Anabasis* in the order of their first occurrence. At convenient intervals review lessons are inserted, and much help is given the pupil in gradually enlarging his generalizations and in constructing his paradigms of declension and conjugation as the various endings occur one after another in the text. Great stress is laid on such complete mastery of the text that the pupil can understand it readily when read to him, and can reproduce it, both in writing and orally, from the translation.

It will be seen that the inductive principle is here applied with sufficient thoroughness to justify entirely

the title, 'An Inductive Method.' Yet the authors have not hesitated to depart from a too rigid adherence to the principle whenever, in their opinion, the real progress of the learner would be furthered by such departure; so that occasionally a form is added to fill out a paradigm, or an explanation is given before it is absolutely required, in order to make clearer some other point. These departures are far more frequent in the Greek volume, which seems in general to have been done with less care and judgment than the other, and contains some clearly erroneous or at least misleading statements. On the whole, however, the method is worked out with great care, and the Latin book shows the hand of skilful teachers as well as accurate scholars.

It is very interesting to see thus elaborated in detail the method which Prof. Harper has followed with such remarkable success in teaching the Semitic languages. In the hands of such teachers as Prof. Harper, with earnest students who have already had experience in the study of highly inflected languages, this method is undoubtedly capable of all that the author claims for it. But the question cannot but arise: Is the method equally adapted to average classes of boys and girls, encountering an inflected tongue for the first time? Only actual trial can give the answer to this question, and the evidence before the writer is conflicting. That when fairly applied the method will produce better results than are now obtained in many schools, is highly probable; but that is not saying much. A teacher who has been poorly trained, but is earnest and faithful, will be made a better teacher by using this Latin book with a class. For the method does contain elements which cannot but be fruitful. First, the learner is forced to think; he must not only remember isolated facts, but must infer, generalize, recombine, apply his knowledge. Secondly, the learning of the text by heart fixes in mind grammar and vocabulary and everything else desirable, and keeps them ready for later use. Thirdly, the systematic training of ear and tongue reinforces everything else; such training is indispensable to rapid progress in the study of any language, and without it one cannot gain a real sense of the life and spirit of any piece of foreign literature. Fourthly, valuable assistance is given in teaching the student to grasp the thought in the order of the original—that is, in the order natural to the language under study. These elements are essential, and always have been, to really good teaching of any foreign tongue; and where these are present good results will not be entirely wanting. On the other hand the writer can see no gain, but a probability of much loss, in that feature whereby the order of presenting the grammar to the learner is the purely accidental order in which a given text chances to illustrate it. Of course we care nothing for grammar apart from the language; mastery of the latter for the purpose of reading literature is the end to which a knowledge of the former is a means. But in learning so complicated a body of facts and principles as the grammar of the Latin tongue a pupil is entitled to every real help; and there is no doubt that an orderly and systematic presentation is a help. To learn the grammar as a whole, or large parts of it, before it is needed in reading, is indeed an irrational waste of energy; but is there not a similar waste in adopting a haphazard order for learning it? It does not follow, because the inductive method is the great instrument for the discovery of new truth, that it is therefore the best way of teaching known truth to the young. To find that order of presentation which will render the subject easiest to grasp and retain is the schoolmaster's great and ever varying problem. A class of young students using this Inductive Method, after a period of surpris-

ingly rapid progress, is likely to reach a point where the grammar will be in great confusion in their minds, and then discouragement and loss of interest are inevitable. The ideal book would retain all the sound principles of Prof. Harper's method, and combine with them a more natural, because more rational, order of developing the grammar.

It may be doubted also whether time is saved in the end by beginning with Caesar or the Anabasis. The authors tell us that it may often be necessary to give seventy-five or one hundred recitations to the first four chapters of Caesar. In most American schools this would require fifteen to twenty weeks; and at the end of this period the rate of advance is still very slow. Then, too, is there not something fallacious in the thought that the class is dealing with a classic text, and thereby gaining something not attainable with simpler extracts, or with later but correctly written Latin or Greek? It requires a good knowledge of Latin to enable one to appreciate the charm of style in the story of the Helvetian War; and the pupil does not get rid of modern Latin, nor of mechanical disconnected sentences, for the book contains more of these in the exercises than of the original text. Besides, a boy might be pardoned if he finds it dull to spend so long a time over two or three pages of an author, and that on a subject very remote from his interests.

In a word, it is doubtful whether these books will be entirely successful in the class-room, except under peculiarly favourable circumstances; but they are sure to do good service in drawing attention to and extending the recognition of certain vital principles of the teaching of language and from this point of view are to be cordially welcomed.

T. D. GOODALL,
Yale University.

Parallel Grammar Series. A Latin Grammar for Schools, based on the principles and requirements of the Grammatical Society, by E. A. SONNENSCHN, M.A. (Oxon). Part I. Accidence. Stereotyped edition. Swan Sonnenschein and Co.: 1889. 1s. 6d.

PROFESSOR SONNENSCHN'S little book is among the best of the numerous summaries of Latin Accidence which have appeared within the last few years. The paper is good, the type is extremely clear and every help is given to the learner to enable him to distinguish important principles from minor details. The distinguishing characteristic of the series to which this book belongs is that the grammar of all the languages ordinarily taught in schools is to be treated on the same lines, so that the pupil having once learned his grammatical terminology for one language can carry it on to the other languages which he may study at a later period. There can be no doubt that this system, if it can be satisfactorily carried out, will save much time to the teacher and much perplexity to the pupil.

In the present confusion of grammatical terminology Prof. Sonnenschein has done well to introduce a new term—*trunk*—for 'that part of the noun which remains when the ending of the genitive singular is removed.' In this way he avoids the misuse of the

word *stem* in this sense, a misuse which leads to frequent misunderstandings on the part of the pupil. The only objection that can be urged against Prof. Sonnenschein is that he has not diverged somewhat farther from the phraseology of the old-fashioned grammars. It is very important that the pupil shall never have to unlearn at a more advanced stage what has been drilled into him at the beginning. Hence it is not advisable to follow the older grammars in describing the shorter forms of *edō* (§ 238) as 'contracted'; nothing can be more certain than that the shorter forms in this verb are the older. Similarly it is hardly accurate to say that the indefinite *qua* is a shortening of *quae* (§ 153) or that *dixisti* is a contraction of *dixisti* (§ 231). The following are some more points of a similar kind which may be worth considering if Prof. Sonnenschein means to produce (as I hope he will) a Latin Grammar on a larger scale. § 7 the beginner I am afraid will hardly be able to understand the difference between stress and pitch accent from the brief account given here, nor is it quite accurate to say that all modern languages have words accented on the last syllable as is implied in § 8. The parenthesis in the phrase *filiis et filiabus* 'for (*ā* from) sons and daughters' (§ 19) presupposes more information than the beginner has received as yet in the book. In the same section it seems to be stated that *familias* occurs with no word but *pater*. § 27 the explanation of the short forms of vocatives is not convincing when we remember old nominatives like *Caecilis* and *alid*, nor is that of the gender of rivers and winds (§ 67). The statement in § 76 that nouns in *-io* are feminine requires so much limitation (given in §§ 83, 88) that the old rule that the endings *-tas -tio -do -go* are feminine seems preferable. In § 132 the statement about reflexives is likely to puzzle the beginner and might be simplified. In § 176 it might be advisable to separate *secus* from *setius* quantity and spelling being both different, and in § 189 it is surely a mistake to translate *estō* by 'thou (he) shall be' thus giving support to the erroneous notion that these forms are in some way future. In the light of recent investigation (Brugmann, *American Journal of Philology* viii. 441 ff.) it would be more correct to say (§ 202) that the Gerund is the neuter of the Gerundive participle used as a substantive. Prof. Sonnenschein seems to regard the Supine in *ū* as a Locative (§ 205) which is at least as probable as Schmalz's identification of it with a dative. The only other point to which any objection can be taken is the orthography; *j* I suppose is of so much practical advantage that it is almost necessary to retain it—Dr. Postgate in his *New Latin Primer* uses an italic *i* instead—but the beginner should not be encouraged to write *epistola* (§ 61).

Most of these points are small and it is almost hypercritical to raise them; they show at any rate how little there is to criticise. So far as I have observed there are no misprints.

The book ends with an excellent list of verbs and a lucid summary of the revised pronunciation of Latin is given in an Appendix. The tiro who masters this little book will have gained a very thorough knowledge of the main points of Latin Accidence.

P. GILES.

NOTES.

ON 2 COR. VI. 2—VII. 1.

IN my remarks on the above passage (p. 150) I urged against the theory of interpolation 'the probability that copies of the Pauline letters were multiplied from the very first.' Mr. Whitelaw, in his reply (p. 248), admitting that this probability exists in regard to such letters as those to the Romans and 'Ephesians,' questions it in the case of 'this second letter to Corinth, so intimate, so personal, from the first line to the last.' He has surely forgotten the salutation of the Epistle: *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ οὖσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὄλῃ τῇ Ἀχαλᾷ.*

Mr. Whitelaw thinks that I 'ignored' the problem of the passage. I tried to show, and I think succeeded in showing, that the phenomena of this passage are analogous to those which we notice in other parts of the Epistle, and that therefore the problem is a creation of the suspicious imagination of critics. I suggested that a remembrance of Deut. xi. 16 (*μὴ πλατυνθῇ ἡ καρδία σου...καὶ λατρεύσῃτε θεοὺς ἑτέροις*) made St. Paul diverge from the appeal of v. 11 ff. to the warning of v. 14 ff. It is worth while further to remark that the abrupt transition from the idea of a *πλατυνμός* of affection to that of a *πλατυνμός* of moral indifference is altogether in St. Paul's manner. He delights in allowing an idea or a key-word or a figure to lead him into a paradox. His language in such cases fearlessly turns sharp corners of thought. Thus 1 Thes. v. 2, 4 *ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς κλέπτῃς ἐν νυκτὶ οὕτως ἔρχεται...οὐκ ἐστὶ ἐν σκοτεινῇ ἡ ἡμέρα ὑμᾶς ὡς κλέπτῃς καταλάβῃ*: again vv. 6, 10 *μὴ καθεύδωμεν ὡς οἱ λοιποὶ, ἀλλὰ γρηγορῶμεν.....ἵνα εἴτε γρηγορῶμεν εἴτε καθεύδωμεν ἅμα σὺν αὐτῷ (ῥήσωμεν)*: Gal. vi. 2, 5 *ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε.....ἕκαστος τὸ ἴδιον φορτὶον βαστάσει*. In the Second Epistle to Corinth, the idea of a letter of commendation is the connecting link between iii. 2 and iii. 3, but in the former verse the writing is on the apostle's heart, in the latter he is either the amanuensis or the messenger, and the characters are inscribed on the hearts of the Corinthians. Again, in a later paragraph of the same chapter, the veil on Moses' face (v. 13) is made to typify a veil on the reading of the old covenant (v. 14) and then a veil on the heart of Israel (v. 15), while the conception of the open vision (*ἀνακαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ*, v. 18) is introduced at the close in contrast to the original thought.

Some points in regard to the language of the alleged interpolation (vi. 14—vii. 1) are worth notice. I have urged that the connecting link between this and the previous paragraph is the remembrance of a passage from the Law. In vv. 14—16a St. Paul is moving in the region of O. T. ideas (comp. e.g. Ps. i., Prov. i. 10f., iv. 14f.) and to a less extent of O. T. language. Vv. 16b—18 are formed of quotations from the O. T. The practical corollary is given in vii. 1, and here the links with the language of other parts of the Epistle are remarkable. (a) *ταύτας σὺν ἔχοντες*...is a type of phrase peculiar, I believe, to this Epistle. Comp. *πεισθήσιν δὲ τοιαύτην ἔχοντες* (iii. 4), *ἔχοντες σὺν τοιαύτην ἐλπίδι* (iii. 12), *διὰ τοῦτο ἔχοντες τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην* (iv. 1), *ἔχοντες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως* (iv. 13). (b) *τὰς ἐπαγγελίας*, comp. *δοταὶ γὰρ ἐπαγγελία Θεοῦ...* (i. 20). (c) *ἀγαπητοί*. The simple word (contrast 1 Cor. x. 14, xv. 58) occurs here for the first time in St. Paul's writings: it is found again in xii. 19, Rom. xii. 19, and (though there is some evidence for *μου*) in Phil. iv. 1. (d) *ἐπι-*

τελοῦντες. The word is absent in the earlier Epistles. It reappears three times a little later in this Epistle (viii. 6, 11) and again in Gal. iii. 3, Phil. i. 6. (e) *ἐν φόβῳ Θεοῦ*. The phrase takes up v. 11 *εἰδότες οὖν τὸν φόβον τοῦ Κυρίου*. It is found elsewhere in St. Paul only in Rom. iii. 18 (a quotation from Ps. xxxvi. 2), and in a different form in Eph. v. 21 (*ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ*). Each coincidence itself would of course prove little or nothing. But viewed together such resemblances form a very weighty argument, an argument which gains in point when we remember the habit of St. Paul's mind at the several crises of his literary activity to recur frequently to certain words and modes of expression.

F. H. CHASE.

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Mr. CHASE will allow me to say that now more completely than ever he ignores the difficulty, which I have tried to state. He does not feel it. To him it seems natural that a man—and that man St. Paul, the consummate letter-writer who wrote the letter to Philemon—in the midst of a fervid and impassioned appeal to his friends to give him their hearts, and trust him more fully, should break off to lecture them upon sensuality, and then come back as if nothing had happened: and this in a letter, the leading motive of which is thankfulness that they had just punished, as he required them to do, a typical offence against morality: and though the persons whose hearts were not yet whole with him were evidently those who had listened to the Judaizers, and therefore not of the 'Antinomian' section of his followers. And this because a word which he had used reminded him of a passage in Deuteronomy, in the Greek version of which the same word occurred in a different sense.

This is Mr. Chase's account of how the digression arose. To me, of all men whose writings I know, St. Paul seems the least capable of being betrayed into such an irrelevance (I had almost said, such an impertinence) by such a verbal bull.

St. Paul, says Mr. Chase, delights in 'paradox'; meaning, I think, abrupt transition. He gives five examples. There is no break of continuity of thought in any of them. In (1) the same simile (if *κλέπτῃς* is right) is used in two ways: in (2) the same word serves for two metaphors—spiritual 'sleep,' 'sleep' of death: in (3) all is consistent—'loads of difficulty,' 'burden of duty': (4) again quite consistent; the letter of recommendation is the faith of the Corinthians, written in their hearts by him as Christ's amanuensis, and of this he bears a transcript engraven by sympathy upon his own heart: (5) a simile varied in detail; the Law an imperfect revelation of God's mind: a veil on the face of Moses hiding *him*—a veil on the hearts of the Jews hiding *the truth*—in both cases, an interrupted vision.

The coincidences of expression, five in number, which Mr. Chase detects between the passage in question and the rest of the Epistle, are of the faintest. One of them is that the word *ἐπαγγελᾶναι* occurs here and in ch. i. ! In three cases, a word or phrase is noted, not as occurring elsewhere in this epistle alone, but only as found in no earlier letter than this, i.e. not in *Thessalonians* or *1 Corinthians*: perhaps I should add *Galatians*. (*Romans* is strangely spoken of as a late letter.) But the lost letter, to which I have assigned this passage, was of course of the same period, written from Ephesus, not long before our First Epistle. And against these

slender and shadowy verbal resemblances is to be set the utter unlikeness, which must strike every reader, of this sonorous homiletic passage to the quick eager vivid style, as of a man who talks with his friends face to face, of what precedes and follows.

I do not think much is known about the other churches of Achaia. I can hardly fancy this letter sent elsewhere than to Corinth, and I can quite imagine a letter sent only to Corinth being addressed to the Christians of Corinth and all Achaia. If not, the Corinthian copy, 'interpolated' (or contaminated?) as I have supposed, might surely have prevailed over other copies, of which at any rate there would not be many.

R. WHITELAW.

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MR. WAY'S *Iliad*.—On the general merits of Mr. Way's translation of the *Iliad*, Mr. Everett has a right to his own opinion. But may I correct one small matter of fact in his review? He calls Mr. Way's measure a 'very novel metre,' and says lower down that it is 'obviously selected, or rather invented by Mr. Way to reproduce Homer's six accents.' Of course it is the metre of *Sigurd the Volsung*, and how much older it may be than *Sigurd* I do not know. May I suggest to Mr. Everett that if he would study the most Homeric poem of our time he might rise from it with a little more sympathy for a poetical form with which he seems to have made acquaintance for the first time in Mr. Way's pages?

T. C. SNOW.

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PINDAR, *Nem.* x. 5.—πολλά δ' Αἰγύπτῳ κατέκισθεν ἄσση τὰς Ἐπάφου παλάμαις. κατέκισθεν is condemned by the metre, which runs thus:

— — — | — — — — — | — — — — —

Hermann suggested ὅσα ἐκτίθεν, and Mommsen prints in his text τὰ κατέκτιθεν. Here too the paraphrase in the scholia has been treated with too much respect: 'πολλά δ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν ὅπως ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ κατεκίσθησαν πόλεις ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἐπάφου χειρῶν.' It is unreasonable to infer from this that there was a relative pronoun in Pindar's text—that is an English rather than a Greek construction, or if Greek, it is the Greek of a late scholiast, who would paraphrase in this way a text which had no relative.

The corruption would be most easily accounted for by supposing that Pindar wrote πολλά δ' Αἰγύπτῳ κατενάσσατο Φάσση. She—Argos—sent out from herself many colonies. Argos is the subject, as it is the subject of ἀριστεύει in line 10. Interpreters or transcribers failed to see this, and their 'adscript' on the supposed passive verb found its way into the text.

Mommsen's compound, κατακτίζω, does not seem to occur in any good writer. But κατενασσάμην is unquestionably classical (Aes. *Eum.* 930, μεγάλας καὶ δυσαρτέστους δαίμονας αὐτοῦ κατενασσαμένην). Apollonius too has 'νάσσατο,' of an Egyptian founder of colonies (*Argon.* iv. 274—5: μυρία δ' ἄσση | νάσσατ' ἐποικόμενος).

Bergk introduces καταναίω in the passive voice, but it is at the cost of a rather extensive transposition of words (πολλά δ' Α. παλάμαις κατένασθεν ἄσση τὰς Ἐπάφου). He quotes Hesych. ἐνάσσατο· ὥκισατο. ἐνάσθη· ὥκισθη, and for the former Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. 1356, νάσσατο ἀντὶ τοῦ κατέκισεν. The passage which I have quoted above is similar in subject to that in Pindar, and if I am right in thinking that Pindar wrote κατενάσσατο, it is conceivable, though not provable, that the later poet had in mind the language of the earlier.

W. R. HARDIE.

IN my note on *Nem.* x. 63 last month I inadvertently stated the case in a way which might be misunderstood, as if I were proposing ἡμένος (Doric acc.) for the first time. The issue has long lain between ἡμενον and ἡμένος, and the object of the note was only to give reasons for preferring the latter. There is little scope for fresh emendation in Pindar; but it is possible in some cases, by carefully reviewing the evidence, to arrive at a decision in favour of one alternative or the other. Here is an instance in which the balance of probability seems to be rather against the traditional text:—

In *Nem.* iii. 14, all the MSS. have Μυρμιδόνες... ὦν παλαίφατον ἀγορὰν οὐκ ἐλεγχέεσσιν Ἀριστοκλείδας... ἐμίανε, κ.τ.λ. Rauchenstein proposed 'ἄλκάν.'

(a) The resolution 333 is very unusual, if not impossible. Mommsen quotes several passages in support of it, not one of which is really similar. And the alternative is to suppose that—

— 333 — 333 — 333 — 333

answers to — 333 — 333 — 333 — 333

which is conceivable in Euripides, but very unlikely in Pindar.

(b) The words used both by Pindar and the scholiast are more natural and appropriate with ἄλκάν than with ἀγοράν. For the former, compare κατελέγχει in *Isthm.* vii. 67. The latter says, οὐδαμῶς ὕβρισε καὶ δυνεῖδισμοῖς ἐμίανε... ἄλλὰ... προσηύξεσεν.

'ἀγοράν' and 'ἄλκάν' are not graphically very dissimilar, and the former might be readily accepted by an editor or transcriber who remembered the Πυθίου θεάριον of line 70 (τόπος ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δημόσιος, ἔνθα τὰ συμποσία, sch.). In the scholia an older paraphrase was reproduced with the new reading ('ἀγοράν καὶ σύνοδον'—'καὶ σύνοδον' is in the manner of Triclinius).

* *

PINDAR, *Olympian* viii.—It appears to me that the key to the right comprehension of the beginning of this poem is given by the hint conveyed in line 86 (εὐχομαι ἀμφὶ καλῶν μοῖρᾳ Νέμεσιν διχόβουλον μὴ θέμεν) that one of the brothers was jealous of the other. The opening lines are at once charged with significance, if we assume that Timosthenes was the elder brother: the inference that his Nemean victory was prior to the Olympian victory of Alcimedon has been already drawn from line 15. The younger brother was henceforth the more distinguished, and Timosthenes felt bitterly the reversal of their positions. Pindar had been probably instructed to say something which would console and reconcile, and the art with which he has masked his 'ἥπια φάρμακα' is here, as elsewhere, admirable. Lines 1-14 are addressed to Olympia: 'Accept this hymn; great is the glory of those who win thy prize, but there are other roads to fame when the gods help'—i.e. 'Do not reject this hymn because it also celebrates success in other games.' Such is the obvious sense of the lines, but the message they are meant to convey to Timosthenes only comes to the surface when we read those immediately following, and directly addressed to him. They may be thus paraphrased: 'Fate decided by drawing lots which of you should be first entrusted to Zeus Genethlios, i.e. which of you should be born first: he, receiving you in this order from the hands of fate, glorified first the elder brother at Nemea, and then the younger at Olympia.' There may, I think, be a relic of this interpretation in the Scholiast's note. After explaining Zeus Genethlios, without doubt correctly, as 'ὁ τῆς γεννήσεως αἴτιος,' he adds

τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν ἐπειδὴ νεώτεροι ἐνίκησαν,' as if forsooth Zeus were a guardian, whose responsibility for his wards ceased when they had reached a certain age. The right explanation would be conveyed (too succinctly it is true) in the words 'ἐπειδὴ δὲ νεώτερος ἐνίκησεν.'

W. R. PATON.

* *

AGAMEMNON 1273—4.

καλουμένη δὲ φοιτὰς ὡς ἀγυρτρία
πτωχὸς τάλαινα λιμοθνής ἦνεσχόμην,

In all commentaries that I have seen, the words in 1274 are taken as a string of abusive names that Cassandra used to be called. Surely the line reads more naturally, if the words describe sufferings that she actually endured. 'Like a vagabond, I endured beggary, wretchedness, hunger.' We are not told elsewhere that she had endured these things, but it is quite easy to insert an episode of wandering into the outlines of her story. Perhaps the people insisted on driving her forth, in fear of evil omens from her prophecies; perhaps she used to wander about the city in misery, whenever the prophetic frenzy seized her, and return to her father's house when it was exhausted. As to the first half of 1273, my interpretation suits φοιτὰς better than φοιτὰς ('though I bare the name of Phoebus, yet I endured beggary'); but it is compatible with φοιτὰς ('being called a maniac I endured beggary').

T. C. SNOW.

* *

HEROD. v. 77.—The Propylaea mentioned in this chapter are taken by the commentators to be those of Perikles, and this has been used as an argument in fixing the date of Herodotus (see *c.g.* Rawlinson, ed. 4, vol. i. pp. 28–9). But it appears far more probable that the Propylaea seen by the author were those attributed to Kimon. Cf. Paus. i. xxviii. § 2, where the chariot is mentioned next to the Athena Promakhos: thus it would seem to have been moved: at least the existing pedestal at the N.W. angle of the present building is quite unsuitable for a τέθριππος, and it is difficult to see what other position on that side could be so occupied.¹

If it were possible for the 'μέγαρον facing West' to be the temple of Athena Nike (as Larcher), the 'wall bearing traces of fire' might be the polygonal wall facing the East end of this temple, and to the South of the Propylaea.

R. PROCTOR.

* *

ST. JOHN xii. 3.—The word πιστικῆς.

If derived from πίνω the primary meaning of this word must be 'drinkable' not 'liquid,' and the few unguents mentioned by Athenaeus as ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς πότον are of quite an ordinary description and would not be called πολυτελέῃ.

On the other hand if we connect the word with πίστις, 'faithful nard' is scarcely satisfactory.

St. Augustine thinks that it may refer to some locality from which the unguent was obtained.

I venture to suggest that the word may perhaps be an early error for πιστακῆς, or a variant form of this word (which is spelt differently by Athenaeus, Nicander and Alciphron),

The Pistacia Terebinthus, according to Green's *Botanical Dictionary*, grows in Cyprus and Chios and yields a turpentine—

1. 'In such inconsiderable quantities as to render it very costly (cf. βαρυτίμου, πολυτίμου, πολυτελοῦς).

2. 'Of a very fragrant odour,' (cf. ἡ δὲ οἰκία ἐπληρώθη ἐκ τῆς ὁσμῆς τοῦ μύρου).

Dioscorides (*De Mater. Med.* i. 91) gives the following account of the Pistacia Terebinthus (πιστακή): γεννᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Συρίᾳ καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ... Its turpentine διαφέρει διανυστέρα οὔσα, λευκή, ὑαλίζουσα τῷ χρώματι, ἐν ὁδῷ... προέχει δὲ πασῶν τῶν ῥητινῶν.

It appears that nard was frequently mixed with aromatic ingredients, *c.g.* βάλαμον; so when scented with the fragrant resin of the πιστακή it would quite well be called νάρδος πιστακῆς.

E. N. BENNETT.

* *

2 Cor. iii. 18.—ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν. Archdeacon Farrar (*Life and Work of St. Paul*, vol. II.) takes these words as expressing Christian progressiveness in glory. He speaks of the 'glory' (p. 104), or 'splendour' (p. 220), as 'ever-brightening.' I think that if St. Paul had meant this he would have used the preposition ἐκ, not ἀπὸ. While in 2 Cor. iii. 18, we have the preposition ἀπὸ in ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν (and, it may be well to observe, in ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος), we have ἐκ in ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς δύναμιν LXX. Ps. lxxxiv. 8, where is signified progressiveness from strength to strength. Bengel seems to me right in interpreting ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν thus: 'A gloria Domini in gloriam in nobis.'

J. HOSKYNs-ABRAHAM.

* *

CATULLIANUM.—Number XVI. of *Hermathena* contains under the above title a proposal by Prof. A. Palmer for an emendation of Catullus 64, 107 which seems to me needless. I quote the beginning of the article.

'Nam velut in summo quatientem brachia Tauro
Quercum aut conigeram sudanti cortice pinum
Indomitus turbo contorquens flamine robur
Eruit.

The third line has two very palpable blemishes. First, *robur* has no business there. *Eruit* already has its accusative, *quercum* and *pinum*, and *robur* cannot be made to apply to *pinum*. Secondly, *flamine* wants a balancing epithet.' Mr. Palmer goes on to read *subito* for *turbo*, and *turbo* for *robur*.

It is unnecessary to suppose that *robur* is the object of *eruit*: it goes with *contorquens*—'wrenching their fibres with its blast.' *Robur* can be applied to *pinum* perfectly well, as is seen by looking at Ovid *Metam.* xiv. 535, 549, where Aeneas' ships are first spoken of as *pinus*, and then as *robore*. So in x. 492, 503, when Myrrha is converted into the tree that bears her name, the word *robur* is twice applied to the plant. Undoubtedly if *flamine* had an epithet, it would be more in the manner of the poem generally; but this consideration must be secondary when it is suggested that we should alter the text.

WILLIAM EVERETT.

* *

PERS. S. iii. 39—42.

Anne magis Siculi gemuerunt acra iuveni,
Et magis auratis pendens laquearibus ensis
Purpureas subter cervicem terruit, imus
Imus praecipites quam si sibi dicat.

¹ The removal may have taken place about 440, to make room for the new Propylaea, and the existing inscription (Hicks 27) cut on the occasion.

Subter is generally translated as if it were *suppositas*: 'Does the sword hanging from the gilded fretted ceiling more terrify the purple-clad neck beneath?'—a very harsh expression even for Persius. From its position between adj. and subst. *subter* ought to mean 'necks with an undershade of purple'! Read *supra*, joining it with *pendens* as in the common phrase *supra caput esse*, and taking *magis terreat* absolutely—'Does the sword hanging from the gilded ceiling over the purple-clad neck cause more terror?' The passage from Hor. *C.* iii. i. 17 *sq.* (which Persius had evidently in his mind)—

Destriatus ensis cui *super impia*
Cervice pendet &c.—

seems to me very strongly to support the change. The syllable *cer-* following might have absorbed the last syllable of *supra*, which was probably written compendiously; or the word might have been read *super* and then altered for metrical and other reasons. At any rate the change is slight, saves the construction, improves the sense, and has Horatian support—a matter of great consideration when we are dealing with Persius.

P. SANDFORD.

* *

FULCIRE.—I am obliged to Mr. Sandford for the corrections of my note in the Appendix to my *Propertius*. I do not think I differ from him in the meaning assigned to the verb in Persius (Pacuvius), which might be translated 'laden' or 'charged' (with griefs). I ought to add that I have long ago abandoned the etymological connexion of *fulcio* and *farcio*.

J. P. POSTGATE.

* *

PROFESSOR GOODWIN'S long rambles among the herbage of Greek Verb-Syntax have left but few new specimens for future wanderers in that fair field of Enna. May I point out a flower which is apparently wanting in his great collection?

On p. 273 of the new *Moods and Tenses*, it is stated that 'dependent secondary tenses of the indicative remain unchanged' in *oratio obliqua*. I cannot find anything else which refers to the retention of the indicative in the protasis of conditional sentences in indirect discourse. So much was stated by Madvig. But Stahl, in his *Quaestiones Gram. ad Thuc. pertinentes* (p. 8, ed. 1886), in speaking of the *oratio obliqua*, adds something considerable to this. His words are: 'Cum in prolatiis exemplis *ei* cum optativo ibi tantum apparet ubi in oratione recta scriptor eodem modo vel *ἐάν* cum conjunctivo uteretur, sequitur indicativum *ei* particulae junctum Thucydidem nusquam in oratione obliqua in optativum transtulisse. Neque ad solum Thucydidem, sed ad omnes scriptores haec norma applicatur excepto *ei* cum optativo futuri, quam structuram in oratione obliqua pro *ei* cum indicativo futuri ponere licet' (Goodwin, § 128). Stahl's examples from Thuc. are i. 72, 2; iii. 32, 2 (where, for *ἐι* *διέφθειρεν*, we expect *ἐι* *διαφθείρει* Cf. Goodwin § 691, where he might add that *ei* almost = *στει*); 46, 2; 52, 2; v. 41, 2; vii. 3, 1; 49, 2; viii. 92, 10. I have never seen an example outside Xenophon which breaks Stahl's canon. In an example given by Goodwin at § 696 from Plat. *Ap.* 20 B, *Καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν Εὐνὸν ἐμακάρισα, εἰ ὡς ἀληθὺς ἔχει ταύτην τὴν τέχνην καὶ οὕτως ἐμμελὲς διδάσκει*,

he remarks that *ἐχοι* and *διδάσκει* might be used. If Stahl is correct, is the optat. possible outside Xenophon in a single clause containing *ei* in *oratio obliqua*, unless *ei* with fut. indic., *ei* with optat., or *ἐάν* with subjunc. would be used in the recta?

It would be for the convenience of scholars if a third index were added giving a list of the authorities to whom reference is made. Not a single stone can be omitted in a monument which is to prove *aere perennius*.

* *

ZOOLOGICAL NOTES.—The *Classical Review* comes seldom into a naturalist's hands, but has been in mine during a recent illness. Certain zoological matters that occur therein suggest the following remarks.

ὀρφός. Mr. J. T. Clarke (*Classical Review* I. p. 97) rightly identifying this fish as the *Polyprion Cernium*, says: 'there has reigned for more than four centuries an entire ignorance in regard to the true nature of the *orphos*.' This is not the case. The same interpretation is given in Aubert and Wimmer (*Aristot. Thierkunde*, vol. I. pp. 122, 137). Erhard (*Fauna der Cykladen*, 1858, p. 87) and Heldreich (*Faune de Grèce*, Athènes, 1878, p. 81) have already shown that the fish is still well known in the Aegean under the ancient name. Bory de St. Vincent probably made a mistake in ascribing the name to the not dissimilar fish, *Serranus gigas*, whose modern name is according to Erhard *στήρα*.

κάνθαρος. Prof. Tyrrell, commenting on *Pax* 129, 130 (*Classical Review*, I. p. 131) says it is 'strange that the *κάνθαρος* should be classed among *πετεινοί*,' and would read *μόνος ἐπιγειών* instead of *μόνος πετεινών*. But this is surely in forgetfulness of the fact that the beetle has wings, with which it could fly even 'into the presence of Zeus'; although it happens to have *ἐν ἐλύτῳ τὰ πτερά* (*H. A.* i. cap. 5). Indeed in this same passage of the *H. A.* both *κάνθαρος* and *μηλοκόνη* are specifically classed among *τὰ πτηνά*. The same difficulty occurs in connection with the word *δικαίον* which, according to Ctesias, is 'a bird, the size of a partridge's egg, which buried its dung in the earth' (cf. M. R. James, *Classical Review* I. p. 244). Lassen (*Ind. Alterthümkunde*, II. p. 647) found the word quite inexplicable, but Mr. Valentine Ball's identification of it with the scarab or dung-beetle is more than probable and does not at all strain Ctesias's description.

πρίστις. Mr. Cecil Torr (*Classical Review* IV. p. 231) shows rightly that the passage in *H. A.* vi. 12, 1 does not include the *pristis* among the whales, but on the contrary excludes it. The correction *πρήστis* and the etymology from *πρήθω* are therefore unnecessary. But we need not stop short by saying that the *pristis* is 'unmistakably some kind of a shark,' and that 'the name is to be explained quite simply as the *biter*.' Tradition unfalteringly identifies the *pristis* as the *saw-fish* (*pristis antiquorum*, L.), which is not rare in the Mediterranean, and the name of course simply means the *sawyer*. The fish grows to a great size, quite comparable to that of the smaller whales or larger dolphins, though never so big as the kindred species in the Indian Ocean.

D'ARCY W. THOMPSON, JUNR.
Dundee.



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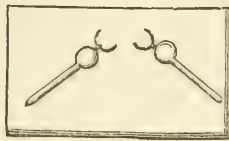
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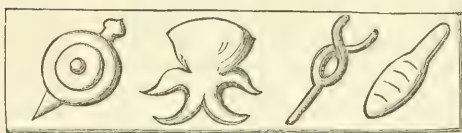
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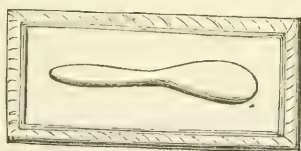
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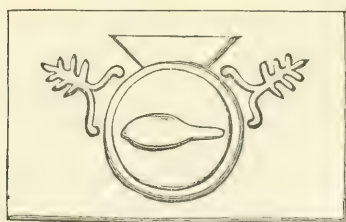
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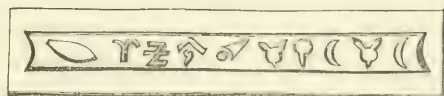
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CILICIAN SYMBOLS.

THE foregoing signs come from fortresses and lintels in that district of Cilicia Tracheia which was known as Olba and the site of the capital of which we found on the slopes of the Taurus 5850 feet above the sea level.

From coins we learn (Head *Hist. Num.* pp. 609—610) that the types of Olba were the throne of Zeus, the Fulmen, head of Hermes, Triskelis, Harpe, Zeus, Serapis and the pilei of the Dioscuri. Two coins have on the reverse the triskelis and the club. The sign of the club we found on eight different fortresses of the district and it was evidently very much associated with Olba.

1. Found above an inscription on the fortress over the Olbian cave at Kanygelli, which we learnt from another inscription was a deme of Sebaste-Elaeusa.

2. Found on a fortress commanding a ruined town and on the edge of a gorge about three miles from No. 1.

3. On a polygonal building in the gorge near No. 2.

4. On fortress at ruined town anciently called Eabbasis, five miles behind Elaeusa.

5. On the temple of Hermes at Eabbasis.

6. On a lintel in ruined village about three miles from the Corycian cave.

7. Above an inscription over a rock-cut relief of soldier with lance and spear in the Lamas gorge.

8. On a fortress overhanging the Lamas gorge.

9. On the same fortress as No. 8. Pilei of Dioscuri and club.

10. On a fortress at a town anciently called Bemisos in the Lamas gorge.

11. On a lintel close to Bemisos—entrance to a large building about half a mile outside the town.

12. On a lintel at ruins now known as Jambesli, where are several doors with the club over them.

13. On a fortress three miles from above, guarding a small plain and a wine-press and reservoir for wine.

14. On the fortress above the ancient site of Olba.

15. From a fortress of ruined town now called Maidan.

16. Lintel from a ruined village east of the Lamas gorge.

17. Lintel at Uzenjaburdj, the fortress

above the site of Olba, forming a new script concerning which authorities are at variance.

18. Lintel near Lamas, found by Langlois and published by him on the title-page of his *Voyage dans la Cilicie*. This gives us the pilei, the caduceus, and probably the club.

19. Two marks also published by Langlois in the same work, also found near Lamas and supposed by him to mark the boundary of the Olbian district.

J. THEODORE BENT.

SCULPTURAL SLABS FROM MESO-POTAMIA FOUND IN EGYPT.

IN the number of the *Revue Archéologique* for March and April of this year, M. L. Heuzey has given a description of a fragment of a green schist libation (?) slab with figures of men, animals, etc., in relief. His article is illustrated by an excellent tinted photograph of this interesting object, and is entitled *Tribu Asiatique en Expédition*. Some years ago the Trustees of the British Museum acquired three pieces of green schist¹ with sculptures of a similar nature, and among them is the large fragment of which that described by M. Heuzey forms a completing portion. As they are specimens of sculpture of an unusual character, a brief description of them may not be out of place here.

No. 20791. Rectangular fragment of green schist, 11 in. × 7½ in., on which is represented in relief a scene after a battle. A number of woolly-headed, bearded, circumcised men are lying dead or dying on the ground; one of these has his arms tied together above the elbows. In the upper part of the scene a lion about to bite into the stomach of one of these prostrate foes is shown; one paw is firmly planted on the victim's leg and another on an arm. In the lower part of the scene a number of vultures and carrion crows are represented picking the eyes out from the dead and devouring their flesh. The dead are quite naked. Above, to the right, are two figures, the heads and shoulders of which are wanting; the one is that of an officer or overseer and the other is that of a captive who has

¹ They are now exhibited in the Fourth Egyptian Room, in the table-case near the Assyrian Room.

both arms tied together behind him, and a heavy weight of stone or lead suspended from his neck. On the back of this fragment is part of a scene in which two giraffes are represented cropping the leaves of a palm tree.

No. 20790. Fragment of green schist, of irregular shape, 12 in. × 6 in. which joins the fragment published by M. Heuzey. On it are represented in relief :—1. A house with a domed roof and two towers, on the left hand is the door; bull with two heads, one of which faces to the right and the other to the left. 2. Lion followed by his lioness, rushing on to seize a hunter armed with a bow and another weapon; in the lion's head are transfixed two arrows shot from the bow of the hunter, shown on the Louvre fragment. 3. Behind the lions are two hunters, both wearing feathers on their heads. The first of these carries a double-bladed axe in the right hand, and a sceptre, on the top of which is a bird (eagle?), in the left; over his shoulder hangs a bag. Each man wears a short tunic, with folds, fastened round his waist, from which hangs a tail. The second hunter is occupied in drawing towards him a gazelle which he has caught with a lasso. Close by runs a dog or jackal.

No. 20792. Fragment of green schist, of irregular shape; its greatest length is 14 in., and its greatest breadth $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. It appears to join the Louvre fragment and, together with the British Museum fragment No. 20790, to have formed part of the libation (?) slab of which very little is now missing. This fragment proves beyond all doubt that the scene represented is a hunting expedition. The first hunter holds part of the rope which has been used to lasso the gazelle, as described above; the second is armed with a spear and a boomerang; the third with a bow and a double-bladed hatchet; and the fourth with two spears and a boomerang. Each man wears feathers, a tunic and a tail. Beneath this row of figures are an oryx, an ostrich, an oryx, a stag (?) with branching antlers, and an animal like a jackal, the tail of which is very much like that hanging from the waist behind each man. At the tapering end of this fragment is a lion, the head of which is transfixed with five arrows; an arrow shot well into one of his thighs makes him lash his tail. It is not apparent who has shot these arrows. The three hunters on the other side of the animals are armed and dressed like their companions; each, however, carries a bag (?) which seems to be slung over his shoulder.

Now these fragments though found in

Egypt are not of Egyptian workmanship and it is evident that they were brought thither from some foreign Eastern land either as gifts or articles of tribute. If the lions sculptured on these slates be compared with those on the Assyrian sculptures from Nineveh, it will be seen at once that they are very similar to them. The birds are identical with those found on the Babylonian landmarks, and the Semitic features of the men proclaim them to be inhabitants of the land 'between the rivers' or of that further south. M. Heuzey has already pointed out resemblances between these sculptures and the paintings of the *Āmu* or 'Asiatics' at Beni Hasān in Upper Egypt, but it seems doubtful if they belong to a period as remote as the XIIth dynasty. These remarkable objects were most probably made by Mesopotamian sculptors about B.C. 1550, and sent by his Mesopotamian allies to Amenophis III., King of Egypt, to whom, on account of the lion-hunting expeditions sculptured on them, they would be an acceptable gift. It is to be hoped that more specimens of this class of antiquities will be brought to light.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

CATALOGUE OF THE GREEK COIN-COLLECTION AT BERLIN.

Beschreibung der antiken Münzen (Königliche Museen zu Berlin). Vol. II. Berlin. 1889. 8vo. Price 20 Mark.

THE second volume of this important work has been prepared (as was also the first volume, published in 1888) by Dr. A. von Sallet, the Curator of the Berlin coin-cabinet. It is very welcome to all students of Greek coins and displays throughout its author's well-known care and knowledge. Unlike the Greek coin-catalogues of the British Museum, the volume is not provided with an introductory chapter. Dr. von Sallet has however inserted in the text a number of interesting and useful notes, dealing partly with questions of attribution and provenance. The source from which the Berlin collection obtained each of its specimens is stated, and this example might perhaps in future be followed with advantage by the compilers of our British Museum catalogues. The descriptions are printed in a tabular form, but the columns are too narrow—so narrow indeed that the average number of words in each line of the description of the reverse appears to be only three. Some space

would be gained for the descriptions if the separate column now devoted to the provenance of the coin (*e.g.* 'Fox,' 'Prokesch' &c.) were abolished and the information inserted in the middle of the page, after the coin-descriptions. The coins are of course arranged chronologically, though it is to be regretted that the author has only exceptionally, and not systematically, stated the limits of each period to which the coins are assigned. This omission (which will I hope be supplied in future volumes) will be especially regretted by archaeologists who have not had a special training as numismatists.

The present volume is illustrated by eight photographic plates, and by seventy cuts inserted in the text. The first volume was illustrated by eight plates and sixty-three cuts. The plates are satisfactory in point of execution, but for the adequate illustration of the volume they should have been far more numerous. A coin-catalogue without illustrations is a body without a soul. Dr. von Sallet would probably be the first person to admit this, and it is to be feared that the German government has not been so liberal in granting funds for coin-publications as our English Treasury has been. The cuts in the text (even if we admit the scientific legitimacy—and I cannot do so—of reproducing coins by non-mechanical processes) do not make amends for the scanty supply of photographs.

The present instalment of the *Beschreibung* embraces the coinage of Paeonia, Macedonia, and the Macedonian kings (to Perdiccas III.). The German coin-cabinet would appear to rival and in some series to surpass our English collection. The acquisition of two private collections—the Prokesch and the Fox—have especially made the Berlin collection what it is. The Prokesch coins belonged, one may say, of right to Germany, but the collection formed by General Fox ought never to have been allowed to leave this country. The collection is lost to us, but, as it was to go, it could not have been entrusted to better keeping than that of Dr. von Sallet.

I add some remarks on a few points that have struck me while reading this volume. 1. Pages v.—vi. Coin inscribed with the name AEPHNAO, supposed by Dr. von Sallet to be a Macedonian king. The coin is assigned to B.C. 450 or a little later, and judging solely from the obverse-type this date would be possible for the coin. Curiously enough however the reverse is an incuse square of archaic form and is in fact

almost identical with the incuse on a coin of Potidaea also published in this volume (p. 123; pl. v. 49) and very rightly described by the editor as 'sehr alterthümlich, wohl vor 500 v.c.' This remarkable discrepancy between the style of obverse and reverse gives rise to grave suspicions as to the genuineness of this coin of the unknown Aermiaos. 2. *Amphipolis*. The Berlin Museum possesses nine and the British Museum eight specimens of the remarkable silver staters of this town. The unique coin with the Apollo-head wearing an earring is photographed on pl. iii. 25. The bronze coin on p. 47 No. 31 &c. in the Brit. Mus. Cat. *Macedon*, 'Amphipolis' has a wreath of reeds, not rays as stated by Dr. von Sallet (p. 46. No. 93). 3. *Chalcidice*. The Berlin collection possesses seven and the British Museum eleven silver staters. 4. *Eurydicea* p. 88. *obv.* Veiled female head, *rev.* tripod. Dr. von Sallet is inclined to assign these coins to Ephesus (under the name Eurydicea) or to some place named Eurydicea near Ephesus. He points out that one of the Berlin specimens came from Ephesus. Mr. H. P. Borrell (*Num. Chron.* iii. p. 135 f.) attributed the coins to a Macedonian Eurydicea, but I find from a note, p. 75, in his MS. catalogue (in the Medal Room of the British Museum) of his own collection that he did not know the *exact* find-spot of the coins:—'One (he says) in 1823 came to me from the Morea, one in 1827 from Salonica, and one in 1828 from the interior of Asia Minor.' 5. *Heraclea*. p. 89. The coins belong to the *Bithynian* Heraclea ('Pontica'), in spite of the resemblance (pointed out by Dr. von Sallet) of their incuses to those on Macedonian coins. A coin of the type of No. 3 was actually bought at Ereklî, the ancient Heraclea Pontica, by Mr. Sibilian (see *Num. Zeit.* ii. p. 303). 6. *Thessalonice* p. 141. Dr. von Sallet remarks that on one of the coins attributed to this place in Brit. Mus. Cat. *Macedon*. p. 113, No. 43, the reading is ΘΕΣΣΑΑ, not ΘΕΣΣΑΑΟΝ, the bridle of the horse being mistaken for ΟΝ, and he assigns the specimens to Thessaly and not Thessalonice. But on re-examining a very well-preserved specimen in the Brit. Mus. I find that the reading ΘΕΣΣΑΑΟΝ is correct.

It only remains to express the wish that Dr. von Sallet will lose no time in bringing out the succeeding volumes of a work which is of primary importance for the study of Greek numismatics.

WARWICK WROTH.

Catalogue of Greek Coins. Pontus, Paphlagonia, and the Kingdom of Bosphorus, by WARWICK WROTH. Edited by REGINALD STUART POOLE, LL.D., Correspondent of the Institute of France. London: printed by order of the Trustees. 1889. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xlv, 252. Plates xxxix.

THIS volume of the catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum describes over 1200 coins, with autotypes of 486 of them. The weight, size, device, and inscriptions of each piece are given. The lettering is copied with care, ligatures and arbitrary spacing of letters being given with precision. To ensure perfect accuracy the editor in charge has compared 'every coin with the corresponding description.' A few important coins not in the British Museum are described in the introduction. Whenever coins are dated, the era employed is given with reference, when necessary, to authorities.

The countries of Pontus, Paphlagonia, and Bithynia were partly included in the dominions of Mithradates the Great, and from them was constituted the Roman province of Bithynia and Pontus, though a few of their cities were in Galatia. But before they became a part of the Roman dominion, their countries had passed through various changes of government, to which testimony is borne by their coinage. The coins represent autonomous civic coinage, regal coinage, and coinage under the imperial supervision. The coins of Bosphorus are all regal, as the kings of Bosphorus were allowed the privilege of coining by the Romans.

The coins of each country are arranged by themselves, an arrangement which would be perfectly simple but for the complications of Pontus and Bosphorus. The coins of the European portion of the kingdom of Bosphorus are not included in this volume, as they have been described in the *Catalogue of the Tauric-Chersonese*, etc., and, as the author justly says, the coins of the later kings of Bosphorus here described 'would be better classed under "Europe," and placed after the coins of Panticapæum, the city at which they were doubtless minted.' This division of the coins of Bosphorus results from the adoption of Eckhel's geographical order. The coins of Asiatic Bosphorus are the first in the catalogue, followed by those of the Sindi and Colchis. Then follow the coins of Pontus arranged by cities. Here, and elsewhere throughout the book, the cities are in alphabetical order. After the coins of Pontus come those of the kingdom of Bosphorus (Leucan II. and III.), then those of the kingdom of Pontus (Mithradates II. and Pharnaces I.), then those of the (united) kingdoms of Pontus and Bosphorus (Mithradates Eupator and Polemo II.), which are again followed by the coins struck by the long line of the kings of Bosphorus. The regal coins of Paphlagonia (king Pylaemenes) and Bithynia follow after the coins of the cities of those countries. The coins of each city are arranged chronologically except that the metals are kept separate. The kings are ordered chronologically, and here again the metals are divided.

The earliest coins described in this volume are the silver staters of Sinope, issued about 480 B.C. The earliest coins of Heraclea of certain attribution date from about 415 B.C., but J. P. Six has attributed to Heraclea a series of electrum hecææ with *obv.* Head of bearded Herakles, l., in lion's skin; *Rev.* Incuse square divided into four compartments. The head of Herakles resembles that on the earliest coins certainly struck at Heraclea, but as the type is a common one the author refuses to class these hecææ among the coins of Heraclea. The next earliest coins are those of Chalcedon, beginning about 450. The other cities which coined money before Mithradates the Great

began in the fourth and third centuries. By far the greater part of the coins described are bronze pieces issued under the Empire.

The introduction gives the necessary historical sketch of the countries whose coinage is described, as well as descriptions of the types of the various coinages, with discussion of numerous questions connected with them. The altar on coins of Amasia may be that of Zeus Stratios, or some local divinity, and the author suggests that the eagle and chariot above the altar may refer to the apotheosis of an emperor. The figure on the reverse of a coin of Bithynium which has been called Antinous in the character of Hermes, is explained as a representation of Antinous as the divinised herdsman of Bithynium. The two views do not seem irreconcilable. Alliances are rarely recorded on coins of those regions, but the British Museum possesses coins of Nicomedia in alliance with Perinthus, Pergamum, Smyrna, and Laodicea. None of these seem to have been struck at Nicomedia. In the discussion of coins of the kingdom of Bosphorus a table of the weights of staters is given, and a table of marks of value on bronze coins. Some of these are in the form of a star, and the same sign occurs on staters. The female figure on the reverse of the tetradrachms of Nicomedes I. of Bithynia has been explained as a personification of Bithynia, and a similar male figure on the drachms of the same king has received the same interpretation. But Mr. Wroth accepts M. Reinach's interpretation of these figures as Bendis and Ceres respectively. The forty-six pages of this introduction contain a truly remarkable quantity of information condensed into very brief space. Authorities are freely cited, both for and against the author.

The volume, like its predecessors, is fully indexed, thirty-three pages being devoted to indexes. Index IV. c. and Index VI. merely contain the statements that 'there are no magistrates' names on the Imperial coins described in this volume,' and that 'there are no names of engravers on the coins,' etc. This is really useful information, and though perhaps these two indexes might have been printed on one page, it is wise to keep them apart, in conformity with the other volumes of the series.

After the indexes is a table of the relative weights of English grains and French grammes, and a table for converting English inches into millimètres and the measures of Mionnet's scale.

In mechanical execution the volume is, like the preceding volume of the series, excellent.

HAROLD N. FOWLER,
Exeter, New Hampshire.

ACQUISITIONS OF BRITISH MUSEUM.

Lord Savile has presented to the Museum an archaic terra-cotta antefix, discovered in the excavations he is conducting at Civita Lavina, the site of Lanuvium. It is of great beauty and very large, the front portion semicircular in form, measuring 15 in. high by 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. The clay is bright yellow, with details laid in deep red and brownish purple. The hair is arranged low over the forehead, and falls in three locks on either side; it is surmounted by a stephane painted with a meander pattern. From the crown rise two stalks which hang down on either side of the face, terminating on the level of the chin in a palmette. On these palmettes rests an arch of broad ovolo, forming a frame for the whole: this ovolo is connected with the palmette stalks by a network pierced *à jour*, consisting of three rows of semicircular apertures. The neck is encircled with a necklace.

The mask is strengthened at the back by the addition of a stay which joins the upper part of it

to the actual covering tile of which it forms the ornament, as it were a kind of flying buttress. This antefix was recently the subject of a paper read by Lord Savile at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries.

CECIL SMITH.

The account which I gave in the April number of the *Classical Review* of the Latin inscriptions in the Nottingham Castle Museum may be supplemented by the following list of inscriptions on bricks and tiles:—

- (1) On flat brick, in sunk and reversed letters:

VINPANSVL

Marini, 1396.

- (2) On similar brick:

caduceus AI ramus

C.I.L. xiv. 4090, 28.

- (3) On flat oblong brick:

LĀ//// (sub ramo), FELICE

This inscription, I think, is registered neither in the *Corpus* nor in Marini's *Sylloge*.

(4) This and the following inscription are from circular stamps on tiles. The impressions are very imperfect:

(opus do) LIARE EX PRA (ed Faustinae | Aug
n ex) FIGL FAVN (Iul Prisc)

Marini, 128, gives FIG FAVN. On this Dressel remarks that all the examples seen by him had FIGL FAVN. He is supported by the present example. It is probable therefore that Marini made an error in copying.

(5) EX (praedis L Veri) AVG OP DO | LIA C
(Nunid) I FELIC

Marini, 133.

The Nottingham Museum owes these inscriptions, as well as all the other results of the Nemi excavations which are in its possession, to the munificence of their discoverer, Lord Savile.

F. GRANGER.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. 1889. vol. x. Nos. 1 and 2.

1. Murray: remains of archaic temple of Artemis at Ephesus: publishes the remains of the sculptured cornice, so far as they have been put together; and a suggested restoration of two forms of columns, with and without sculpture; and proposes the name of Bupalos as the sculptor: two plates, five cuts. 2. Tozer: the Greek-speaking population of Southern Italy. 3. Head: publishes coin in the British Museum with a type of Apollo Hikesios, a title hitherto unknown as applied to this god: cut. 4. Hicks: publishes the inscriptions (forty in number) from Casarea, Lydae, Patara and Myra, collected by Mr. Bent in 1888 (see *J. H. S.* ix. pp. 82, 83): with a map and note by Mr. Bent. 5. McPherson: historical notes on certain modern Greek folk-songs. 6. Ridgeway: metrological notes (continued). iii. Had the people of pre-historic Mycenae a weight-standard? iv. How were the primitive weight-standards fixed? 7. Six: on the composition of the Eastern Pediment of the Zeus temple at Olympia, and Alcámenes the Lemnian. Rearranges the central group and places one horse of each chariot group in the rear, as on a black-figured hydria: proposes a restoration for the mutilated figure next to the river-god on the left. Collects evidence to show the existence and chronology of two Alcámenes, of whom Alcámenes I. made both pediment groups: and compares them with the con-

temporary art of the vase-paintings: three cuts, photographic plate. 8. P. Gardner: republishes the paintings on the krater (*Mon. Ined.* xi. 38-40): thinks the Niobide scene localises the other scene, which is the ascent of the mountains near Cyzicus: proposes to identify the figures. 9. E. Gardner: (i) thinks the Polledrara hydria was not made at Naukratis, and that the analogous ware found in Naukratis and Rhodes was made at Lesbos. (ii) Discusses Dümmler's paper on vases from Caere. (iii) Quotes Studniczka's interpretation of the Cyrene cup (*Naukratis*, i. pll. 8, 9). 10. Watkiss Lloyd: critical notes on the Electra and Antigone of Sophocles. 11. Ramsay: a study of Phrygian art, part ii: discusses the question of the age of the Lion Gate at Mycenae: the class of patterns in Phrygian art, and their origin; the Midas monument and the monument of Arezastis, in reference to Perrot and Chipiez, with other monuments of the Midas city. Notes on the Phrygian inscriptions and alphabet (see p. 187 for his view of the Aristonophos inscription): cuts 14-33. 12. Michaelis: the Imperial German Archaeological Institute: translation from the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. 13. Ramsay: Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairbenos. 14. Harrison: two cycles relating to the exploits of Theseus: (i) belonging to Miss Tricoupi (see *C. R.* 1888, p. 234), (ii) fragments from the De Luynes collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: two double plates. 15. Murray: archaic Etruscan paintings from Caere: the five terra-cotta slabs purchased in 1889 by the British Museum (*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1874, p. 128). Suggests B.C. 600 as an approximate date, when Etruscan art may have been stimulated by the advent of the artists escaping from the rule of the Kypselidae at Corinth: their Asiatic influence may be due to the Asiatic Greeks settled in Egypt, or directly to the Greeks of Asia Minor: plate, four cuts. 16. [Ed.] issuing plate of the Macmillan lekythos. 17. E. Gardner. Archaeology in Greece, 1888-89: (i) Excavations and archaeological work. (ii) Museums and administration. (iii) Byzantine art and antiquities: plate, and four cuts.

Notices of Books. Hermann's 'Gräberfeld von Marion auf Cypern'; Gardner's 'Naukratis ii.'; Benndorf and Niemann's 'Heroon von Gjölbassch-Trysa'; Babelon's 'Cabinet des antiques à la Bibliothèque Nationale'; Imhoof-Blumer and Keller's 'Tier- und Pflanzenbilder'; Schreiber's 'Hellenistischen Reliefbilder', part i.; Benndorf's 'Wiener Vorlegeblätter,' 1888; Paris' 'Sculpture Antique'; Head's 'Coins of Corinth and Colonies &c.'; Evans' 'Horsemen of Tarentum'; Busolt's 'Griechische Geschichte' part 2, and Holm's 'Griechische Geschichte.'

C. S.

Römische Mittheilungen. 1889, part iii. Rome.

1. Graef: the Herakles of Skopas and analogous types: several replicas of a youthful head crowned with poplar have long been known (see *Arch. Jahrb.* I. pl. 5, No. 2), attributed to Praxiteles. Publishes two here and compares the measurements of four known. Classes all the reproductions of this type according to the direction of the head, and compares it with the Praxitelean type. The best analogy is to the sculptures of Tegea, from which it would seem that the original was by Skopas. Pausanias (ii. 10. 1) mentions a marble Herakles by Skopas at Sikyon, and this is probably identified in a coin type (*J. H. S.* vi. p. 70). Study of the Meleager in the Vatican and other reproductions: two photographic plates, five cuts. 2. Huelsen: report of the new discoveries and researches in the topography of the town of Rome 1887-1889: to be continued annually: (i) Sources of Roman topography; (ii) Works bearing

on the subject; general history of the building of the town; (iii) Topographical purview: cuts. 3. Mau: *Bibliografia Pompeiana*: notices of eight works dealing with Pompeii. C. S.

The same. 1889, part iv. Rome.

1. Heydemann: two monuments of Southern Italy, (i) the 'base di Sorrento'; two fragments of a monument with four groups of sculpture in relief; (ii) a small bronze statuette of Mercury found in Ruvo, where antiquities of this class are very rare: two plates. 2. Petersen: the circular medallions with reliefs of the Arch of Constantine: with special reference to the type of Hercules invictus: four cuts, photographic plate.

Accounts of Meetings.

C.S.

The same. 1890, part i. Rome.

1. Wissowa; publishes a terra-cotta relief of the Tykiewicz collection, representing a scene in a school: the schoolmaster, a draped human figure with an ass's head sits in the centre; on the right are two rows of scholars, six apes (cynoscephali) holding writing-tablets on their laps; with some remarks on the history of parody and caricature, which seems to have centred in Alexandria; plate. 2. Studniczka: the Spada pseudo-Aristotle; the attribution rested on the inscription engraved on the side of the plinth; this is probably to be read as Aristides or Aristippos: the head does not belong to the statue. With a note on Aristotle by Gercke. 3. Sauer: publishes a Pompeian wall-painting found in 1878 representing Phaedra. Of the two types of Phaedra scenes, that to which this belongs may be referred to a great original, probably Hellenistic; plate. 4. Mau: gladiatorial inscriptions of Pompeii; sixty-six have been found, all but one written up in the same house, and apparently all on one occasion, when some spectacle was about to take place. 5. Pernice: certain inscribed pyramids of lead, at Naples and elsewhere, supposed to be weights, are rather sale labels for use in shops. 6. Huelsen: architectural ground-plan engraved in marble; notes on some of the plans originally collected in Jordan's edition of the 'Forma Urbis Romae'; plate, seven cuts. 7. Mau: addition to his article above; refers to Mommsen's publication (*Eph. Epig.* vii. p. 388) of a decree on gladiatorial games.

Reports of Meetings, with three cuts, viz. (i) the statue of Apollo and another figure in the Pallavicini gardens, said to be false (Petersen); (ii) a relief in calcareous stone representing a funeral cortège, at Aquila (Huelsen); fragments of a marble relief representing a naval scene; from a sarcophagus, not, as was supposed, from a temple. C. S.

Athenische Mittheilungen, 1889, part 4. Athens.

1. Schneider: gives a statement of the smaller objects found in the excavations in Feb.—Mar. 1889 on the site of the Dionysos theatre at Athens: principal among these is the find of pottery, which seems to give 450 B.C. as the downward limit of date: the most important piece is an oinochoe signed by Xenokles and Kleisophos: publishes this, with remarks on the relations between the different Athenian styles of vase-painting in the sixth century: cut, double plate. 2. Michaelis: the date of the rebuilding of the temple of Athene Polias at Athens: republishes an inscription recording the accounts for this rebuilding (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1881. p. 1257), proposing as date the second half of B.C. 409: this suits the political history of the time. 3. Judeich: Olymos. The writer and Winter were here in 1887 and recovered some further inscriptions which he

here publishes. 4. Brueckner: publishes a sculpture found in 1888 at Eleusis, with an inscription showing that it was a monument to cavalry: plate. 5. Schliemann: two inscriptions found at Pergamos in his recent excavations. 6. Novossadsky: publishes a new fragment of the inscription *C.I.A.* iv. 1, 1, 7. Diamantaras: sepulchral inscription of Muroi in Lycia: the transgressor is to pay three *κίθαρηφόρους* fine.

Report of excavations [W.D.].

C. S.

The same. 1890, part 1. Athens.

1. Graef; the group of the Tyrannicides, and works in Athens of similar style; compares in detail the statue by Antenor with others and with the group of the Tyrannicides; the latter is to be referred to about 477 B.C. Shows the existence at Athens for a limited period of a strongly marked style of art, and discusses its origin and influence on the development of Athenian art; three cuts. 2. Weissshaupl; an Attic funeral lekythos, found in a tomb in Eretria: two figures at a Mausoleum of Asiatic form, showing that foreign influence was coming in already at the middle of the fifth century; with a description of eighteen other lekythi of analogous technique, mostly from Attika and Eretria, all probably of Athenian fabric. 3. Rossbach; on the Nemesis of Agorakritos; publishes in a cut the Gandy head in the British Museum. 4. Szanto; on the history of Thasos; discusses specially the inscription *J. H. S.* viii, 401; agrees in the main with Hicks' restoration. 5. Brueckner; poros sculptures on the Akropolis, continued; (ii) the larger Triton pediment; the centre was occupied by the figure of Triton who probably held a dolphin, and whose body extended into the left angle; alongside his body is Herakles, who grasps him round the waist; on the right is a second human figure with anguiform body which occupies the right angle: he holds on his right hand a bird; this can only be Kekrops, and signifies that the contest takes place on Attic soil; plate. 6. Heberdey; adduces evidence in favour of Studniczka's combination of the female statue with the base of Antenor, and disproving the doubts expressed thereon (*Builder* 1888, p. 261; *J. H. S.* x. p. 278); two cuts. 7. Schliemann; two fragmentary inscriptions from Ilion. 8. Kontoleon; inscription of Nisyros. Bibliography. C. S.

Revue Archéologique. January–February, 1890. Paris.

1. Deloche; signet rings and seals of the Merovingian period, continued: several cuts. 2. de Vogüé and Delattre; Punic necropolis of Byrsa: description of two tombs recently opened, with plans, a plate and a cut. 3. Carton; the Pagan necropoleis of the Bulla Regia (Hamman-Daradji): (i) sepulchral monuments, (ii) sarcophagi, (iii) tomb furniture; plate, eleven cuts. 4. Castan; two Roman epitaphs of women, part of the street of tombs of Vesontio. 5. Chamonard and Couve; Catalogue of the Bellon collection, concluded. 6. Loret; researches on the hydraulic organ; (i) construction, (ii) description by Vitruvius, (iii) various documents bearing upon it: plate, and fifteen cuts. 8. Bapst: the tomb of S. Piat or Piator, martyred in 287 A.D.

Archaeological news &c. Letter from M. Imbert on the Lycian tombs of Paiafa and Marahi in the British Museum. *Bibliography.* Cagnat's *Revue des publications Épigraphiques.*

C. S.

The same. March–April, 1890.

1. Heuzey; publishes part of a curious plaque with sculptures in relief (see Mr. Budge's note in this issue

of the *C.R.* p. 322), and compares the style with the painting of Beni-Hassan: plate and six cuts. 2. Flouest: the Gaulish god with the mallet, on four-sided altars: the altar of Mayence: two plates. 3. Gaidoz; same subject: the altars of Stuttgart; two cuts. 4. Deloche: signet rings and seals of the Merovingian period, continued; several cuts. 5. Henry: application of new instruments of precision to archaeology: in particular to the morphologic study of three types of amphorae in antiquity; three cuts. 6. Waille: note on a Christian bas-relief found at Chérchell: the Magi with their camels visiting the stable at Bethlehem: and the three children cast into the fiery furnace: cut. 8. Morel: tumuli of Diarville and of Ambacourt: Gaulish remains, bronze armlets, &c.: plate. 9. de Villenois; an archaeological error relative to ancient bronzes; disproves Morlot's theory, that bronze was obtained by mixing two metals, that this mixture presupposes the knowledge of the two components in isolated form, and that there had been an age of pure copper.

S. Reinach's '*Chronique d'Orient*,' pp. 254-304, a complete summary of archaeological events.

Archaeological news. Letter from M. Imbert. The Congress at Troy in March 1890 and reports thereon. *Bibliography.* Cagnat's *Revue des publications Épi-graphiques*. C. S.

Bulletin de correspondance Hellénique. March-April, 1890. Athens and Paris.

1. Holleaux; excavations in the temple of Apollo Ptoos, continued; inscriptions 19-33. 'A résumé of the inscriptions proves the supposition based on Paus. ix. 23, 6 to be incorrect, viz. that the destruction of Thebes by Alexander ruined irremediably the oracle and sanctuary of the Ptoion. 2. Jamot; archaic terra-cottas of Tanagra; describes a chronological series both of the standing type, from the primitive

xoana, and the horseman type. The feminine type with polos is very early and probably comes from the east; the horseman type is due to the same origin; eight cuts, two plates. 3. Radet; sixteen inscriptions from the Maeander district. 4. Giannopoulos; eight inscriptions *τῆς ἐπαρχίας Ἀλμύρου*. 5. Fougères; excavations at Mantinea, continued; (ii) inner topography. Describes the theatre, the buildings near it, the bouleuterion, agora, and ancient streets. Answers Schliemann's attack in the *Berliner Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (January), who denounced the excavations as 'unsystematisch'; two plates. 6. Paton; two inscriptions from Rhodes; two blocks, formerly joined, and serving as the base for two statues (cf. Loewy, *Insch. Gr. Bildh.* 201); the third is a list of names of the first half of the second century B.C.; with an alphabetical list of these names. 7. Pante-lides; two inscriptions bearing upon Theocritus' journey in spring in Kos. 8. Lechat; observations on the archaic female statues of the Akropolis Museum; (i) Costume, (ii) Chaussure, (iii) Coiffure, (iv) jewels and ornaments, (v) *Μηνίσκος* (quotes the Schol. to Ar. *Avcs*, 1114 to show that this was crescent or semilunar, and served to protect the statues against birds; thinks that the custom gradually died out after the sixth century); (vi) the working of the marble. 9. Foucart; inscriptions of Caria; Lagina, Panamara, Temple of Artemis (*Καράων*?), Pedasa, including a new sculptor's signature, Philistides an Athenian of the fourth century. 10. Pottier; fragments of terra-cotta sarcophagi found at Clazomenae; studies the history of painting on a white engobe; plate. 11. Bérard; archaic statue of Tegea; discovered on the site of the temple of Demeter *ἐν Κορυθαῖσι* (Paus. viii. 54, 5); possibly imported into Arcadia, a work of the early school of Argos; plate. 12. Lechat; two bronze bits, one found in the excavations on the Akropolis: two cuts. C. S.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

The Expositor, 1890. Nos. 1-6. The most important contribution to the new volume is that by the late Bishop Lightfoot on 'The Internal Evidence for the Authenticity and Genuineness of St. John's Gospel,' which is contained in Nos. 1, 2, 3. Another interesting series is that by Dr. Plummer on his 'Recollections of Dr. Döllinger,' in Nos. 3, 4, 6. Dr. S. Cox writes on St. James and his epistle in Nos. 1 and 4; Professor Bruce continues his studies on the Hebrews in Nos. 2, 3, 5; Professor Sanday has a notice of Dr. Hatch in No. 2; Professor Godet writes on the Logical Arrangement of Romans v. 5-17 in No. 4. In No. 3 F. L. H. Millard explains *οἱ βαπτίζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν* by the fact of the baptism of whole families together on the conversion of the fathers: he thinks that this might lead to the custom of proxy-baptism, in behalf of those who had died before the preaching of the Gospel.

In No. 6 there is a striking article by Canon Hicks on 'Demetrius the Silver-smith,' treating of the new light thrown on the narrative in the Acts by the inscriptions found at Ephesus, which he is now editing for the British Museum. One point which will doubtless give rise to discussion is his explanation of the phrase *ποιῶν ναὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος*. These are usually supposed to be silver shrines sold to pilgrims, but the supposition is unsupported by evidence, and Canon Hicks thinks that St. Luke may have misunderstood some such phrase as *ἀργυροκόπος*

ὤν καὶ νεοποιὸς τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, where *νεοποιός* denote a warden of the temple and not a trade. An inscription has been found in which a Demetrius appears as chairman of these wardens, who were annually elected, two from each tribe of citizens.

American Journal of Philology. No. 41. April, 1890.

The Dirae of Valerius Cato, Robinson Ellis. Scaliger in 1573 was the first to suggest that the author was Valerius Cato. About 200 years later Friedrich Jacobs saw that the first 103 lines only belong to the *Dirae*, and the remaining 80 lines to the *Lydia*. Nake shows that the latter are only part of the *Lydia*. Mr. Ellis supports Nake's view that if the scene of the *Dirae* is the same as that of the *Lydia* then that on the grounds both of subject matter and language the latter was written first, and this view remains unshaken even if the locale of the two poems is not the same. 'The Lydia of the fragment is a mere girl, still immature; the Lydia of the *Dirae* is a woman with whom the poet has long cohabited, and the memory of whom will survive her death.' Nothing conclusively militates against Scaliger's opinion that the two poems (at least in their earliest form) belonged to the first half of the last century of the Republic.—On the sentence-question in *Plautus and Terence*, second paper, E. P. Morris, continued from last number [*C.R.* sup. p. 286]. Questions with

-ne. I. *nonne*. K. Relatives with -ne. On *ne* with apparent negative sense. II. *Num*, including *numquid*, *numquid*. III. *Equis*, *equid*, *enimquam*. IV. Questions without an interrogative particle, divided into: A. Idioms and sentences with slight interrogative effect. B. Repetitions. C. *Rogas*, *negas*, *rogitas*, and similar verbs. D. Questions with *non* and other negative words. E. Questions with *jam* and *etiam*. F. continued, supplementary and introductory questions.—The new edition of Mr. R. Ellis' *Commentary on Catullus* is reviewed by W. H. Klapp, who considers the most valuable part to be the various excursus appended to many of the poems. The reviewer, differing from Mr. Ellis, maintains that LXVIII. is two poems and not one.—Prof. Mayor's *Latin Heptateuch* is reviewed by J. T. Hatfield. 'Prof. Mayor brings to his work extraordinary qualifications: a severe Latin scholar, with that thorough training in metrics possessed by English versifiers, he has also a mastery of the Fathers and especially of the Christian Latin poets, and makes brilliant use of this material on every page.'—There is also a 'brief mention' of Mr. Warren's *Republic of Plato Books I.—V.*, criticising the 'leisurely chat' of which it mostly consists.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie u. Pädagogik. Ed. Fleckeisen u. Masius. (Leipzig, 1889.)

Heft 5 contains: (1) G. Busolt *Diodorus Verhältniss zum Stoicismus*, to the effect that Diodorus was a Stoic in ethics but an Epicurean in physics. (2) F. Schröder *Theokritos von Chios*, proving that this person was not a man of letters but a politician and that he died B.C. 319. (3) F. Hultsch *Zur Kenntnis des Volkstümlichen Rechnens bei den Römern*, an article suggested by Petronius 58 *partes centum dico ad aces, ad pondus, ad nummum*, and Hor. *Ep.* II. 3. 325 *Romani pueri* etc. Hultsch's conclusion is that *partes dicere* and *in partes diducere* refer to the same arithmetical operation, which was, in effect, the calculation of monthly interest. (4) E. Hiller *Zu Archilochos* fr. 32, a critical note. (5) L. Triemel *Diodor u. die Censur des Appian Claudius Cæcus*, showing that the inconsistencies of Diodorus' chronology are due to the fact that generally he uses the annals of Cato but occasionally (as on App. Claudius) the history of L. Piso who used the annals of Fabius Pictor. (6) A. E. Anspach *Die Abfassungszeit des Plautin. Bacchides*, fixing the date at B.C. 187. (7) H. Kothe *Virgilius u. Timaios*, an inquiry whether Virgil used Timaios at all in preparing the *Aeneid*. (8) F. Knoke *Der Bericht der Florus über die Varusschlacht*, showing that Florus does not really suggest the story, repeated by Ranke, that Varus was sitting on the tribunal at the time of the assault.

Heft 6 contains: (1) H. Usener, *Variae Lectionis specimen primum*, forty emendations, almost all in late writers. One of them is absolutely certain and ought to be quoted. In Herod. I. 67 οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσι τῶν ἀσπῶν, read τῶν στρατῶν, or στᾶτων, according to Hesychius s.v. and Bekker's *Anecd.* p. 305, 20 *στᾶτων* ἄρχοντες εἰσι παραπλησίαν ἔχοντες τοῖς ἀγαθοεργοῖς ἄρχην. (2) W. H. Roscher, *Zum Homer. Selenehymnos*, l. 6, proposing ἐνδαλονται for ἐνδιδονται. (3) C. Haebler, *Zu Platons Kriton* 49 A, proposing τηλοκοῖδε γ' ὕπνεις. (4) P. Seliger, *Des Protagoras Satz über das Mass aller Dinge*, partly polemical, but chiefly occupied in showing that Plato rightly understood the maxim which he ascribes to Protagoras in *Theæt.* 152 A. (5) A. Ludwich, *Zum Homer. Hermeshymnos*, emendations. (6) A. Teuber, *Die Regulusode des Horatius*, contending that this ode was written à propos to a discussion whether the captive soldiers of Crassus were to be brought back to

Italy. (7) A. Draheim, *De Phaedri Senario*, concerning the influence of accentuation on the structure of the line. (8) K. Schrader, *Zu Florus* II. 34, § 65, proposing *dictus dictator*.

Heft 7 contains: (1) J. K. Fleischmann: *Das Charakterbild der Elektra bei Aischylos*, suggesting chiefly that Aeschylus presents Electra as a type of a woman justly enraged in contrast to the devilish fury of her mother. (2) H. Meuss *Gothheit u. Schicksal bei den Attischen Rednern*, a very interesting summary of the allusions to the gods in the orators, who are taken as representatives of popular religion. (3) H. Kleist *Zu Platons Gorgias* 450 D, 451 B, 454 B, chiefly on Plato's application of τέχνη. (4) M. Kiderlin *Zu Quintilianus* V. VI., emendations. (5) H. Peter on L. Müller's ed. of *Nonius Marcellus* pts. I. and II., an unfavourable notice, directed chiefly to showing that Müller is too well justified in saying of his own work 'ita inuenies (Nonium) mutatum ut uix Nonium agnoscas in Nonio.' (6) E. Brandes *Zu Verg. Aen.* IX. 330, proposing *armigerum regis* for *armigerumque premi*.

Hefte 8 and 9 (pub. together) contain: (1) H. Pomtow *Fasti Delphici*, an elaborate study of the Delphic inscriptions at present known, with a view to restoring a list of priests (from cir. B.C. 200 to cir. A.D. 130) and of archons and also the pedigrees of some leading families. (2) L. Voltz *Zur Ueberlieferung der Griech. Grammatik in Byzantinischer Zeit*, an article founded on L. Cohn's discovery that the work περί μέτρων ποιητικῶν, attributed to Draco of Stratonicea, was really written by one Jacob Diassorinos, who was employed in the Paris library between 1545 and 1555. Voltz, by a great array of parallel passages, shows the sources from which the work was taken. After three trifling notes (6) O. Seeck *Studien zur Gesch. Diocletians u. Constantins* Th. II. on the Fasti Idaciani and the Chron. Paschale, supporting the former and discrediting the latter, at least in so far as it gives dates not derived from earlier authorities. (7) F. Knoke *über den Rückzug des Cæcina*, in Tac. Ann. I. 63. (8) H. Kothe *Timaios u. Cic. Tusc.* V. § 57—63, on the date of the elder Dionysius. (9) A. Ludwich *Zur Eiresione*, proposing δὲ μέγα μὲν βλαστει, μέγα δὲ πρέπει in l. 2 of this *volkslied*. (10) O. Crusius on *Robinson Ellis' ed. of Arrianus*, a defence of the work against an ungenerous critique in Berl. Philolog. Wochenschr.

Heft 10 contains: (1) A. Ludwich on *ηεροφοῖς*, to the effect that the ancients understood by this word ἡ διὰ τοῦ σκότους ἐρχομένη. (2) R. Peppmüller *Die Hesiodische Textesüberlieferung*, a careful collation of some fragments written at Athens in the 11th century and now in the Paris library. (3) Th. Büttner-Wobst *Beiträge zu Polybios* II., on the hiatus after καί, elaborate statistics. (4) Th. Breiter and K. Rossberg *zu Manilius*, a large collection of emendations. (5) H. Ball *zu Verg. Aen.* VII. 38, 39, proposing to translate *aduena exercitus* not 'the foreign army' but 'the harassed foreigner.'

Heft 11 contains: (1) R. Noetel *Arist. Elh. Nic.* III. *capita* 13, 14, 15 *narrata*, an analysis of these chapters. (2) F. Hultsch *zu Polybios* II 37, 10, suggesting ἔσχε πρ. κ. σ. τοῦτο τὸ ἐθνός (for μέρος) and commenting on the Polybian use of ἔθνος. The writer, in passing, compliments Shuckburgh's 'trefliche Uebersetzung.' (3) F. Susemihl *Das Geburtsjahr des Zenon v. Kition*, maintaining against Brinker that Zeno was born B.C. 336—5, not in 356, and was 72, not 92, when he died, in 264—3. (4) The same *Ueber eine Schrift des Aristarchos Ammonios*, suggesting that he wrote a book περί τῶν κωμωδουμένων, which is alluded to in the schol. to Ar. *Vespæ* 1239. (5) K. Hude *Coniecturae Xenophontæ*, chiefly in the *Memorabilia*. (6) H. Stadtmüller *Zur Anthol.*

Pal., emendations. (7) M. Rubensohn *Ein Griech. Epigramm* Kaibel n. 810, showing by ref. to *C.I.L.* VI 17170 that Eon in the epigram was guardian of the temple of Venus and kept a publichouse adjoining. (8) A. Reichardt *De Q. Ennii Annalibus* II., on prosody and metre. (9) J. Weisweiler *Zur Etymologie des Lat. part. praes. act.*, examining the evidence for a stem in *-ont-* and rejecting it. (10) L. Bauer *Zu Silius Italicus*, describing briefly a MS. in Bibl. Corvina at Buda-Pesth.

Heft 12 contains: (1) H. Meuss, *Die Vorstellungen vom Dasein nach dem Tode bei den Attischen Rednern*, an interesting paper, showing that, by the ordinary Athenian, the dead were supposed to be conscious and capable of pleasure, but not of activity. (2) C. Haebler, *Ad Lucetium* II. 294, proposing either *deuicta quae* or *deuicta quasi hoc* (abl. not acc. as Munro). (3) H. Hitzig, *Valckenaer's kritische Studien zu Pausanias*, report of a MS. note-book, now in the Leyden Library, Q. 389. (4) M. C. P. Schmidt, *ἄρα bei Pytheas*, showing that Pytheas of Marseilles did not, as alleged, use *ἄρα* in the sense of one-twenty-fourth part of a day. (5) K. Hude, *Der Thesaurus der Egestaier*, opposing Roscher's emendation *ὑπαργυρὰ* for *ἀργυρὰ* in Thuc. VI. 46. (6) M. Wetzel on Lattmann's *De Coincidentiae apud Cic. vi et usu*, discussing Latin usage in clauses introduced (e.g.) by *quotiescunque*. (7) H. Stending, *Zu Sall. Cat.* 60, 2 proposing *cuncti infestis signis*. (8) O. May, *Zu Caesar B. G. V.* 34, 2 proposing *et virtute et saepenumero pugnando pares*. (9) A. Fleckeisen, *Zu Plautus Aul.* 538, 539, 545, 546 and *Zu Ter. Andr.* 783-787, emendations. (10) Th. Breiter, *Zu Manilius*, emendations. (11) A. Ludwich, *Zu Apollonios Soph.* 81, 18 Bk. proposing *ῥωστήρ ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦ θάρακος φ' ἀχώρηται* in the gloss to Δ. 215, 216.

Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 1889, 1890.

No. 50. *Papyrus Magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi* quam C. Leemann ediditdenuo ed. comment. instruxit prolegg. scrips. Dieterich. The main value lies not so much in the *recensio* of the text as in the prolegomena, which contain an elaborate collection of all that refers to the literature of this sort of superstition (History of the Magic Papyri, Origin and sources of the Leyden Papyrus, 300-350 B.C.). An index grammaticus, an index verborum lexicis inserendorum, and an index rerum magicarum are added.—Dorsch, *Assimilation in den Compositis bei Plautus und Terenz* (Prager, phil. Stud. I.). A valuable paper. 'Although a number of compounds remain unassimilated, the assimilation in the time of Plautus and Terence has made much more progress than it is generally thought.'...Much light is also thrown on the authority of the MSS. of Terence and Plautus in orthographical matters.—Schulz, *Quibus ex fontibus fluxerint Agidis, Cleomenis, Arati vitae Plutarchae*. Especially noteworthy is the careful examination of Cleom. § 30-39 and Arat. § 47-54. Schulz proves convincingly that Plutarch and Polybius (for Cleomenes) go back to the same source—Phylarchus. For Arat. 47-54 Polybius is Plutarch's source.

No. 51. Lloyd, *Phonetic Attraction*.—Attempts an explanation of Indo-European roots. 'Form and meaning were influenced by similar-sounding or rhyming words. Many words now regarded as derivatives have rather drifted together from various sources.' Although L. is sometimes carried too far by his principle, the little pamphlet deserves a careful study.—*Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias vetera*, ed. Papageorgius. An improved edition of Sophocles' *Scholia*, with a good index.—*Vergilii... Aeneis c. dolect. var. lect.* ed. Ladewig: editio altera

cur. Deuticke. Shows nothing new as far as textual criticism is concerned, but it is a handy edition. The *var. lect.* are carefully and well selected.

No. 59. Nilén, *Luciani Cod. Mutinensis*. A careful account of the Cod. Mut., which is nearly related to Ω, T, Q.—*Johannis Cassiani opera* rec. Petschenig (Corp. script. eccles.). For the text P. has confined himself to the oldest MSS. His great familiarity with C.'s style enabled him to save many little peculiarities which the hand of a less skilful editor might have obliterated. His emendations are convincing.

1890. No. 1. *Chirographorum in Regia Bibliotheca Paulina Monasteriensi Catalogus* ed. Staender. A careful catalogue.—Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*. Treating in full for the first time Attic nobility in its juridical, historical, and mythological relations, the essay fills a real want.

No. 2. *Philonis Alexandri libellus de opificio mundi* ed. Cohn. This is a very good 'specimen novae editionis operum Philonis.' The textual criticism is careful, and there are many and great improvements.—*Supplementa ad Procli commentarios in Platonis de republica libros nuper vulgatos*, ed. Reitzenstein. (Breslauer Abh. 4). By a comparison of Pitra's edition (1886) and of Mai's *Apographon* (Vat. lat. 9541) R. endeavours to reconstruct the original readings, while by a re-arrangement of the quaternions he brings connexion into the text. His emendations are generally happy.—*Iamblichi Protrepticus* ed. Pistelli. A careful edition of the text of the best MS. (Laurent. lxxxvi. 3).—*Inventio sanctae crucis*...ed. Holder. The edition of the Latin text is based on five MSS., of which cod. Paris. lat. 2769 (=A) is prominent. H. has confined himself to giving an exact copy of A, with compendia, &c. The *varia lect.* of the four other MSS. (collated with the utmost care) is given at the end. A 'recensio' of the text is therefore still to be looked for. The Greek text is a reprint from Greter's ed. (1734).

No. 3. Immerwahr, *Die Lakonika des Pausanias auf ihre Quellen untersucht*.—A useful essay, although not all the material—especially regarding Ephorus—has been used.—Benesch, *De casuum obliquorum apud Iustinum usu*. Instructive, with careful comparison of J.'s predecessors and followers.—Upcott, *An Introduction to Greek Sculpture*. Clearly written. Based chiefly on Overbeck, Friedrich, Murray, and Perry.—Kroker, *Katechismus der Archæologie*. The text is very concise. Many points open to criticism.

No. 4. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* (2. ed.). A greatly enlarged and improved edition of this useful book (90 §§, while first ed. had 50).—Klussman, *Systematisches Verzeichniss der in den Schulprogrammen von 1876-1885 enthaltenen Abhandlungen*. A very useful catalogue, surpassing its predecessors in exactness and completeness.

No. 5. Psichari, *Essais de grammaire historique néogrecque. Études sur la langue médiévale*. II. The result of this careful investigation, the main part of which is formed by a 'Tableau général et comparatif des formes anciennes, médiévales et modernes de la déclinaison chez les auteurs,' is 'that Middle-Greek was a literary language, on the whole not very remote from the popular speech, but influenced more or less by the old Greek according to the author's learning, &c.'—*Iuli Valerii Alexandri Polemi res Alexandri Macedonis*...rec. Kuebler. The MSS. have been carefully collated. Although K. has introduced many emendations into the text, he is of opinion that much remains to be done in this line.

No. 6. Ihm, *Studia Ambrosiana*. A noteworthy attempt to fix time and order of A.'s writings. On the whole convincing.—Melber, *Ueber die Quellen und den Werth der Strategemensammlung Polyän's*.

'P. used certainly Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Caesar, Suetonius, Ephorus; very likely Plutarch, Polybius, Diodorus, Timaeus, Theopompus, Phylarchus, Hieronymus of Kardia; perhaps Deinon, Duris of Samos, Nicolaus of Damascus.'—*Polyaeni Strategematon* libb. viii. ex rec. Wolfllin iterum rec. Melber. A good edition. Of important MSS. a Laurentianus has been collated, which had not been used by W. Parallel passages are added. The *Excerpta Polyaeni* and *Strategemata Leonis imperatoris* are printed here for the first time.

No. 7. Kammer, *Ein ästhetischer Commentar zu Homer's Ilias*. The first part gives the author's view about the original *Ilias*, in which he follows Kern in the main. The second part deals one by one with the twenty-four songs, and contains many good observations.—*Caesaris commentarii de bello Gallico für den Schulgebrauch* hrsg. v. Prammer. More value has been given to the MS. family B, which was neglected by Nipperdey. In marking the quantity of vowels P. is often inconsistent with his own system.—Willi Müller, *Die Umseglung Africas durch phoenizische Schiffer ums Jahr 600 v. Chr.* G. Tries to refute the views which consider the periplus fictitious. Less successful is M.'s attempt to settle the time and other details.

No. 8. *Libellum de alectoribus*...ed. Hilgenfeld. The text does not differ much from that of Miodonski. A number of neglected editions have yielded a few emendations.—*Genethliacon Gottingense*...scripserunt philologi Gottingenses xxiv. Contains seventeen essays. Bruhn, Plutarchea (emendations). Günther, Variarum lect. capp. ii. (to Pliny's letters, Columella, Fronto, Apuleius περί ἐρμηνείας, Oinomaos περί γούτων φορὰς). Wentzel, de duobus locis Callimacheis (defends Bath of Pall. 71 and ep. 62, 2). Sonne, emendations to Aristotle's *Oeconomica*. Bethe, Ramenta mythologica (among other things the outlines of a lost Isthmian ode of Pindar). Viereck, de titulo Cretensi, *C.I.G.* II. add. 2561^b. (emendations and time: 138–132). Ausfeld, Platonica (detects three interpolations; legg. 728 C, rep. 404 D, 444 A). Reuter, on the worthlessness of Cod. Guelph. 71, 19 for the criticism of Xenophon. Petersen, Arianea (*Anab.* I. 14, 6, ἐσήμνην for καὶ μὴν, and on the Agrianes in Alexander's army). Badstübner, Coniectanea Annaeana. Weber, de Plutarcho Alexandri laudatore (unsuccessful attempt to show that the vita was written before the first oration περί τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρετῆς ἢ τύχης. Second oration shown to be spurious). Hahne, slight emendations to Demetrius rhetor. Passow, De Eratosthenis aetate (tries to bring into harmony Strabo I. 15 and pap. Comparetti. See refutation in Fleck. *Jhbb.* 1889, p. 747). Kern, De Triptolemo aratore (this function of Tr. belongs to the Alexandrian time). Stock, Collation of Cod. Erfurt. (B) of Cicero's oratio, quam habuit cum senatu gratias egit. Graeven, tres picturae Pompeianae, with commentary.—Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, hrsg. v. Rühl. I. *Schriften zur Aegyptologie und zur griechischen Chronologie*. Collected essays of that great scholar, some of which are printed here for the first time, all extremely interesting and suggestive.—Schneider, *Der Process des Rabirius*...An interesting investigation of the case of Rabirius, 63 B.C., from the juridical point of view.

No. 9. Stephan, *De Herodiani technici dialectologia*. (1) De vocibus dialecticis; (2) De vocibus quas H. dicit poeticis; (3) Quid significant voces κοινή συνθήκη et κοινή διάλεκτος. The results are satisfactory except in (3), where St. tries to show 'τὴν κοινήν διάλεκτον intellexisse Herodianum eam, quae antequam singulae dialecti fierent sola in usu omnium erat' κοινὸν means (a) forms common to all dialects; (b) the dialect of the post-Alexandrian literary lan-

guage; (c) regular.—Stephani, *De Martiali verborum novitate* (Breslauer Abh. IV. 2). A careful essay, which yields valuable results for Latin lexicography.

Jahresbericht des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. June–Sept. 1889.

[OBS.—Summaries of notices in periodicals which are usually summarized in the *Classical Review* are not here included.]

CICERO'S SPEECHES by F. Luterbacher.

M. Tullii Ciceronis orationes selectae XVIII. ed. K. Halm, 2nd ed. by G. Laubmann. Part I.—*M. Tullii Ciceronis orationes selectae* XXI. ex. ed. C. F. W. Müller. Teubner.—*M. Tullii Ciceronis pro Sex. Roscio Amerino, de imp. Cn. Pompei, pro Archia poeta orationes*, R. Novák. 'Has too many textual alterations.'—*M. Tullii Ciceronis orationes selectae*, ed. Al. Kornitzer, contains in 3 parts *Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino oratio*; *In L. Catilinam orat. IV.*; *Orat. pro T. Annio Milone, pro Q. Ligario, pro rege Deiotaro*. To be recommended, the text based on that of C. F. W. Müller.—*Cicero's ausgewählte Reden*, ed. K. Halm, 2nd vol. contains the speeches in *Q. Caecilium* and in *Verrem IV. and V.*, 9th ed. by G. Laubmann. Has many alterations from Halm's last edition. In ten places the traditional reading is restored.—*Discours de Ciceron contre Verrès, Seconde action Livre IV. de signis*, ed. Émile Thomas [*Classical Review*, II. 210]. 'Contains many good remarks on Ciceronian usage.'—*Cicero's Rede gegen C. Verrès*, ed. K. Hachtmann. Book IV. *de signis*, Book V. *de suppliciis*. 'Useful both to the schoolboy and the specialist.'—*M. Tullii Ciceronis pro M. Caelio oratio ad iudices*, ed. J. C. Vollgraff [*Classical Review*, II. 211]. 'Words and whole sentences which are not clear to the editor are rejected as interpolations or replaced by conjectures.'—*Cicero's Rede für Quintus Ligarius*, ed. Julius Strengé. 'Has an advantage over the editions of Halm and Eberhard in that the arrangement of the speech is clearly set forth.'—*Cicero's ausgewählte Reden*, ed. K. Halm, sixth vol., 1st and 2nd Philippics, 7th ed. by G. Laubmann.—Schliack, *Proben von Erklärungs- bzw. Emendationsversuchen zu einigen Stellen griechischer und lateinischer Klassiker*. Programm des Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasiums zu Cottbus, 1888. The following eight places in Cicero are emended, *Pro Sulla* §§ 45, 53, 63, 68, *Pro Sest.* §§ 12, 110, *Pro Marc.* § 33, and *De imp. Pomp.* § 18.—Th. Stangl, *Tulliana et Mario-Victoriniana*, Programm des K. Luitpold-Gymnasiums in München, 1888. Above twenty places in Cicero's speeches are dealt with.—A. Chamblu, *Das Verhältniss der vierten Catilinarischen Rede zu den von Cicero in der Senatssitzung des 5 Dec. 63 wirklich gehaltenen Reden*, Programm, Neuviwed, 1888. Seeks to show that far the greatest part of the speech cannot have been spoken as we have it now, but he produces no convincing proof.—A. Grumme, *Ciceronis orationis Murenianae dispositio*. The speech is divided into (I.) Exordium, (II.) Self-defence of Cicero, (III.) Justification of Murena, (IV.) Peroration.—Siegfried Schmid, *Untersuchung über die Frage der Echtheit der Rede pro M. Marcello*, Dissertation, Zürich, 1888. Schmid decides against the genuineness of the speech and concludes that it was written in a rhetorical school under Tiberius, but it is a pity he has not seen the Erlangen dissertation of Armin Schwanke, 1885, in favour of the genuineness of the speech.

TACITUS (except the *Germania*), 1836–1888, by G. Andresen.

Tacitus Dialogus de oratoribus, cap. I.–XXVII. translated with critical and explanatory notes by Prof. Dr. John. Programm, Urach, 1886. Translation

on the whole correct, clear, and skilful, the commentary useful, the textual criticism acute.—*Oeuvres de Tacite, Dialogue des orateurs*, by Henri Goelzer. It is maintained that the proper theme of the dialogue is whether for a man of genius it is better to devote himself to poetry or oratory.—*Cornelio Tacito, La vita di Giulio Agricola*, by Giov. Decia. Contains nothing original, but the results of German labour are used with good judgment.—*The Histories of Tacitus, books I. and II.*, by A. D. Godley [Classical Review, I. 154].—*P. Cornelii Taciti opera*, rec. J. C. Orellius, Vol. II. Ed. II. Fasc. V. *Historiarum liber II.* ed. C. Meiser.—*Cornelii Taciti Historiarum libri qui supersunt*, by E. Wolff, Vol. I. Books I. and II., Vol. II. Books III. IV. and V. Highly commended.—*Cornelii Taciti opera quae supersunt*, rec. J. Müller, Vol. II. *Historias et opera minora continens*. 'A careful and independent work.' Often differs from Halm in favour of the traditional text.—*Cornelii Taciti ab excessu Divi Augusti libri*, by M. Giltbauer, Pars prior I.—VI. The editor strikes out whatever he thinks unnecessary to the meaning. The parts of *esse* and the word *cuncta* are often omitted. Besides it is a bawdierized edition.—*Die Annalen des Tacitus*, by A. Draeger, I. Books I.—VI. 5th ed. [Classical Review, II. 26].—*Cornelii Taciti ab excessu Divi Augusti libri qui supersunt*, ed. Ign. Prammer. Part I. Books I.—VI. Too intolerant towards actual or probable unevennesses of expression.—J. Asbach, *Cornelius Tacitus*, Historisches Taschenbuch. 'The earlier books of the Histories not known before 104, the whole work completed 109 at latest. It consisted of 12 books, the Annals of eighteen in three hexads. The first of these already published in 110.'—Wallich, *Die Geschichtsschreibung des Tacitus*. Progr. des Gymnasiums und Realgymnasiums zu Rendsburg, 1888. A polemical discussion as to whether Tacitus should be read in schools. Concludes, 'the greatest Roman historian must be held fast in our schools.'—Emmerich Cornelius, *Quomodo Tacitus historiarum scriptor in hominum memoria versatus sit usque ad renascentes literas saeculis XIV. et XV.* Progr. Wetzlar, 1888. A careful and valuable work which follows the traces of Tacitus in the literature of antiquity and the middle ages.—Schwenkenbecher, *Quo anno Taciti dialogus de oratoribus habitus sit quaeritur*. Progr. Spottau, 1888. Delivered 7 Dec. '74, written in '81.—B. Wutk, *Dialogum a Tacito Traiani temporibus scriptum esse*. Progr. Spandau, 1887. Seeks to show that it was written and published between 99 and 102.—V. Habbe, *De dialogi de oratoribus, qui Taciti esse existimatur, locis duobus lacunosis*. Progr. Celle, 1888. Two gaps are suspected of 'sex pagellae' each, (1) between chs. 35 and 36, (2) in ch. 40 before *non de otiosa*. The rev. thinks the suspicion not devoid of probability.—Philipp, *Dialogi Tacitini qui fertur de oratoribus quae genuina fuerit forma*. 'Contains a number of original thoughts.'—P. Dietrich, *Ueber die Tendenz des Taciteischen Agricola*. Progr. Stralsund, 1887.—J. Büsse, *De Taciti Agricola*, Gymnasialprogramm, Hildesheim, 1886. Superficial, correct only in the printing.—J. Gantrelle, *Les Sùèves des bords de l'Escaut*. Defends his conjecture of 1875 that in Agr. 28 by the Suebi are meant a branch of the Suebian race which had settled between the Scheldt and the Maas.—J. Asbach, *Römisches Kaisertum und Verfassung bis zur Erhebung Vespasians*. Historisches Taschenbuch. Interesting to the reader of Tacitus.—Iginio Gentile, *L'imperatore Tiberio secondo la moderna critica storica*. 'The contemporaries of Tib. viz. Horace, Velleius, Strabo, Philo, know only his good side; with Seneca, Josephus, Juvenal, Pliny the younger, appear the first shadows on the picture which was afterwards fixed by Tacitus and Suetonius,

who drew from aristocratic sources.'—Fritz Abraham, *Tiberius und Sejan*. Progr. Berlin, Falkrealgymnasium, 1888. This attractive and readable essay maintains that the difficult task of government left behind by Augustus was too great for the strength of Tiberius.—L. Schumacher, *De Tacito Germaniae geographo*. Progr. des Kgl. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasiums in Berlin, 1886. Chiefly on the different senses of *Germania* and *Germaniae* in Tacitus.—C. Franklin Arnold, *Die Neronische Christenverfolgung* [Classical Review, III. 63].—Fr. Knoke, *Die Kriegszüge des Germanicus in Deutschland* [Classical Review, I. 277].—Fr. Knoke, *Die Kriegszüge des Germanicus in Deutschland*, Nachtrag. Maintains that the defeat of Varus took place in the neighbourhood of Iburg.—*Lexicon Taciteum*, edd. A. Gerber et A. Greef. Fasc. VI. and VII. This excellent work is here continued from *imperare* to *meditamentum*.—D. Wollner, *Die von der Beredsamkeit aus der Krieger- und Fechttersprache entlehnten bildlichen Wendungen in den rhetorischen Schriften des Cicero, Quintilian und Tacitus*. Progr. Landau, 1886.—Fr. Fröhlich, *Einige stilistische und realistische Bemerkungen zur militärischen Phrasologie des Tacitus*. Gives a lively picture of the variation of expression of Tacitus in the use of military terms.—Fr. Walter, *Studien zu Tacitus und Curtius*. Progr. des Königl. Wilhelmsgymnasiums in München, 1887. Maintains that the coincidences between Tacitus and Curtius arise from a common imitation of Sallust.—H. Schmaus, *Tacitus ein Nachahmer Vergils*. Erlanger Inauguraldissertation. Out of 319 newly-coined words by Vergil fifty-seven re-appear in Tacitus.—P. Petzke, *Dicendi genus Tacitinum quatenus differat a Liviano*. Diss. inaug. Regiment. The abundance of material necessitates some superficiality in treatment.—R. Macke, *Die römischen Eigennamen bei Tacitus*. Progr. Hadersleben, 1886. Gives a detailed account of Tacitus's nomenclature.—J. Wiesler, *Textkritische und exegetische Erörterungen zu dem Dialogus de oratoribus des Tacitus*. Progr. Leoben, 1886. 'An unprofitable work.'—Karlowa, *Bemerkungen zu der Kritischen Angabe des Taciteischen Agricola*. Progr. Pless, 1886. Successfully directed against the mechanical and superficial interpretations of Kritz.—Fr. Maxa, *Observationes criticae et exegeticae in Taciti Agricolam*, Parts II. and III. Progr. Radantz, 1886—87. The result small for those acquainted with the subject.—J. H. Onions, *Journ. of Phil.* XVII. 34. Most of the conjectures wrong, worthy of consideration are those on H. III. 34, I, IV. 66, 15, and the remark on I. 10, 5.—P. Albrecht, *Philologische Untersuchungen*. Makes *qui* in Ann. I. 74 refer to *Hispo* and not to *Caezio*.—H. C. Goodhart, *Classical Review*, II. 227 on Ann. II. 23. Nothing gained by this punctuation.—J. Maehly, *Zur Kritik lateinischer Texte*. None of the conjectures on Tacitus to be commended.—R. Novák, *Ad Tacitum*, Listy filol. 1887, 1888. A large number of emendations, a few of which are worthy of consideration.

LYSIAS, by E. Albrecht.

Lutz, *Die Prepositionem bei den attischen Rednern*. Progr. Neustadt a. H. 1887 [Classical Review, III. 414].—*Selections from the Attic Orators, Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus* [Classical Review III. 406]. Ed. with notes R. C. Jebb, 2nd edition. Criticizes rather adversely the choice of the selection from Lysias. Does not approve of Jebb's own conjectures, and adds that a better knowledge of what has been done lately in Germany would have improved the text-criticism and commentary, which is otherwise marked by great dexterity and diligence.—*Ausgewählte Reden des Lysias*, by R. Rauchenstein, Vol. I. 10th ed., by K. Fuhr. Slightly altered from

last edition. Conjectures now assigned to their original authors, but the appendix gives only the differences from Scheibe's second edition (1855), which is now quite obsolete.—W. Kocks, *Kritische und exegetische Bemerkungen zu Lysias*. Progr. des Friedrich-Wilhelmsgymn. zu Köln, 1888. Partly defends conjectures in his edition, partly puts forward new ones.—*Schliack*, Progr. Cottbus, 1888. On XIII. 86 reads *δυσχυρίζομένην* with Kocks and Weidner.—E. R. Schulze, *Quaestiuunculae grammaticae ad oratores Atticos spectantes*. Progr. Bautzen, 1888. Rightly changes *βελτίονα* into *βελτίων* in XIX. 15, but in XXIV. 4 we must read *ὡς ἂν οἷός τ' εἴ* with P. R. Müller, and not *ὡς ἂν οἶδν'* *ῆ*.—W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, says of Lysias that he was born about 445 in Syracuse, came to Athens with his father about 440, but later, about 430, returned with one of his brothers to the West, and certainly to Thurii. But it is a mistake of Christ's to reject without more consideration the express statement of Cicero that Lysias was born in Athens, which is supported by the independent testimony of Dionsysius and Pseudo-plutarch. Also the opinion of Christ, which he shares with Sittl, that XV. is an epitome of XIV., is untenable.—F. Nowack, *De orationum quae inter Lysiacas feruntur XIV. et XV. authenticis*. Diss. Leipzig, 1889. Displays an amount of sound judgment and learning rarely found in a dissertation. Nowack concludes (1) agreeing with Blass, that both are probably spurious; (2) differing from Blass, that they are not by the same author.

Oct.—Dec. 1889.

VERGIL, by P. Deuticke.

L. Valmaggi, *La biografia di Virgilio attribuita al grammatico Elio Donato*. Riv. di fil. XIV. Seeks to show that this life is due to an anonymous commentator on the Bucolics. Not entirely intelligible or convincing.—P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*. Gives much information on the history of the most important MSS.—E. Chatelain, *Un important fragment de Virgile*. A complete collection of the variants of the oldest Vergil MS. in the National Library at Paris, No. 7906, of the beginning of the ninth century, written in fine minuscule and containing Aen. IV. 682 [2]—V. 734.—*Paléographie des classiques latins*. Collection de fac-similés des principaux manuscrits... publiée par E. Chatelain. 5e livraison *Virgile*, with fifteen plates.—A. Kirsch, *Quaestiones Vergilianae criticae*, Diss. Münster, 1886. *P. Vergili Maronis carmina*, ed. G. Thilo. 'Th.'s clear discussions are read with true pleasure.'—*P. Vergili Maronis, Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis*, rec. Otto Güthling, 2 Vols. Offers a useful text in spite of many inaccuracies.—*P. Vergili Maronis Aeneis*, ed. W. Klouček. An honour to the editor. In the text he expressly prefers M to P. The critical apparatus gives the MSS. tradition after Ribbeck.—*P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica et Georgica*, ed. W. Klouček. A worthy companion to the editor's Aeneid.—W. Klouček, *Vergiliana*. Progr. des K. K. deutschen Untergymnasiums in Smichow, 1888. Defends the emendations in his edition.—*P. Vergili Maronis carmina selecta*, ed. E. Eichler, contains Aen. I. II. IV. and VI., a selection from VII.—XII., Buc. 1, 5, 7, and 9, and twelve extracts from the Georgics.—*Vergil's Aeneide*, a text for school use by W. Gebhardi.—*P. Vergili Maronis Aeneis*, ed. Th. Ladewig, 2nd ed. by P. Deuticke.—*Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*. Rec. G. Thilo et H. Hagen. Vol. III. fasc. I. In Bucolia et Georgica commentarii. Rec. G. Thilo [Classical Review, II. 82].—Ew. Krause, *Quibus temporibus quoque ordine Vergilius eclogas scripserit*. Diss. Berlin, 1884.—Alfr. Prayge, *De eclogarum*

Vergilianarum temporibus. Diss. Berlin, 1885.—Alfr. Feilchenfeld, *De Vergilii bucolicon temporibus*. Diss. Leipzig, 1886. These three dissertations agree in a division into three groups: (a) 2, 3, 5, 7, composed probably 42/1 before the division of the land; (b) 1, 9, 6, occasioned by the threatened loss of his property; (c) 4, 8, 10, which contain no direct allusion to it.—M. Sonntag, *Beiträge zur Erklärung Vergilscher Etologien*. Progr. Kgl. Friedr.-Gymn. Frankfurt a. O., 1886, and *Ueber die appendix Vergiliana*, Progr. ib., 1887. Considers 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 published in Autumn 39 B.C., 1, 9, 6, 10, composed between the Spring of 38 and the Winter 38/7.—O. Gruppe, *Griechische Culte und Mythen I.* On Ecl. IV. which, as Gruppe maintains, is founded on an oracle ascribed to the Cumaean Sibyl.—Car. Pascal, *De Quintilio Varo Cremonensi poeta*. Riv. di filol. XVII. Distinguishes between an epic poet L. Qu. V. and the well-known L. Varius. To the former, a Roman knight of Cremona, are 6 and 9 dedicated, and not to Allenus Varus.—M. Gitlbauer, *Philologische Streifzüge*, 1886. Rejects several cases of synalopha, where he thinks interpolations have been introduced.—R. Ellis, *The riddle in Verg. Ecl. III. 104. Journ. of Phil.* XXII. 143. Did not Vergil then write *caeli*?—J. Vahlen, *Ind. lect. Berlin S.-S.* 1888. Valuable for the 8th eclogue.—J. Wang, *De Servio ad Verg. Ecl. X. 1 et Georg. IV. 1, annotatis*. Progr. des K. K. Staatsgymn. zu Klagenfurt, 1883. On whether formerly a second part of Georg. IV. contained the praises of Gallus. Too narrowly treated.—Jac. van Wageningen, *De Vergili Georgicis*, Diss. liter. inaug. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1888. Almost an independent commentary. Puts the publication in 26 after the death of Gallus, therefore the beginning of composition 33.—Remigius Sabbadini, *Quae libris III. et VII. Aeneidos cum universo poemate ratio intercedat*. Riv. di filol. XV. Maintains that I. II. IV. VI. VIII. IX. were composed before V. X. XI. XII. VII. III. Interesting but not convincing.—Ant. Cina, *Analecta Vergiliana et Tulliana*. Riv. di filol. XVI. Varius and Tucca not merely exercised their functions towards Vergil with carelessness, but they deliberately omitted to reject some hasty sketches or to arrange them in other places.—*Aeneidea, or critical, exegetical, and aethestical remarks on the Aeneis*, by James Henry, Vols. I. and II. Vol. I. contains Book I., Vol. II. Books II.—IV. Much too detailed. The 'varia lectio' divided into three heads: I. Chief MSS.; II. Later Sources; III. Printed Editions.—*Vergil's Aeneide*, ed. Karl Kappes. Part I. Aen. I.—III. 4th ed. Notes much improved.—*P. Vergili Maronis Aeneis*, ed. O. Brosin. Vol. I. Books I. and II. 2nd ed.—*Die Aeneide Vergils*, ed. W. Gebhardi. 2nd edition by G. Ihm, Part I., Books I. and II. Nearly re-written by Ihm. The notes marked by terseness, clearness, and a greater sense of proportion.—*Die Aeneide Vergils*, ed. W. Gebhardi. Part IV. Aen. VII. Continued after the editor's death by P. Mahn. The commentary shows thorough investigation of the subject-matter.—*P. Vergili Maronis Aeneis*, ed. O. Brosin. Vol. III. Books VII.—IX. Full of valuable elucidations.—*Vergils Gedichte*, ed. Th. Ladewig. Vol. III. Aen. VII.—IX. 8th edition by C. Schaper.—*Nouvelles promenades archéologiques: Horace et Virgile*, G. Boissier. In three chapters, in the third of which, 'the land of the Aeneid,' Boissier relates what he saw and found when he studied the Aeneid 'chez elle.'—P. Berger, *Ascarne*. Mélanges Graux. Maintains that Ascanius, Iulus, and Ilus, are three different mythological personages whom Vergil has identified.—Fr. Cauer, *De fabulis Graecis ad Roman conditam pertinentibus*, Dissert. Berlin, 1884.—Fr. Cauer, *Die römische Aeneassage von Naevis bis Vergilius*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. XV.—B. Niese, *Die*

Sagen von der Gründung Roms. Hist. Zeitschr. N.F. XIII. In these three dissertations the facts are set forth with knowledge and combined with judgment, but the impression left is not that 'it is so,' but that 'it might have been so.'—P. Cauer, *Zum Verständnis der nachahmenden Kunst des Vergil.* Progr. des Gymn. zu Kiel, 1885. Speaking generally the standpoint is correct and the execution creditable.—H. Th. Plüss, *Vergil und die epische Kunst.* A great help to a clearer appreciation of the art of Epic poetry.—Braitmaier, *Ueber die Schätzung Homers und Vergils von C. Scaliger bis Herder.* Very interesting for Vergil.—G. Heidtmann, *Emendationen zu Vergils Aeneis.* Books I. and IV. Consist chiefly of rejections and transpositions, e.g. I. 50—57, 498—503, 695—772. Emended I. 70, 338, 463, IV. 193, 561, and approved I. 380 *et patrium*.—J. S. Speijer, *Lanzsatura.* Progr. des Gymn. zu Amsterdam, 1886. Seeks to show that *Orcus* always = *Dis* is not universally true, cf. Aen. IV. 242, and VI. 273. The following are emended II, 256, 595, IV. 610, V. 575, VI. 211, VIII. 219.—G. Schröter, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung von Vergils Aeneis.* II. Part. Pr. des Kgl. Kath. Gymn. zu Gross-Glogau, 1885. III. Part. Pr. des Kgl. Kath. Gymn. zu Neisse, 1888. The first programm discusses about twenty places Aen. V.—VII., and the second about fifteen Aen. VII.—XII.—W. Paulus, *Spicilegium scholasticum.* Korr. f. d. G. Sch. Wurth, 1887. Understands *donā* Aen. II. 49, not as a gift to the Trojans, but as a gift dedicated to Minerva, cf. II. 31, 189.—H. Nettleship, *Notes on Vergil.* Journ. of Phil. XV. 29. Offers a list of valuable elucidations and parallels to places in Eclogues, Georgics, and Aeneid.—J. Lechthaler, *Die Darstellung der Unterwelt bei Homer Od. XI. und Vergil Aen. VI.; das Verhältniss Virgil zu Dante dell' inferno.* In his conception of the existence of souls in the underworld, Vergil agrees with Homer, but in his description of the kingdom of the dead he is independent and offers hardly any point of comparison. In the description of Tartarus Vergil was model to Dante.—W. Paulus, Korr. f. d. G. Sch. Württ, 1887. On *Lethe* in Aen. VI. 714.—Th.

Oesterlen, *Studien zu Vergil und Horaz.* Consists of an essay on 'the shield of Aeneas' already published, and one on 'Vergil in Schiller's poetry.'—J. Hoskyns-Abrahall, on Aen. IX. 721 [*Classical Review*. II. 226]. Does not think the proposed reading likely on account of 717.—H. Schmaus, *Tacitus ein Nachahmer Vergils.* Dissert. Erlangen, 1887 [see under *Tacitus* supr.].—I. Grösst, *Quatinus Silius Italicus a Vergilio pendere videatur.* Diss. Halle, 1887.—W. Meyer, *Zur Geschichte des griechischen [= alexandrischen] und lateinischen Hexameters.* Two circumstances are of importance in the development of the Latin hexameter: (1) that the first composer made the masculine caesura the rule, and the feminine the exception; (2) that later no remedies were invented for the superabundance of accented word-endings and for monotony.—Rich. Hildebrandt, *Studien auf dem Gebiete der römischen Poesie und Metrik I. Vergils Culex.* An attempt to separate exactly the genuine from the spurious part of the poem.—I. Hilberg, *Vorläufige Mittheilungen über die Tektonik des lateinischen Hexameters.* Interesting.—M. Kraft, *Zur Wortstellung Vergils.* Progr. des Realgymn. und Gymn. zu Goslar, 1887. Treats of the relation between the Penthemimeral and the Hephthemimeral caesura in Vergil.—G. A. Kock, *Wörterbuch zu den Gedichten des P. Vergilius Maro.* 6th ed. by K. E. Georges. Shortened by 132 pages and now only meant for schools. A new edition is much needed.—E. Siegel, *Die 'nomina propria' mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der griechischen Formen in der Aeneis.* Progr. des K. K. deutschen Staatsgymn. in Budweis, 1887. Too incomplete and superficial to be of use.—Fr. Harder, *Olli, 'Arch. of lat. Lexikogr., 1885.'* In Aen. I. 254 not dat. of pron. but adv. of time.—J. Schäfer, *Die sogenannten syntaktischen Gracismen bei den augusteischen Dichtern.* Progr. d. Kgl. Studienanstalt Amberg. 1884. One has gradually ceased to regard unusual constructions as Greek, yet is Schäfer's contribution to be received with thanks. In Georg. III. 273 he reads *ora for ore.* In Georg. I. 126 *alto* is dat. = per altum, so *ib.* VI. 686 *genis* = per genas.

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The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1890.

HORATIANA.—III. KELLER'S THREE CLASSES OF MSS.¹

ALL that can be done for the text of a classical author, in the way of collating MSS. and ransacking scholiasts, grammarians and other ancient writers, has been done for Horace by Messrs. O. Keller and A. Holder. Their larger edition (1864—9), their smaller edition (1879) and the *Epilegomena* (1879—80), published by Keller, alone give an unexampled conspectus of critical material. But, though this material had never been collected so carefully or in so neat a form, the parts of it were almost all known before, and Keller and Holder do not pretend to have discovered a single new reading of any moment. What they do pretend is that they have discovered, for about 95 readings out of 100, the scientific criterion of authenticity. They say that

(1) though, as a rule, there are only two variants of any given passage of Horace, yet the MSS. fall into three Classes :

(2) these Classes derive from three ancient archetypes, the oldest of which is represented by Class III, the next by Class I, and the latest, namely the edition of Mavortius, about A.D. 520, is represented by Class II :

(3) the agreement of any two Classes is almost always conclusive against the third :

(4) as Class I almost always agrees with one of the other Classes, the readings of Class I are almost always correct, and this is therefore the best Class to follow, where all three are at variance.

Obviously it is very difficult and dangerous to dispute propositions like these, put forward more than once by each and both of two scholars who have an unparalleled knowledge of the details. But if one may not dissent from Keller and Holder's principles, one ought to accept their text, which no one is inclined to do. Later editors, so far as I have seen, escape from the dilemma by a most convenient loophole. It happens that Keller and Holder have made the mistake of unduly decriing the famous V, *Blandinus vetustissimus*, and have even insinuated that Cruquius was a forger and humbug. On this ground their judgment is very easily overridden, and the dissenters go on their way rejoicing. But, as a matter of fact, V is not of special value, as I have said before, except for the *Satires*; elsewhere, it merely confirms readings which were well supported already, so much so, that out of 250 readings ascribed to V, Keller and Holder have themselves adopted, for other reasons, 140, while Lucian Müller, who is a fervent partisan of V against them, only adopts 156.² Thus, for four-fifths of Horace, Keller and Holder's principle is as strong as ever, and ought to be rejected on its merits or not at all. It is true that they have almost rendered criticism impossible. The mass of facts which they give is perfectly appalling, but, after all, it is only half, and the less valuable half, of what they know, for they have handled

¹ I find that in *Carm.* III. 14, 11 my proposed *expectate* (supra p. 155) has been partly anticipated by Bücheler's *spectate*, and that in *Sat.* II. 3, 208 Horkel has already proposed *cerebrique*. A curious hieroglyph in my last paper was a misprint for an italic g.

² Bentley took 136: Haupt, 156: Vahlen, 158. These figures are from Kukula, *De Codice Cruquii Vetustissimo* p. 69. The same writer proves that the number of readings, which can with certainty be attributed to V, is far smaller than is usually supposed.

nearly fifty MSS. Then they give their opinions *ex cathedra*, without any reasons, and it seems both an interminable and a useless undertaking to fumble for their reasons among their facts. Nevertheless, I believe a clear case can be made out against their Class I, which is, in fact, the key of their position. It seems to me that Class I is a mere figment, designed to give an appearance of science to an unscientific procedure. In fact, when Keller says he has two Classes against one, he has only six or seven MSS. against five or six, which is a different thing and, under the circumstances, a wholly unimportant thing. I will attempt to prove this point shortly, though it is difficult to keep any point clear in such a tangle.

It should be mentioned that Holder seems to have done quite as much of the actual work of collation as Keller, and most distinctly assumes half the responsibility for the theory of three Classes, but Keller has prepared most of the published work, and it is more convenient to refer to him alone as editor-in-chief.

The MSS. used in Keller's smaller edition are $\Delta\alpha\gamma\nu EBCgD\tau R\phi\psi\lambda\delta z d\epsilon\pi Luv$, but certain pairs of these are alleged to be derived from the same original, so that they are ordinarily quoted as $\Delta' (= \Delta\alpha)\gamma\nu EB' (= BC)gD' (= D\tau) RF' (= \phi\psi)\lambda' (= \lambda)\delta' (= \delta z)$

$d\epsilon\pi' (= \pi L)u' (= uv)$. Of these, $D\tau$ are too fragmentary to be of much use, and most of the others are deficient in some considerable part of Horace. We should add, therefore, M , which is nearly complete and is of great importance to the theory of Classes.¹

These MSS. are assigned to the following dates, viz. B to saec. 8—9: $\Delta\alpha\nu D\tau R\phi\psi\lambda\delta d\epsilon\pi Lu$ to saec. 10 or thereabouts: γCM to saec. 11: Ezv to saec. 12: g is said to have been written between the years 1456 and 1467, but is collated for the *Satires* and *Epistles* owing to its affinity with the lost V , *Blandinius Vetustissimus*, which was perhaps of the ninth century. It will be seen that, on Keller's showing, there is more to be said on the score of antiquity against γME than against the others of the same date, for C is said to be copied from the same archetype as B (saec. 8—9), z goes with δ (saec. 9—10) and v with u ('saec. X. ineuntis'), whereas γME are not paired with any MSS. of greater antiquity.

Keller divides these MSS. into three Classes, the distinctive readings of which are set out in a table at the end of the *Epilegomena*, published in 1880, though the existence of the three Classes was distinctly affirmed by both Keller and Holder in 1864. The first two entries in the table will sufficiently show its character:

Class I.	Class II.	Class III.
<i>Carm.</i> I. i. 7 <i>mobiliūm</i> $\alpha MCR\nu[V]$ i. 15 <i>icariūs</i> $\alpha MCR\nu$.	<i>mobiliūm</i> AB [V] <i>icariūs</i> AB.	{ <i>nobiliūm</i> $\pi\pi u'$ <i>mobiliūm</i> $FX\delta R[V]$ <i>icareis</i> $FX\delta'\pi u'$.

There are 676 such entries.

The Classes of course are determined by readings peculiar to each. Let us, therefore, first assume that there are readings enough to constitute Class I, and proceed to consider which MSS. according to Keller have these readings. (Classes II and III are not of importance to our present purpose, but it will help to keep matters clear if it be remembered that B is always of Class II, and $F(\phi\psi)$ is always of Class III.)

R, throughout the whole of Horace, varies capriciously between Classes I and III. For *Carm.* I the steady representatives of Class I are $\alpha D' (D\tau) MC\nu$. In *Carm.* II α goes into Class II and joins A, but γ which was previously of Class III comes over into I. Hence in *Carm.* II the steady representatives of Class I are $D' (D\tau) M\gamma Cv$. In *Carm.* III D is deficient, leaving $\tau M\gamma Cv$ as representatives; but in the course of this

book first ν , then M, then τ fail, and after xxvii. 10 C goes over into Class II and joins B. Hence in *Carm.* IV the only remaining representative of Class I is γ .² In the *Epodes* M is not deficient (ν also has a few passages), so the steady representatives are $M\gamma$, but after *Epod.* xvi. 8 α leaves A and Class II and comes over to Class I again. In *Carm.* *Saec.* the authorities are $\alpha M\gamma\nu$. In the *Satires*, D again and E come in, so the authorities are $\alpha DME\gamma$, but ν has left Class I and gone into Class III. In *Epp.* I D is deficient but A begins again and goes

¹ M is *Mellicensis*, at Melk near Vienna. It is collated throughout in the *Epilegomena*.

² Keller here calls in β' , the supposed archetype of three MSS. of which β (tenth century) is the chief. This MS. is not elsewhere quoted. The analysis given above is only intended to show the main fluctuations of the MSS. The exact point at which a lacuna occurs, or at which a MS. changes its Class, is of no immediate importance.

into Class I, while E goes into Class II. The authorities for Class I now are A' (Aa)M γ (ν though not defective is no longer quoted). In *Epp.* II A is deficient, leaving aM γ only for Class I. In *A. P. v*, which has been under a cloud, reappears in Class I, making the authorities aM $\gamma\nu$.

Several facts are to be noticed in this list. First, A and a, though supposed to be copied from one archetype (A'), are of different Classes for many pages together: similarly B and C, though supposed to be copies of B', are in great part of different Classes. Possibly Keller is right in pairing these MSS. together, but, if he is, then the Classes can hardly be of much importance. Secondly, AaEC ν leave Class I entirely for a large part of their contents, and R agrees quite as often with Class III as with Class I. Thirdly, (D τ being omitted as mere fragments) the only consistent representatives of Class I are M γ , which are considerably later MSS. than most of the rest. It would seem, then, that without M γ the class could not have been constituted at all, and M γ may well be compilations from existing MSS. Moreover, the peculiar strength of Class I viz. that it almost always agrees with one of the other Classes, is precisely the quality which we should expect in a compilation. There is thus grave suspicion that Class I so far as it is an edition of Horace at all, is an edition of the eleventh century, and not of the fifth or sixth as Keller alleges. This suspicion is confirmed when we examine the readings which are said to be distinctive of the Class.

To constitute three Classes of MSS. there must be either three important variants or several cases of two variants, unevenly distributed. In other words, each Class must have sometimes a reading which is not found in the other two. Keller does not give any figures on the point which I am now considering,¹ but there seem to be in the *Epilegomena* only eighty-two places (or thereabouts) in which Class I does not agree with either Class II or Class III: that is to say, there are only about eighty-two places in

which Class I has a reading to itself. Out of these eighty-two places there are, I think, only seven, in which there are three substantial variants, one ascribed to each Class. These are *C. I. xii. 3* (I) *retinet*, (II) *recinet*, (III) *recinit*: 15 (I) *et*, (II) *ac*, (III) *aut*. *C. II. xi. 24* (I) *comas*, (II) *comae*, (III) *comam*: xiii. 23 (I) *descriptas*, (II) *discriptas*, (III) *discretas*. *C. III. xxiv. 4* (I) *publicum*, (II) *ponticum*, (III) *Apulicum*: xxvii. 55 (I) *defluet*, (II) *defluit*, (III) *defluat*. *Sat. I. ii. 12* (I) *Fufidius*, (II) *Futidius*, (III) *Fusidius*. In the remaining seventy-five places, there are as usual only two variants, but one of these is ascribed to Class I alone against the agreement of the other two.

In looking at these places in Keller's Table, I found that less than the full number of MSS. were cited as authorities, and on referring to the *Editio Minor* to see what had become of the missing MSS., I found that the convincing simplicity of the Table was obtained by the suppression of the conflicting evidence. As a matter of fact, these readings, alleged to be peculiar to Class I, are not peculiar to that Class, but are found in MSS. of the other Classes, and moreover, in many cases some MSS. of Class I do not agree with their Class but have readings which are alleged to be peculiar to the other Classes. For instance, to take the seven instances above given, *C. I. xii. 3 retinet* occurs in R $\alpha\pi$ which are Class III,² and D, which is Class I, has *recinet*: in the same ode, 15, *et* occurs in RL of Class III, while ν of Class I has *ac*. In *C. II. xi. 24*, *comas* is in RL of Class III. In *C. II. xiii. 23 descriptas* is in R $\pi\upsilon$ of Class III: xxiv. 4 *publicum* is in π' (π L) of Class III, while C of Class I has *Apulicum*. In *C. III. xxvii. 55* Class I is reduced to the two MSS. $\gamma\tau$. In *Sat. I. ii. 12 Fufidius* is not the original reading of *a*, and is also found in RL of Class III. It would be tedious to go through the other seventy-five cases, as I have done, but I will give the first dozen instances as a fair sample.

C. I. iv. 16 et manes found in RL of Class III and not in C of Class I.

vii. 23 *populna* found in R of Class III and not in ν C of Class I.

xxi. 14 *in* omitted also in A of Class II and R of Class III.³

xxii. 2 *nec* (for *neque*) found also in A of Class II and R of Class III.

² Keller would not admit that R is of Class III, but at least it is not of Class I.

³ ν is wanting in the remaining examples.

¹ The table at the end of the *Epilegomena* is said to contain entries under 676 passages. Various statistics are compiled from it, but all of them leave a large balance of the 676 unaccounted for. We are told, among other things, that Class I agrees with Class II in 421 places, and with Class III in 121 places. Of these 542 places, it is right in 509 and wrong in 33. But we were told just before that in the whole of Horace Class I has 510 right readings, 100 wrong and 21 half-wrong. It would seem then that of the readings distinctive of the Class only one is right, but still this is the best class!

- xxvii. 13 *uoluntas* (for *uoluptas*) also in A of Class II, R γ L of Class III, while τ of Class I has *uoluptas*.
- xxviii. 15 *mors* (for *nox*) found also in AR (λ *uar.*) and not original in C.
- xxxi. 10 *et* (for *ut*) found also in A of Class II and π ν L of Class III.
- C. II. ii. 18 *plebis* (for *plebi*) found also in π of Class III, but γ of Class I has *plebi*.
- iii. 11 *quo* (for *quid*) also in $\mathcal{L}$ Lu of Class III, while D τ of Class I have *quod*.
- iv. 18 *delectam* (for *dilectam*) belongs also to R of Class III.
- v. 16 *petit* (for *petet*) found also in R, while τ of Class I has *petet*.
- xi. 10 *nec* (for *neque*) found also in R and not in D τ .

These instances, which are taken in order and not selected, are, I am sure, fair specimens of the whole.

The evidence, I think, shows conclusively the following facts. (1) In nearly 600 places of Horace, where there are two variants, Class I agrees with either Class II or Class III (usually the former). (2) In about 82 places, where Class I is alleged to have a special reading, this reading is not found in all MSS. of the Class, and is found in MSS. of another Class. (3) Except M γ , which are rather late MSS. (and indeed γ is of Class III in *Carm.* I.) no MS. belongs to Class I continuously, but only off and on. In other words, M γ are the Class, and though M γ may represent faithfully an edition of the fifth or sixth century, it is grossly unlikely, and Keller does not attempt to prove, that they do so. Without such proof, M γ are useless, but the advantage of electing them into a Class, or of making three Classes in any other way, is obvious. It saves an editor from the appearance of merely counting his MSS., and it deceives the unwary into laying odds of two to one on his readings.

J. Gow.

NOTES ON LATIN POETS.

CATULLUS LXIV. 279—287.

Aduenit Chiron portans siluestria dona ;
 nam quoscumque ferunt campi, quos Thessala magnis 280
 montibus ora creat, quos propter fluminis undas
 aura aperit flores tepidi fecunda Fauoni,
 hos indistinctis plexos tulit ipse corollis,
 quo permulsa domus iucundo risit odore.
 confestim Penios adest, uiridantia Tempe, 285
 Tempe, quae siluae cingunt super impendentes,
 Haemonisin linquens doris celebranda choreis.

BEFORE dealing with the last verse I will offer a short defence of the conjecture 'aperit' for 'perit,' v. 282, which has already seen the light in Mr. Postgate's edition. The vulgate text is 'parit,' which a later hand has written in G over the erasure of the original reading; O has the abbreviation which regularly stands for 'perit' but may according to the practice of that scribe signify 'parit' also. If the tradition is 'perit,' then 'aperit' since an *a* precedes is an easier change than 'parit'; while even if 'parit' were clearly given by the MSS. I should think it hardly suitable: it is surely 'terra' or 'flumen' that 'parit flores,' just as 'campi ferunt' and 'ora creat' in the lines above: the function of 'aura' is more

properly expressed by 'aperit.' I find this same distinction in vv. 89 sq. 'quales Eurotae progignunt flumina myrtos | aurae distinctos educit uerna colores': educit quasi obstetrix, I presume; and compare Ovid, *fast.* IV. 87 sq. 'uer aperit tunc omnia, densaque cedit | frigoris asperitas, fetaque terra patet.' 'fecunda' then will mean not 'fruitful' but 'making fruitful,' as it does in Ovid *fast.* II. 427 'fecunda uerbera dextrae' (the blows of the Luperci averting barrenness), and 'aura...fecunda Fauoni' will be exactly the 'genitabilis aura Fauoni' of Lucr. I. 11 where Munro renders 'genitabilis' by 'birth-favouring.'

In v. 287 Heinsius' 'Haemonisin' seems to me a certain correction of 'Minosim':

it is adopted by Baehrens and Postgate, and Ellis now seems well disposed towards it. There remains the corruption in 'doris.' Dorus is the name of a character in Terence, but it is not Latin for Dorian, or at any rate did not become so till hundreds of years after Catullus was dead: Baehrens is now left alone in defending 'Doris' here, and he brings no new evidence to unsettle Lachmann's decision of the question at *Lucr. V. 85*. The following conjectures have been proposed: *claris, doctis, heros, crebris, pulcris, hilaris, duris, floris, diuis, Chlorig, solis, solitis, uariis, caris*. Statius' 'doctis' and Madvig's 'duris' come nearest to the MSS., but are inappropriate for opposite reasons: 'doctae choreae' seem too artificial for the vale of Tempe; and 'duris,' which is said to mean 'rustic' but really means 'clumsy,' is not defended but condemned by the parallel of *Ovid fast. III. 537* where 'ducunt posito

duras cratere choreas' describes a picnic party of tipsy citizens. Several of the more violent conjectures are apt enough, and I do not pretend that the word I am about to offer has any advantage in sense over 'crebris' for instance or 'hilaris'; but it seems to be clearly indicated by the ductus litterarum. Our own Italic type serves very well to shew how easy a mistake it is by which *doris* is written for *acris*: both errors recur at *Ovid met. VIII. 806* in the variant *ordine*, that is *ordie*, for *crate*. But all that 'acris' wants is the initial letter it lost through haplography in the verse 'Haemonisin linquens *sacris* celebranda choreis': compare a similar scene in *Ovid met. VIII. 580 sqq.* 'Naides hae fuerant, quae cum bis quinque iuuenos | mactassent rurisque deos ad *sacra* uocassent, | inmemores nostri festas duxere choreas.'

HORACE *carm. II. 3* 1—4.

Aequam memento rebus in arduis
seruare mentem, non secus in bonis
ab insolenti temperatam
laetitia, moriture Delli.

To smooth away the 'scabrities' of this reading Bentley took from one or two bad MSS. the natural and regular 'non secus *ac* bonis,' which is accepted also by Peerlkamp and by Horace's most judicious editor Meineke. Mr. Keller objects that this 'grammatisch unmöglich ist, weil es vielmehr *atque in bonis* heissen müsste.' It is too much the practice of conservative critics to oppose emendation with assertions of this sort, assertions not meant to be false but thrown off on the spur of the moment with no care taken to ascertain if they are true. It is perfectly good Latin to supply the preposition in this way from the first member of a comparison to the second: take for instance *Ovid met. XIV. 49* 'ingreditur feruentes aestibus undas, | *in quibus* ut *solida*

ponit uestigia terra.' Possibly therefore *ac* is what Horace wrote, for this word is sometimes confused with *m*, as at *Lucr. IV. 241* and *VI. 10*, and might so be confused with *in*. But perhaps a still easier change will suffice, the restoration of a word continually mistaken for *in*: 'non secus *ut* bonis.' The construction is rare; but Horace has *carm. III. 25* 8 *sqq.* '*non secus* in iugis Edonis stupet Euhias. . . *ut* mihi. . . mirari libet,' where Bentley would read *ac*, unreasonably I think, for in *Ovid met. XV. 180* the most trustworthy MS. gives 'assiduo labuntur tempora motu | *non secus ut* flumen,' and Virgil writes *georg. II. 277 sqq.* '*nec setius* omnis in unguem | arboribus positis secto uia limite quadret | *ut* saepe ingenti bello cum longa cohortis | explicuit legio.'

OID *ars am. I. 517*—8.

Nec male deformet rigidos tonsura capillos:
sit coma, sit tuta barba resecta manu.

The epithet 'tuta' is meaningless and no editor retains it: even the interpolators of the inferior MSS. perceived its absurdity and substituted 'docta'; then came Heinsius with the more scientific amendment 'seita' which is now the vulgate. But even thus

much change is unnecessary: nothing graver has happened than the common error *u* for *ri*, 'tuta' for 'trita.' The lexicons show that in Cicero this word means 'practised' and so 'expert,' and they supply a perfect counterpart to its employment here from

Vitr. II. 1 6 'tritores manus ad aedificandum perficere.'

Ovid is fond of repeating his own phrases, and at *trist.* V. 7 17 *sq.* he has a couplet which stands in the editions thus :

uox fera, trux uultus, uerissima Martis
imago :
non coma, non ulla barba resecta manu.

He is describing his neighbours at Tomi. Now if one considers it attentively I think the expression 'non ulla resecta manu' will appear a trifle absurd : 'mortua non ulla lumina clausa manu' is a phrase I can understand ; but to say of a living man that his beard is trimmed 'non ulla manu' will imply, or so it seems to me, that he has lost the use of his own hands and depends on those of others. Therefore it may deserve remark that the ductus litterarum of 'ulla' and of 'trita' are practically the same. I anticipate the objection that any such adjective as 'trita' impairs the sense, inasmuch as the Tomitae of course did not trim their beards at all, neatly or otherwise ; and this is very true if we bring to the reading of the lines our modern habits of thought. But the ancients were not alive to this result of adding epithets in negative sentences : to take an example from the father of them all, when Homer says at δ 566 that in the Elysian

fields there is οὐ νικητὸς οὔτ' ἄρ' χερσὶν πολλῶν οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος, he does not mean us to infer that there is χερσὶν μὲν ἀλλ' οὐ πολλῶν : he means that there are no storms whatever, great or small ; only he cannot refrain from ornamenting χερσὶν with an adjective.

But I do not like to dismiss the distich without a word on the hexameter. It always struck me as strange that an unkempt savage should be called by a Roman poet the very image of Mars, a truculent deity to be sure, but a deity still and father of the founder of Rome, and I thought of a noun which seemed much better suited to the case ; but Riese's apparatus criticus made it appear that the best MS. had 'necis,' which afforded me no support but rather the contrary. Now, however, I learn from Mr. Owen's edition that the MS. which has 'necis' is a poor one, that 'Martis' has no authority but the second hand of another, and that with these exceptions all MSS. good and bad concur in reading 'mortis' and so confirm my conjecture 'trux uultus, uerissima m e n t i s imago : ' see Cic. *de or.* III. 59 221 'imago animi uultus est' and Ovid *ex Pont.* III. 4, 27, 'regum uultus, certissima pignora mentis.' At *met.* VI. 629 all MSS. give 'mortem' for 'mentem.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

THE LATIN AORIST SUBJUNCTIVE.

A SCHOOLBOY or undergraduate, having to translate into Latin *The shock was so fierce that they fell from their horses*, dares not write as Livy wrote :—Adeo infestis animis concurrerunt ut ex equis lapsi sint, Liv. 2, 6, 9. He has been taught that Latin has no aorist subjunctive, that *fuero* can only be used as a perfect, and that *essem* has to do duty for aorist as well as imperfect.

This is taught especially with regard to result-clauses¹ : the elementary school-books

forbid *ut fuero* : Roby and Kennedy recognise the use, but seem to treat it as something exceptional, and requiring explanation. This paper is an attempt to show that *fuero* constantly occurs as an aorist (a use quite distinct from its perfect use) :—

- (1) In Dependent Questions.
- (2) In Consecutive Sentences.
- (3) In Oratio Obliqua, Relative Sentences and Miscellaneous Constructions.

1. Dependent Questions. 'I know why he came' can only be translated *scio cur venerit* : this subjunctive is of course as much an aorist² as the infinitive in the

¹ Thus Prof. Sale (*C.R.* v. 3, p. 7) states that the past tense in Latin is regularly followed by the imperfect subjunctive of result. Prof. Hale (*American Journal of Philology* v. 8, p. 50) says, 'The aorist always had the power of catching sharply the attention.' Surely that is the fault of the rule we have learnt ; after reading Livy, who normally writes the aorist, the use ceases to catch the attention in Nepos and Tacitus. Prof. Hale says that the aorist first

began to be used in Cicero's time. This statement, though probable enough, cannot be made with authority in the absence of pre-Ciceronian prose.

² Mr. Sonnenschein remarks (*C.R.* vol. 3, p. 9) that 'we find regularly *novi quid causae fuero* (not *esset*)', and seems to imply that *fuero* is a primary

corresponding dependent statement—*scio eum venisse*. One instance will suffice to show the freedom of the use :—*Hannibalem elusum ut ubi dux, ubi exercitus esset, cum quo castra collata habuerit, ignoraret*, Liv. 27, 47. *Esset* and *habuerit* are co-ordinate, just as *erat* and *habuit* might be.

2. Consecutive Sentences.¹

I have noted in Cicero (excluding cases which seemed doubtful) nine instances of *ut fuerit* as an aorist, in his imitator Pliny the younger four instances, in Caesar five, in Hirtius four, in Vell. Paterculus one, in Nepos forty-one, in Livy a hundred and six, in Sallust none, in Galba one, (Cic. *Fam.* 10, 30—an instructive instance, coming, so to speak, from outside literature). I have not counted the many instances in Tacitus. This list does not include results expressed by *qui fuerit*, as in Liv. 34, 1, 1; Caes. *B.C.* 1, 21.

Here are a few examples :—

(Dionysius) *Eo facto sic doluit, nihil ut tulit gravius in vita*, Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 60.

(2) *Pestilentiae tanta vis erat ut tantum aegrorum consules renuntiaverint, ut is numerus effici non potuerit*, Liv. 4, 40, 19—a strong instance, since usually, where *ut fuerit* is followed by another result-clause, Livy writes the imperfect in the second case.

(3) *Milites nostri tantum abfuerunt ut perturbarentur, ut magnas accessiones fecerint*, Hirt. *B. Al.* 15—a sensible variation on the clumsy double imperfect which is taught so decidedly after *tantum aberat*: cf. Liv. 39, 28.

Roby (§ 1507) states that *fuerim* corresponds to *fui* both perfect and aorist. Yet in § 1524 he gives the imperfect as the normal use, adding the aorist in a bracket

tense, connected with the primary *novi*. The aorist is probably preferred as being clearer than the imperfect, but would not *nescio quid faceret*? be Latin—I know not what he was doing? The sequence of tenses can no more apply to dependent questions than to dependent statements; both are practically quoted sentences.

¹ Here are some references :—

Cic. *Phil.* 1, 8; 1, 36; 10, 14; *Tusc.* 1, 100.

Caes. *B.G.* 1, 11; 3, 15; 5, 15; 5, 54; 7, 17.

Liv. *Bk.* 22:—5, 8; 32, 3; 37, 2; 40, 9; 42, 2; 45, 4; 56, 4; 61, 9.

Vell. *Pat.* 1, 9, 1.

Nepos *Att.* 1, 4; 2, 4; 5, 1; 6, 4; 7, 3; 9, 4; 10, 3; 12, 2.

Tac. *Ann.* 1, 80; 2, 30; 2, 55; 2, 81.

It is useless to reckon the instances of the imperfect; it will naturally occur much more often, having to express (1) limited statement of the *expected* result; (2) continuous, repeated or unfinished action. Even so, Nepos has *ut esset* forty-two times, *ut fuerit* forty-one times.

as sometimes used,² 'the action being regarded as a distinct historical fact, not as a continuous state or as contemporary with the action of the principal verb.'

Kennedy (§ 169, 3) marks *fuerit* as exceptional 'instead of the imperfect,' and elsewhere he closely connects this use with that of the perfect proper (§ 196). He quotes Liv. 26, 29, which 'unites both constructions and illustrates their principle':—*Sicilia et classis Marcello evenit. Quae sors velut iterum captis Syracusis, ita exanimavit Siculos, ut comploratio eorum flebilesque voces et extemplo oculos hominum converterent*,³ *et postmodo sermones praebuerint*.

Kennedy seems to imply that the lapse of time between the two results accounts for the change of tense; which notion agrees with Roby's non-contemporary explanation. But cf. Liv. 22, 61: *Adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque confectos esse ut quidam eorum mortem sibi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vita sed prope luce ac publico caruerint*. The non-contemporary theory would require *conscierint*.

This non-contemporary explanation seems intended to countenance an idea that *fuerit* must be picked out of its context in a manner and seized upon as conveying a fact, whereas the imperfect is more closely connected with the principal verb⁴ (Moberly on Caes. *B.G.* 3, 15). But what closer connexion can there be than that of result, whether *esset* or *fuerit* be found? Surely one need only say that this is the aorist. No one will deny that the aorist conveys a fact more distinctly, and with less regard to time, than the imperfect: it is here, as elsewhere, the tense of historical fact. But what really requires explanation is why the Latins so often, especially in Cicero's time, wrote *ut esset* where the aorist *fuerit* would seem more natural, viz. where a distinct fact is conveyed without either logical limitation or continued action.

² Roby's example *factum est ut* . . . is unfortunate, since the imperfect is of course used after such phrases (except in Nep. *Mill.* 5, 1—*factum est ut voverit*).

³ Madvig reads *converterint*, which would dispose of the distinction drawn.

⁴ Mr. J. R. King (on Cic. *Phil.* 1, 8) falls back on the 'more vivid' explanation. Elsewhere (*ibid.* 1, 36) he boldly translates the aorist as a perfect.

This exaggerated idea of distinctness leads to diversity. Mr. Moberly directly contradicts Roby's explanation of indefinite time and non-contemporary result. He says, 'The perfect lays more stress on the fact as occurring at a given time' (n. on *B.G.* 3, 15) and again, 'Caesar prefers the perfect when the consequence is instantaneous' (n. on *B.C.* 2, 44).

In the following passages the imperfect and aorist (or aorist and imperfect) follow the same consecutive *ut*, just as the tense varies in co-ordinate indicative sentences:—

Cic. *Phil.* 1, 36; Caes. *B.G.* 7, 17; Vell. Pat. 1, 9, 1; Tac. *Ann.* 15, 16; Liv. 5, 45, 5; 8, 36, 7; 22, 40, 9; 25, 6, 12; 27, 34, 4; 24, 40, 12; 34, 18, 2.

But perhaps the strongest evidence is the construction used when a result-clause contains a conditional sentence:—*ut facturus fuerit* (Roby § 1521: Kennedy § 196). It would be needless to mention this, but that school-boys are taught to write *ut facturus fuisset*.¹ Take the common form of sentence:—*They marched so fast that if they had followed the enemy straight, they would have overtaken him.* Now the Latin subjunctive is also the potential² mood: but this mood was already occupied by the result-clause. Hence some periphrasis was necessary to add potential force. The periphrasis used was *-urus fuerit*: the whole potential force lies in the participle—in a position to overtake: the auxiliary verb has only to express tense, they *were*. Thus the tense remains the same as in a result-clause: now both *essent* and *fuerint* are used in a result-clause, but since the apodosis of a conditional sentence must be a decided statement, the aorist is here more appropriate, and Livy writes:—*Adeo citato agmine ducti sunt ut, si via recta vestigia sequentes issent, haud dubie assecuturi fuerint*:—*They marched so fast that if they were in a position to overtake the enemy if they had followed him straight.* Here *fuerint* is simply an aorist. *Assecuturi* (καταλαβόντες ἄν) bears the whole weight of the protasis, as the italics indicate.

Here is a similar principal sentence:—*Deditos* (= *si dediti essemus*) *cruciatibus affecturi fuerunt*, Liv. 21, 44. Make this sentence follow a consecutive *ut*, and you simply change *fuerunt* into *fuerint*. Cf. *ibid.* 34, 4:—*Habituerae* (ἐχονσαι ἄν), *si liceret*. The very common *ut potuerit* is precisely similarly. *Pot-* contains the potential force: *-uerit* is simply an aorist:—

Ventum quidem erat eo ut si hostem similem antiquis Macedonum regibus habuisset, magna clades accipi potuerit, Liv. 44, 4. Things had gone so far, that a great defeat

was possible to be received if the enemy had been an Alexander.

3. Oratio Obliqua, Relative Sentences with adverbial force, and Miscellaneous Constructions.

a. *Ferunt* Evandrum qui multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne instituisse, Liv. 1, 5: cf. Cic. *Off.* 2, 60; *Phil.* 12, 11. This is very common in Livy, when a short statement is, so to speak, accidentally subjoined to such phrases as *fama est, memorandum*: the *fruit* of direct speech simply becomes *fuerit*. I believe however that in the report of a set speech Livy intends *fuerit* to preserve the tense (perfect or future) used by the speaker, with something like the force of the Greek indicative in Oratio Obliqua. But in Tacitus the use is more free (*Hist.* 4, 25; 5, 16; 5, 24).

(b) Similarly, where a relative sentence is thrown into the subjunctive to give some adverbial force, *fruit* becomes *fuerit*:—

Praeclare id quidem (Socrates), *qui et amico persuaserit et se ostenderit de hoc genere toto nihil laborare*, Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 103. Cf. Cic. *Off.* 3, 79; Liv. 39, 40, 12.

(c) Miscellaneous instances, such as one might expect, since the subjunctive has such multifarious uses:—

Potest fieri ut iratus dixerit, Cic. *De Or.* 2, 285; *Id periculum erat ne majestatem nominis Alexandri sustinere non potuerit populus Romanus*, Liv. 9, 18.

Cf. Cic. *Clu.* 91 (cum debuerint); *Phil.* 1, 14 (non quo potuerit).

Numerous instances might be quoted after *perinde ac, quasi*.

Fuerim then is an aorist as well as a perfect. This being so, why is it not used as freely as the aorist *fui*? Why particularly is the imperfect so often written, especially by Cicero, in a resulting fact-clause where an aorist would seem more natural?

Prof. Hale gives incidentally a sketch of the origin of this construction in the *American Journal of Philology* (vol. 8, p. 49). The following is a summary of it:—

Fleat is a 'limited independent statement'—*he may be expected to weep*. Put this into a result-clause, and you get:—*tam miser est ut fleat, he is wretched enough to weep*. This 'limited statement' was the source of all result-clauses, and when the Latins wanted to say—*he is so wretched that he actually weeps*, they did not write *ut fleat*, but borrowed the subjunctive of limited statement. Now the tense of 'limited independent statement' in past time is *fleret*—*he might have been expected to weep*. This form also was put into a result-clause without change:—

¹ This clumsy construction occurs in Livy three times independent questions, never, I think, in Tacitus: one may perhaps compare the vulgar English redundancy—*I should have liked to have seen him*.

² I have ventured to write *potential* to describe the force of the apodosis (= Roby's *hypothetical*) without observing the illogical restriction of the word to cases where there is no protasis.

tam miser erat ut fleret—he was wretched enough to weep. When the Latins wanted to state a past fact in a result-clause, they did not write *ut flebat* or *ut flevit*, but kept the mood (subjunctive) of limited statement, and the tense also (imperfect).

In addition to this scientific account of the logical origin of the use, we may apply the scholastic method of explanation, to show by illustration and analogy that the use was agreeable to the character of the language.

School-boys ignorant of grammar have a universal rule for writing Latin prose:—‘when in doubt, write the imperfect subjunctive.’ This rule is no doubt based on general observation: the Latins have a curious predilection for that tense. We find *esset* very often (especially in Cicero) where *sit* would seem more natural:—

(1) In final sentences subjoined to a perfect—Cicero’s usual practice (Kennedy § 196)—to be logically explained by an ellipse.

(2) In consecutive sentences:—Nos ita a majoribus instituti sumus ut omnia consilia ad virtutem referremus Cic. *Phil.* x. 20 (cf. Prof. Sale in *C. R.* v. 3 p. 7). The imperfect seems to have here something of a modal rather than a temporal force: it is more ‘limited’ in nature than the present.

(3) In dependent questions:—nimum diu teximus quid sentiremus, Cic. *Phil.* 3, 36.

(4) In decrees or votes:—Senatus consultum his verbis perscribendum censeo...ei statuam auratam in rostris aut quo alio loco in foro vellet ex hujus ordinis sententia statui placere, Cic. *Phil.* 5, 41. Cf. *Ibid.* 9, 17; Plin. *Epp.* 8. 6, 13.

Similarly we often find in Tacitus *esset* after *donec* where one would rather expect *fuit*, that is to say, where the clause certainly contains a past fact (*Ann.* 11, 22; *Hist.* 3, 78). This is exactly analogous to *ut esset*: the construction has not shaken off the logical refinement which hangs about its origin:—

He waited until the thing ^{should} did } happen.

This preference for *esset* over *sit* and *fuit* prepares us for the use of the imperfect in result-clauses. Further reasons for that use may be added:—

(1) *Fuerim* is also a perfect: in the passive especially the use of *ut factus sit* as an aorist is very harsh. *Fuerim* is also constantly used in *Oratio Obliqua* for *fuissem*, in order to give more nearly the speaker’s words. The more frequent the use of the tense as an aorist, the less forcible this use in reported speech.

(2) *Fuerim* is practically identical in form with the future perfect indicative, and very nearly touches that tense in some uses (Tac. *Hist.* 2, 47).

Yet in spite of these draw-backs, *fuerim* is used as an aorist:

(1) in dependent questions—everywhere;
(2) in result-clauses, by Cicero and Caesar sparingly; by Livy, Nepos and Tacitus very frequently.

The teaching of grammar in schools ought to be simplified in every possible way; and this point seemed to me to require a full statement, since most school-masters do not teach even the limited use of the aorist admitted in the grammars. Living out of reach of a library, I have been unable to follow up the matter through the grammarians; but the Latin authors must be our real teachers.

Consecutive fact-clauses of course only occur in narrative: the doctrine of them would therefore naturally be based on the historians: yet the examples given in the grammars show that the doctrine of this, as of most other constructions, is based chiefly on Cicero. It may be doubted generally whether Cicero’s elaborate style will teach us the ordinary usages of the language better than Livy’s simpler prose: but at any rate in a construction exclusively belonging to narrative, let us follow Livy and allow the normal use of *ut fuerit* as an aorist.

FREDERICK A. KIRKPATRICK.

POSTSCRIPT.—I have suppressed much illustration to save space; but I cannot help pointing out some passages which indicate that the Latins felt the inconvenience of the subjunctive in consecutive fact-clauses. The aorist indicative twice occurs, where the verb is separated from the introductory *ut* by intervening clauses (Cic. *Off.* 3, 10, *ut...factus est*; Liv. 27, 49, *ut...inquit*). So also Prof. Hale quotes two instances of a hypothetical sentence remaining unchanged, one in a dependent question, the other in a result-clause (Liv. 2, 33, 9; Cic. *Brut.* 126). Whether this is intentional, as he thinks, or due to a convenient negligence, as seems more likely, still there is an exact analogy to the indicative.

Dependent questions very much resemble result-clauses. Both take the indicative in Greek and English, the subjunctive in Latin: hence the periphrasis required in both for a hypothetical sentence. Now Plautus and Terence freely use the indicative as well as the subjunctive in dependent questions; the less direct form has survived. This

fact, considered in connexion with the passages just indicated, suggests a question. If we possessed more pre-Ciceronian prose, might we not sometimes find the indicative in consecutive fact-clauses? I have searched

the collected pre-Ciceronian fragments in vain: perhaps some one who has more opportunities may pursue the investigation further.

F. A. K.

ON THE QUOTATIONS FROM OLD LATIN POETS IN THE ESCURIAL MS. OF NONIUS MARCELLUS (M III. 14).

THERE is a tenth century MS. of Nonius Marcellus, *Compendiosa Doctrina*, in the Library at the Escorial Palace and Monastery, near Madrid. It is not mentioned by Haenel in his account of the Library (1830), and was first brought into notice by Loewe, who visited the Escorial and other libraries in Spain some years ago in his search for writings of the Latin Fathers. Lucian Mueller in his recent edition of Nonius describes it (Vol. II. p. 305), from information received from Loewe's notes, as an eleventh century MS., containing Books I—III. only, and belonging to the same family of Nonius MSS. as the Guelferbytanus (at Wolfenbüttel).

In the Easter Vacation of this year I made a collation of the manuscript for Mr. Onions' posthumous edition of Nonius I.—III., an edition which Professor Nettleship has kindly undertaken to see through the press, and to complete by the addition of Books IV.—XX. A full account of the MS. will be given by Professor Nettleship in that edition, so I shall content myself here with a very brief description.

The volume marked M. III. 14 in the Escorial Library comes from the Ecclesia S. Petri at Ghent and consists of two manuscripts, both of them written in tenth century Caroline minuscules, on pages of the same size, and with two columns to each page. There is nothing to induce us to doubt that the two manuscripts were bound together soon after they had been written. The first contains Nonius I.—III.; the second, which has no title, Nonius IV.—XX. To make sure of the age of the writing, I had photographs taken of three pages, one from the first part, the other two from the second, and submitted them to M. Delisle, who gave his opinion without hesitation that all three belonged to the tenth century. The text of Book I. and the first part of Book II. to the point where the marginal headings cease (cf. Mueller II. p. 306) agrees

with that of the Paris MS. (7667); from there to the end of Book III. with the Florence Nonius (plut. 48.1). Book IV. shows a text like that of the Leyden copy (Voss. Lat. Fol. n. 73), and Books V.—XX. follow closely the readings of the uncorrected text of the Harleian Nonius. These books, IV.—XX., have been corrected throughout from a manuscript of another family, just as the Harleian MS. has been treated, so that E² generally agrees with H², and they contain on the margins a large number of the headings or paragraph summaries which are found in the Harleianus.

My object however in writing this paper is not to describe the Escorial MS., but to call the attention of the readers of the *Classical Review* to a curious feature of the MS. which may or may not be of significance. Books V.—XX. (of course omitting Book XVI. which does not survive in any Nonius MS.) are written in the same hand, a very neat and careful hand of the tenth century. In the Saturnian line quoted from Livius Andronicus at the beginning of Book XI. (p. 509 M.), in Mueller's edition vol. II. p. 155 :

tuque mihi narrato omnia disertim

I noticed that a small interval giving room for about three letters was left between *narrato* and *omnia*, at the very place where the metrical division of the line falls, and soon afterwards (p. 510 M.), in the quotation from Varro, *Octogenesis* (I quote from Mueller's edition),

postquam avida libido rapere ac caedere
coept
seque opificio non probiter clepere

I observed the same interval left between *coept* and *seque*.

The next instance was on the second line of the Afranius couplet on p. 514 M. *s.v.* Humanitus :

quanto facilius
ego qui ex aequo venio, adducor ferre humana
humanitus,

with the interval between *adducor* and *ferre*.

I now began to think that the Ghent scribe had preserved for us a method of writing old Latin lines which he had observed in some good archetype, and which might have been the method used by the Grammarians of the Empire. The next example however caused me some misgivings. I found the interval between *meum* and *cor* in the quotation from Turpilii, *s.v.* Immortalitus (p. 514):

satine ut *se* meum cor voluptatibus dat;

but a little further on my confidence was restored by observing a blank space between *minutim* and *per* in the lines of Lucilius (*s.v.* Minutim p. 515):

dic, quanam cogat vis ire minutim
per commissuras rimarum, noctis nigrore.

In this instance the corrector had drawn a line underneath to connect the two words, so that while E¹ had *minutim per*, E² changed it to *minutim per*.

I could no longer resist the belief that the Escorial MS. gave us an important clue for determining the metrical divisions of the lines quoted from old Latin poets, a clue which would be of great use in emending corrupt quotations, and I set myself to collect carefully each example of an interval of the kind. To my chagrin I discovered that the instances were confined to Books

VIII.—XII., and that they were far from lending any strong support to the theory I had formed, for they occurred sometimes in quotations from prose authors (e.g. on p. 508 M. from Quadrigarius: cum non possetur decerni etc. between *possetur* and *decerni*), and in poetical quotations they sometimes stood at parts of the line where no metrical division was possible, e.g. *s.v.* Sapivi, p. 508 M., between *plus* and *sapivi*. Here is a full list of the instances, excluding two where the interval was plainly due to a desire on the part of the scribe to widen out the writing for the sake of covering the whole line. VIII. p. 486 v. 6 *partuis—quod*: v. 10 *alta—fros*: 487 v. 28 *pudorem—gallum*: X. p. 504 v. 17 *tuum—collum* (corr. E²): 508 v. 15 *possetur—decerni*: v. 18 *plus—sapivi*: v. 22 *geri—poteratur*: XI. p. 509 v. 29 *narrato—omnia*: 510 v. 28 *coepit—seque*: 514 v. 18 *adducor—ferre*: v. 25 *meum—cor*: 515 v. 4 *minutim—per* (corr. E²): 516 v. 25 *certatim—dimicare*: XII. p. 521 v. 23 *vocabulis—inbui*.

Any one who judges the theory by the evidence of these instances will certainly return a verdict of 'Not Proven'; but for all that it is perhaps worth while to bring the matter before the attention of those who occupy themselves with Latin manuscripts. Possibly some of the readers of the *Classical Review* may be able to inform us whether any usage of the kind is to be found in MSS. of Macrobius, Paulus Diaconus, Isidore or any of the Latin Grammarians.

W. M. LINDSAY.

APPARATUS CRITICUS AD CICERONIS LIBROS *DE NATURA DEORUM*.

VETERUM codicum manu scriptorum varias lectiones ad Ciceronis *de Natura Deorum* libros plenius et accuratius collectas ut etiam absque nova textus editione publici iuris facerem auctor mihi exstitit vir de his libris vel optime meritus J. O. S. B. Mayor, quo intercedente huius ephemeridis editores liberalissime concesserunt, ut id ipsorum auspiciis fieret. Quod si eo modo instituissem, ut apparatus critici Baiteriani, i.e. editionis alterius Turicensis, supplementum et quasi errorum indicem exhiberem, cum mihi corrigendi officium imposuissent taedii plenum, tum utentibus molestam singulas lectiones cum illo apparatu conferendi necessitatem. Placuit igitur novam potius

et plenam lectionis varietatem proponere, quae in Baiterianae locum substitueretur. In qua re quibus subsidiis usus et quam rationem secutus sim, iam paucis praefandum est.

Omnis memoria librorum *de Natura Deorum*—sic enim etiam contra codices appellandi sunt—ducitur a corpore operum Ciceronianorum maximam partem physicorum, quod olim integros libros *de Natura Deorum*, *de Divinatione*, *Timaeum*, *de Fato*, *Topica*, *Paradoxa*, *Lucullum*, *de Legibus* continebat. Eius corporis exstabat, ni fallor in Gallia, exemplar iam minusculis litteris exaratum, quaternionibus non paucis singulisque membranis amissis mutilum, alii

suo loco motis perturbatum: ex hoc et ii codices fluxerunt, qui quantum illius corporis restabat totum continent, et ii, qui libros de *Natura Deorum* aut solos aut cum aliis paucioribus atque selectis coniunctos exhibent. Eorum vetustissimos, qui quidem innotuerunt, ut fere omnes ipse manu tractare atque excutere possem, effecit eximia liberalitas eorum qui bibliothecis Leidensi, Universitatis Monacensis, Mediceo-Laurentianae praesunt, quibus cum omnibus summas debeo gratias tum maxime Guil. du Rieu et S. G. de Vries Leidensibus, quorum hic etiam per litteras de codicum Vossianorum historia certiora me docuit.

Quos autem adhibere potui codices sunt hi:

A. Leidensis inter Vossianos Lat. in fol. 84, membranaceus, ambitu 285 × 202 millim., foliorum 120, versuum in singulis paginis plerumque 35, continens totum de quo dixi corpus Ciceronianum. Exaratus est saec. IX—X a compluribus scribis ita ut ne libri quidem de *Natura Deorum* (fol. 1—36) uni manui debeantur. Distinguendi et verborum separandorum ratio perquam inaequalis. Correcti sunt libri de *Natura Deorum* manu fere coeva vel duabus, quae tamen non facile discernantur (A²), et manu saec. XIII (A³), quae studiose radendo effecit ut non paucis locis prima manus agnosci non posset. Ab eadem quae in primis paginis evanida erant passim atramento redintegrata sunt, qua in re secuta est manus etiam recentior (A⁴) saec. ut videtur XV. Oriundus est codex A sine dubio e Gallia, monasterio aut ecclesiae, ubi servabatur, donatus a Rodulfo quodam episcopo, cuius sedem propter nominis frequentiam definire non potui. Postea fuit Alexandri Petavii. Usi eo sunt multi Ciceronis editores; lectionum in editione Turicensi exscriptarum supplementum vulgavit H. Deiter, De Ciceronis codicibus Vossianis 84 et 86 denuo excussis. P. 1—2. Auricae 1885—86 (progr. gymn.). Descripsit W. Friedrich, *Philol. Anzeiger*, xv (1885), 515—518. Contuli Kiliae a. 1883, iterum tractavi Gottingae a. 1889.

B. Cod. Leidensis Voss. Lat. fol. 86, membranaceus, 285 × 205 mm., foliorum 192, versuum plerumque 29. Continet eandem operum collectionem quam Voss. 84, sed pluribus quam in illo transpositionibus deformatam, quae ni fallor ipsi archetypo debentur, cuius membranae aliquando magis disturbatae fuisse videntur. Scriptus est manu valida nec eleganti saeculi ut videtur X, verbis saepe coniunctis aut male separatis. Libri de *Natura Deorum* (fol. 1—10^v; 14^r—

59^r; 171^v—175^v) tractati sunt a duobus antiquis correctoribus (B²), quorum prior, qui fortasse idem fuit codicis rubricator, raro deprehenditur, posterior sed et ipse saeculo X non inferior in codice non nimis diligenter scripto accuratissime suo munere functus est, sed saepissime, id quod dolendum est, priorem lectionem radendo funditus delevit. Recentiores manus (B³ et B⁴) hic illic quaedam correxerunt vel notulas adscripserunt. Servabatur et hic procul dubio in Gallia, ut videtur in eadem bibliotheca atque cod. A, postea certe et ipse fuit, ut docuit vir doctissimus de Vries, Alexandri Petavii. Etiam hoc codice plures usi sunt; adnotationis Turicensis supplementa edidit H. Deiter, *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. 37 (1882), 314—317 et in programme cit. Imago invenitur apud Chatelain, *Paléogr. des class. lat.* tab. 39. Contuli Kiliae a. 1884, iterum inspexi Gottingae a. 1889.

C. Cod. Leidensis, Bibl. publ. Lat. 118, membranaceus, 245 × 175 mm., foliorum 102, versuum plerumque 32. Continet tantum libros de *Natura Deorum* (fol. 1—40), de *Divinatione*, de *Legibus*. Scriptus est littera langobardica saec. XI, ut veri similiter conicere mihi videor, in monasterio Casinensi, ubi Desiderio abbate (1056—1085) libros de *Natura Deorum* descriptos esse tradit Leo Ostiensis (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Scr.* vii. 747). Confectus est penso inter plures scribas (C vel C¹) distributo et in libris de *Natura Deorum* correctus ab antiqua manu et eadem langobardica (C²), quae aegre a prima dignoscitur. Plura correxit C³ saec. XII—XIII. Hunc codicem, qui quod olim Nic. Heinsii fuit Heinsianus vocari solet atque etiam H littera designatur, adhibuit praeter alios Baiter in editione Turicensi, cuius lectiones supplevit H. Deiter, De Ciceronis codice Leidensi no. 118 denuo collato, Emden 1882 (progr. gymn.). Cf. Chatelain t. 38. Contuli Gottingae a. 1889.

F. Cod. Florentinus, Bibliothecae Laurentianae Marcianus 257, membranaceus, 313 × 265 mm., foliorum 90, binis columnis scriptus, versuum plerumque 37. Continet totum corpus (*Natura Deorum* fol. 1—28) saeculo X nitidissime et diligentissime exaratum et distinctum, prima pagina splendissime coloribus et litteris maiusculis exornata. Correctus est a compluribus manibus, quae non ubique satis certe discernuntur. Fuit olim ecclesiae cathedralis Argentinensis, cui dederat Werinarius episcopus (1001—29), saec. XV a Poggio Florentiam translatus est. Tractavit eum iam cardinalis Lagomarsinus qui num. 11

designavit. Cf. Reifferscheid, *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. 17 (1862), 295; H. Ebeling, *Philol.* 43 (1884), 705-7; Chatelain t. 37. Intercedente illustrissimo viro, qui Borussiae rebus ecclesiasticis et scholasticis praest, Kiliani benigne transmissum contuli a. 1885—86.

M. Cod. Bibliothecae Universitatis Monacensis num. 528, membran., 248 × 185 mm., fol. 153, binis columnis scriptus, vers. fere 32. Continet eosdem libros quos ABF praeter *Topica*, scriptos saec. XI a duobus vel tribus scriptoribus, emendatus paulo post ut videtur ab uno correctore (M²) qui etiam singulis paginis librorum titulos superscripsit. Inter posteriores correctiones, quae hic illic deprehenduntur, Iohannis Aventini manus agnoscitur. Fuit enim codex monasterii Biburgensis (Bavariae inferioris), a quo Aventino commodatus est, postea Collegii Societatis Jesu Ingolstadiensis. Adhibuit eum, littera H designatum, Moserus in editione librorum *de Natura Deorum* (1818). Contuli Kiliae a. 1883.

P. Cod. Bibliothecae Vaticanae, inter Palatinos num. 1519, membran., 300 × 200 mm., fol. 88, vers. 26, continens olim integros Ciceronis libros *de Natura Deorum* et *de Divinatione* cum Walahfridi carmine *de Cultura Hortorum*, sed nunc quaternionibus singulisque foliis amissis ex libris *de Natura Deorum* (fol. 1—40), restant I. 27—75; II. 16—59, 63—68, 111—156, 162—168; III. 6 sqq. De aetate codicis quamquam varie viri docti iudicaverunt, recte tribui videtur saec. XI. Rubricatorem numquam expertus est; quae correctae sunt fere omnia primo cuique scriptori—nam plures videntur collaborasse—debentur, in paucissimis altera manus agnoscitur. Usus eo est iam Petrus Pithoeus, descripsit H. Ebeling, *Philol.* 43 (1884), 702-5. Cf. Chatelain t. 40. Singulos locos non paucos meum in usum inspexerunt benigneque mecum communicaverunt H. Ebeling, E. Stroebel, plurimos O. Guenther, qui etiam totum librum II accuratissime contulit. Quibus omnibus huius erga me benevolentiae maximas debeo gratias.

V. Cod. Vindobonensis Bibliothecae Caesareae Palatinae n. 189, membran., 238 × 205 mm., foliorum 128 binis columnis scriptorum, vers. 24. Continebat olim totum corpus Ciceronianum praeter *Topica*, sed primis et extremis quaternionibus perditis libri *de Legibus* nunc prorsus desunt, librorum *de Natura Deorum* (fol. 1—40), supersunt II. 16—86, 92—168 et lib. III. Exaratus est una manu littera minuta saec. X vel IX—X; correctiones plurimas ex-

pertus est, in quibus tres potissimum manus dignoscuntur: una ipsi scriptori fere aequalis (V²), altera saec. XII (V³), tertia saec. XV (V⁴). Saeculo XV fuit codex monasterii Falcontini Antverpiensis, postea Theodori Poelmanni. In usum editionis alterius Turicensis contulit Car. Schenkl, descripsit Detlefsen, *Sitzungsberichte d. Kais. Akademie zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Cl. 21 (1856), 110 sqq. Cf. Chatel. t. 38. Ipse contuli Vindobonae a. 1887.

Horum codicum consensum aut omnium aut eorum qui quemque locum exhibent designavi Z.

Accedunt Hadoardi presbyteri excerpta (**K**), quae cum e codice autographo Vaticano (Reg. 1762) ab Henr. Narduccio transcripto in *Philologi* Suppl. Tom. v. 397 sqq. ederem, auctore Narduccio et Duemmlero (*N. Archiv d. Gesellsch. f. aeltere deutsche Geschichtskunde* iv. 1879, p. 531) attribui saeculo IX, sed iam ab Ott. Guenthero, qui codicem rogatu meo denuo inspexit, doceor scripturam a saeculo X non alienam esse. Hadoardo praesto fuit corporis saepius memorati exemplar codicis F simillimum, nisi ipse fuit codex F, id quod antea propter temporum rationem fieri potuisse negaram. Horum excerptorum consensum, exceptis tamen rebus orthographicis, cum Z aut cum singulis codicibus addidi, dissensum ut nullius plerumque momenti notare supersedi.

Quae inter hos codices ratio intercedat cum iudicandi materies in sequentibus praebeatur, paucis tantum tangam. Atque illud quidem, quod collationibus meis firmatur, iam ab aliis qui de hac re egerunt¹ cognitum, alteram codicum classem esse ACPV, ex altera parte stare B. Huic cognatos deprehendere olim mihi visus eram FK, quibus cum B comparatis ad secundae classis archetypum ascendi posset. Sed iterum inspecto codice B, quem antea tempore inferiorem esse Marciano (F) iudicaram—in qua re adsentientem habui Emiliū Chatelain—, vix ulla dubitatio mihi relinquitur, quin contra in libris *de Nat. Deor.* et *de Divinatione* Marcianus ex ipso Vossiano B descriptus sit (cf. maxime ad I. 12, 13), sicut altera eius pars (*Timaeus*, *de Fato* cett.) ex Vossiano A fluxit. Quin etiam, ut apographum quam emendatissimum conficeretur, unus corrector priorem partem codicis B et posteriorem codicis A videtur tractavisse. Quae cum ita sint, inutile omnino videri possit codicis Marciani lectiones afferre.

¹ C. F. W. Mueller, *Jahrbuecher f. Philol.* 89 (1864), 127 sqq.; J. Forchhammer, *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* N. R. 5, 23 sqq.; J. B. Mayor in librorum *de Nat. Deor.* editionis vol. iii. p. xxvii. sqq.

Sed tamen eas omittere nolui, ut et textus historia aliorum deduceretur et facultas praeberetur aliorum codicum qui posthac exeuntur progeniem et usum recte iudicandi. Velut codice F ignorato cognosci non potest Monacensis (M) natura, qui cum illo ita cohaeret ut tamen ex altera classe, fortasse ex ipso A vel quodam eius apographo, multas lectiones receperit. Sit igitur hic mixti generis exemplum, cuius inter Baiterianos est Erlangensis 38 saec. XV.

Iam si ad textum constituendum minus valent FMK atque per se stat codicis B auctoritas, alia quaestio non levis oritur, quae-nam sit correctoris B² vis et natura. Qui tam multa recte emendavit, ut ex puriore fonte hausisse videretur, nisi totidem pravae correctiones ei deberentur audacem coniecturam aperte prae se ferentes. Itaque in illis potissimum codice A eum usum esse crediderim, qui ei in eadem bibliotheca praesto erat, idque non sine iudicio atque doctrina. Velut *N.D.* I. 114 ex B¹ *non vereatur deus ne intereat* et A *non vereatur iste deus beatus* effecit quod Ciceronem scripsisse Augustinus testatur (*Epist.* 118, 30. T. 2, p. 446 Migne; sed omisso v. *beatus*): *non vereatur iste deus beatus ne intereat*. Quamquam paulo ante cum B¹ recte scripsisset *habet*, sed omisso *enim*, ex cod. A, qui una syllaba iterata praebebat *habet enim*, falso correxit *habet enim*. In aliis prorsus suo ingenio indulsit. Has igitur correctiones, quae a prima manu non satis discretas in interpolationis suspicionem codicem B adduxerunt, si detraxeris, non ita plura in eo aut graviora consulto mutata invenies, quam in A, qui prioris classis sine dubio principatum tenet, cum eius gemellus V saepius iam doctam vel certe consideratam emendationem passus sit, plurima eiusdem exempla praebeant C et P. Ceterum ex V, sed iam correcto, fluxit codex Oxoniensis Collegii Mertoniani saec. XII, ut demonstravit J. B. Mayor, qui integram eius collationem in editione proposuit, et ut videtur etiam Wolfenbottelanus inter Gudianos 2 saec. XIV. Cum C arte congruit Burnei-anus 148, quo et ipso usus est Mayor, saec. XIII.

Sed haec quasi in transitu. In ipsis autem lectionibus proponendis id secutus sum, ut non solum archetypus codicesque deperditi propius ad eum accedentes, quibus omnis textus fides nititur, quasi instaurari, sed etiam singulorum codicum indoles et cum aliis quos non adhibui cognatio recte iudicari posset, simul autem farragine lectionum usus ne impediretur. Omisi igitur, nisi quae causa maior obstat, ea

quae etsi per se scitu non indigna tamen fortuito magis scribarum arbitrio debentur, scilicet

1. scribendi compendia, etiam *r. p.* = *res publica*, similia—quae notanda erant plenis litteris omnia transcripsi—;

2. verba prave coniuncta aut separata ;

3. distinguendi rationem et litterarum maiuscularum usum (itaque quae afferenda erant, omnia litteris minusculis reddidi) ;

4. correctiones ad has solas res pertinentes ;

5. quae a primo scriptore inter scribendum correctae sunt, verba item ab eodem supra versum addita (qua de causa quaedam videbuntur praetermissa, quippe ab aliis et maxime Deitero posterioribus manibus falso adscripta) ;

6. posteriorum quoque correctorum delendi mutandi addendi rationem, quam recentes quidam editores frustra typis exprimere conati sunt. Equidem et commodius et planius puto distincte dicere quid prima quid secunda manus legi voluerit.

7. recentiores notulas in margine appictas, similia ;

8. res quasdam orthographicas, de quibus posthac summam dicendum erit.

Ne porro duplicaretur lectionum numerus, non fere notavi codicum cum editione Baiteriana (M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera ex rec. I. C. Orellii. Ed. altera, vol. iv. Turici 1861, p. 370 sqq.) consensum. Is igitur e collationis silentio concludendus erit, ut ex. gr., si I. 1, 5 ponitur *sint AB¹C¹*, simul significetur *sunt B²C²FM*, et 4, 29 *ei ipsi B²F*, intellegatur *ea ipsa* habere *AB¹CM* ; item si prima manus quid omisisse dicatur, ab alia, plerumque a secunda, idem additum esse. Correctorem a solito (A²B² etc.) diversum cum editione consentientem saepe definite notavi (corr. A³ etc.), sed non semper. Omnino distinguendis manibus quam maximam operam dedi, quod ubi non satis prospere cederet, dubitationem professus sum aut simplici verbo 'corr.' 'super-ser.' aut interrogandi signo addito 'corr. 1 ?' aut 'corr. 2-3' etc. Nihil de prima manu concludi debet, si quid 'in rasura' correctum esse dicitur, id quod saepius quam vellem faciendum erat. Ceterum in hac re lectionem dubiam proferre malui, e. gr. *tactus* (r?), i. e. fortasse fuit *tractus*, quam liberam coniciendi licentiam relinquere, cui in plurimis rasuris propter ipsius liturae formam aut amplitudinem locus non est. Ubi ne dubiam quidem lectionem adsequi poteram, saltem numerum litterarum signorum * numero exprimere conatus sum, aut correctorem in rasura ampliore vel minore scripsisse addidi.

Ab iis, qui ante me eorundem codicum lectiones ediderunt, tacitus discessi, si aliter atque illi legeram. Omnem autem diligentiam a me adhibitam esse adfirmo, salvo videlicet errore humano. Interrogandi signa adposita non de collationis fide dubitandum esse, sed in codice obscuritatis aliquid exstare significant.

Locos designavi numeris paragraphorum quae dicuntur et versuum editionis Turicensis.

Restat ut de RE ORTHOGRAPHICA aliqua addam, non ut plene de ea disseram, sed ut ea quae saepius occurrunt summam comprehendam, ne eorum multitudo apparatus critici usum impediatur. In his nisi ubi de singulis lectionibus agitur non distinxī ea quae a correctoris manu sublata sunt (A¹B¹ etc.) a non correctis (AB etc.); brevitatis causa etiam simplicia tantum verba posui, si derivatorum et cognatorum eadem esse scribendi ratio velut *caelum* pro *caelum*, *caelestis*, *graecus* pro *graecus*, *graecia* etc.—Cum autem promiscue loci laudandi sint, propter codicum P et V lacunas commodum erit in brevi conspectu ponere, qui loci quibusque codicibus contineantur. Exstant igitur

I. 1—27, 28	in	ABCFM
27, 28—75, 30	„	ABCFMP
I. 75, 30—II. 16, 29	„	ABCFM
II. 16, 30—59, 24	„	ABCFMPV
59, 25—63, 33	„	ABCFMV
63, 33—68, 22	„	ABCFMPV
68, 22—86, 18	„	ABCFMV
86, 18—92, 24	„	ABCFM
92, 24—111, 21	„	ABCFMV
111, 21—156, 8	„	ABCFMPV
156, 8—162, 27	„	ABCFMV
162, 27—168	„	ABCFMPV
III. 1—6, 25	„	ABCFMV
6, 26—95	„	ABCFMPV.

Atque primum e VOCALIBUS *ae* et *e* ita variant, ut nulla omnino regula appareat praeter arbitrium vel consuetudinem scriptorum. Velut in A usque ad initium libri II multo saepius invenitur *e* pro *ae* quam postea, in sequentibus autem pluribus locis *ae* pro *e*, nisi quod etiam I. 11—20 saepe in A scripta sunt *acadaemia*, *daeus*, similia. Frequentissime autem *e* pro *ae* in terminationibus casuum ponitur (locis circiter 250) et maxime in antiquissimis ABV, in quibus saepe secunda manus correxit, raro omnibus continetibus. Ne in mediis quidem vocabulis saepe *e* pro *ae* in omnibus simul codicibus invenitur, ut I. 41, 13 *museus*, 80, 9 *petulus* (*petus*), II. 5, 13 *chimera*, 108, 15 *merere*, III. 5, 10 *lelius*. Ad

consensum proxime accedunt *herere* cum compositis (15 locis), *federe* (2), *meror* (2), *sepire* (5), *sphera* vel *spera* (8). Ex reliquis notavi quae aut frequenter occurrunt aut alia de causa memorabilia sunt: *celum* saepius A (9) et C (5), raro ceteri; *cerimoniae* C, BFM et semel (III. 5, 5) Z; *ceruleus* CFM; *egyptus* (15) maxime C, ACM etc.; *estimare* I. 55, 15 AB; *eternus* (10) A fere solus; *grecus* (45) maxime CFM(PV), interdum etiam A et B; *felis* I. 101, 2 ACM, III. 47, 29 BFV¹; *hec* A (8) in libro I, postea saepius P; *levis* I. 79, 4 A²BCFM, *mestus* II. 111, 24 A¹CMV, *pene* (6) praeter ceteris BF, *penitere* AFM; *pre*, *pre-* (130) lib. I potissimum BF, ABF, lib. II BF, FV, lib. III CV, FV, CFV; *que*, *quedam* etc. notavi 132 locis, 77 ex A; *querere*, *questio* (51) maxime C saepe cum A aliisque coniunctus; *sepe* (30) ACM, raro ceteri. — *ae* pro *e* in medio vocabulo Z tantum II. 11, 18 *caelare* (idem I. 74, 27 ABF), ceterum maxime regnat in A, cuius aliqua exempla iam supra attuli; addantur *uari-aetas*, *loquaetur*, *eundaem*, similia; sed habet B quoque *poeta* (sic etiam AM), *pestilientia*, *putaes*, quae aliaque eius modi, pauciora V. Ex iis, quae compluribus codicibus communia sunt, aliqua hic enumerentur: *aesca* (4) AB, ACM, ACMPV, AMP; *aesculentus* (2) V¹ et CM; *aetiam* A (4), B (3), AB (1); *caeler* (11) M fere semper, non raro una cum veteribus A et B; contra *caeteri* (26) C, M, CM, bis tantum cum A; *quaeri* (3) AB, ABM, AC; *quaerela* (2) ABV, BFM; *saepia* ABCF (II. 127, 9); *terraenus* A (3), B, AB, BF. Saepissime autem scriptum est *quae* pro *-que*, cuius 167 numeravi exempla, in solo B 89 (quae fere omnia correxit B²), in A 15, AB 13, ABCM 4, BF 7 etc. Parciorum idem adhibitum in codicibus aetate inferioribus, nec non in V (ter in solo, decies cum aliis); atque eadem fere ratio intercedit inter V et alios codices in syllaba *prae* pro *pre*, quae admodum communis est in ABCFMP (*interpretari*, *praemere*, *prehendere* etc.) sive plenius litteris scripta sive per compendium. Frequentissime denique habetur *ae* pro *e* in fine vocabulorum (103), saepius tamen in ACMPV (e quibus V constanter scribit *balbae*) quam in B, raro in F.—*ae* pro *oe* maxime C, e. gr. *caepisse* (4, semel cum V), *praedium* (4; plerumque cum aliis: AB, ABV, AF, AP), *obaedire* (2; semel cum A), *paena* (6; semel cum BF).—*e* pro *oe* in iisdem fere vocabulis, ut *cepisse*, *obedire*, *pena*, sed rarius; addo *feditas* II. 127, 10 ACMPV.—*e* et *i*: *intelligere* V¹ constanter praeter III. 1, 4, 4, 23, 26, 1 (plerumque *e* correxit V², sed *i* restituit V³); *intelligere* habet etiam A (56) libro I et II. 1—28, 87

—156 (postea tantum III. 35, c. 38, 35), interdum C (8), M (6), P (9), semel F (II. 115, 12) et B (III. 79, 35), sed in hoc corr. 1 e; *penna* MP ubique (7), ex ceteris bis BF, singulis locis A², A²V³, B²F, B²C¹FV². Formas in -es et -is, variantes non solum in accus. plur. stirpium in i exeuntium, inter collationes recepi, item verba superlativa aliaque per i vel u scripta.— i et y in verbis et nominibus graecis omnes codices promiscue adhibent, ut *dionisius*, *dyonisius*, *chrysippus* etc., quae enumerare longum est (singulis locis *filosophia* adeoque *philosophys* A; I. 93—123 constanter *epycurus* C). Ex latinis per y scribunt, maiorem partem singulis locis, *clypeus* BF, *cybus* C¹, M (2), *hyems* V² (2), *nymbus* B¹F, *pyscis* M, *pulchrytudo* A, *sydera* C (2).— o et u: *adulescens* Z praeter I. 72, 12 BF¹ et 79, 34 A²; *incunulus* plerique, *ioc.* interdum codices posteriores atque correctores: A²C (1), B²MV² (1), CMV² (2), sed etiam BF II. 138, 18, AB²CFMV² (B¹ deest) III. 32 14; *rutundus* (9) AB¹V¹, *rot.* B²CFMPV², A² ter tantum I. 18—24 (sed *rot.* I. 66, 24 etiam B¹, *rut.* II. 48, 31 etiam P).— uul et uol: illud lib. I et II plerumque Z, I. III (A³)CFMPV³, interdum etiam B. Singula haec notavi: *euolsus*, -sio II. 24, 31 A¹BCFV¹, III. 57, 5 A¹BV¹ (C deest); *seruolus* III. 73, 34 A¹B¹CV¹; *uulcanus* semel Z (I. 81, 19), *uolc.* I. 83—84 ter B, lib. III (septies) *uolc.* A (vel A¹)BV¹ praeter 54, 6 *uulc.* A, 57, 7 B; *uulgus* Z quater lib. I—II, *uolg.* III. 13, 18 ABMV, 39, 8 ABV¹, 44, 26 AV; *uulnus* Z ter lib. I—II, *uoln.* III. 57, 2 A¹V¹, 91, 28 ABV¹ (B corr. 1); *uult* *uultis* I. I decies Z, *uolt*, *uoltis* 41, 13 ABC¹FP, 92, 23 B, item A (vel A¹)V¹ III. 36, 12. 66, 18 (bis). 93, 15.

DE CONSONANTIBUS. b et p: *abtus* I. 9, 40 B¹, II. 47, 27 B, 58, 22 A¹, 115, 16 B¹; *obtare* I. 36, 3 B¹; *obtimus* (-imus) II. 29, 5 B¹, 36, 24 BF¹, 49, 34 B, 79, 36 ABF, III. 20, 8 F¹, 50, 19 BF¹, 70, 3 AP, 80, 7 B. Contra *supter* II. 106, 1 BF; *suptilis* ubique V¹ sed II. 121, 3. 145, 19 corr. eadem manu in *subt.*; ex ceteris *supt.* quinque B (I. 60, 20. II. 1, 5. 25, 35. III. 9, 12. 61, 5; bis cum F), semel A III. 72, 24.— c et g: singula inter collationes recepi, item c et q commutatas praeter formas verbi *sequi*: *secuntur* II. 51, 29 CM, 110, 10 BCF, 124, 30 CV¹, 129, 6 C, III. 65, 7 ABFMPV¹, 86, 10 ABF (*sequuntur* P); *consequutus* II. 150, 30 AP.—c et t ante i cum vocali saepe permutantur: ti pro ci frequenter A (38), praesertim in verbis *iuditiu* et *speties*, bis una cum M, semel cum B; ceteri codices singuli hic illic (B quinque). Quae plures simul habent, haec sunt: *adscriptitius* III. 39, 15 AB²CFM; *aduentitius* II. 26, 16

AMPV¹; *commentitius* I. 18, 9 ABFM, II. 70, 5 B²F, III. 63, 26 BCF; *conditio* II. 36, 30 ABCFM; *meratius* III. 78, 25 ABCFM; *pernities* III. 66, 21 A²B²F; *pertinatia* III. 44, 31 ABFMP; *prouintia* III. 69, 22 B²FV.—ci pro ti in B invenitur plus 60 locis, quorum cum tertia fere pars m. 2 correcta sit, tamen multo paucioribus simul occurrit in F (13), aliquoties etiam in M, qui idem saepe solus habet (33). Neque deest in A (17), sed raro habetur in ceteris codicibus, velut in V non nisi II. 146, 20 *condiciones* (*ciborum*) BCFV¹ et III. 64, 4 *suspicionem* BCFV, hoc fortasse recte. Addo codicum (praeter BF, BM, BFM) in aliis quibusdam consensum: *destancia* II. 164 9 AB; *lutacius* II. 165, 17 ABM; *propicius* I. 124, 31 ABF (priore loco, posteriore tantum BF), II. 145, 21 CF.— d et t saepissime confunduntur in vocabulis *ad* et *at*, in terminationibus -id, -ud, similibus atque id quidem in optimis et vetustissimis codicibus ABV, in quibus ipsis fere omnia eius modi a correctoribus emendata sunt. *Ad* pro *at* adnotavi locis 36, e quibus hic adherantur I. 79, 7 ABFM, 81, 21 A¹B¹, 90, 31 A¹B¹F¹, 109, 20 A¹(?)BCFM, II. 110, 9 AB¹FV¹, 114, 21 AB¹, III. 15, 33 A¹B¹PV¹, 26, 35 A¹V¹, 43, 16 A¹(?)PV, 68, 13 A¹B¹MPV¹, 74, 14 ACPV, 82, 28 A¹B¹V (post. l., priore V solus). Etiam in *adqui* (4) consentiunt AB¹ I. 73, 17. II. 16, 27, non autem in *adque*, quod in lib. I—II vices B¹ quinque A¹ seorsus uterque habet quoque ceteri codices et lib. III omnino carent.— id pro -it, maxime *inquit* (30), A et B, raro simul aut cum alio: I. 16, 22 A¹B¹, II. 22, 8 AB¹C, 40, 25 B¹C, III. 1, 1. 5, 26. 7, 30 A¹B¹, 25, 26 AV¹, B¹ praeterea *relinquit* et *reliquit* (4, semel cum C), *tenead* (1), *ed* (1), *capud* (8, semel cum M¹); A¹ *fid* (1).— quod pro quot et d in mediis vocabulis pro t positam (*adhenae*, *ostenda* etc.) in collationes recepi.— At pro *ad* item A (A¹) et B¹ diversis fere locis uterque (A 8, B 5); accedunt I. 97, 36 BF¹M, II. 89, 27 AB¹C, 111, 20 AV¹; *set* A (3), B (2), P*; *it* A, B (2), AB; *quit* et *aliquit* A (3), B (22), AB, BC (2); *quot* A, B (2); *aliut* A (2) et AB; *aput* A (8), B (4), C, AB (2), AC (2); *illut* A (3), B (2); *istut* B. Haec quoque in B fere ubique correxit m. 2, in A saepe.— *Haut* (*aut*) AB¹, B¹ (2), BF.— -ge- et -gue-: *urgere* Z I. 97, 29 et III. 76, 5, *urguere* I. 70, 29 ACP, II. 22, 8 C, 109, 26 BF.— mn, mpn: *calumpnia* M; *condempnare* M et III. 90, 21 A²MV¹; *contempnare* M, P et I. 73, 15 AM, II. 9, 21 A²M, III. 9, 17 B²FMPV, 14, 32 et 93, 13 MPV¹.— mps,

* Numerum 1 in sequentibus non addidi iis codicibus, qui uno tantum loco aliquod scribendi genus exhibent.

ms: *sumsi* BF (2).— **mpt, mt:** *emto* A; *sumturum* AC; *adsumtum* A.— **x, cx:** *ad-
iuncxit* A (2) et AB; *inficax* B¹ (2).

DE ADSPARATIONE: *alucinari* I. 72, 5 BC¹FMP; *arena* MPB, sed in hoc corr. 1 *har.*; *aruspex* (*aur.*) septies (BFM, BM, C, F², M, P, MP); *humor, humidus* bis Z, reliquis locis variant atque habent *um*. II. 18, 22 A, 26, 13 BF¹V, 15 ABF, 40, 25 ABCF¹, 43, 14 A, 59, 29 B¹, 101, 27 ABCF, 118, 7 BF, 137, 10 BF¹V¹, 145, 13 AC, III. 34, 31 A¹BF¹V, 35, 10 ABF¹V. Item variant *humerus* et *umerus*: *hum.* II. 110, 9 CMV², 159, 34 BFMV.—In aliorum quoque verborum initiis frequenter h aut omittitur aut additur, quorum quae semel tantum occurrunt, sed propter codicum consensum ab archetypo repeti posse videbantur, suis locis recepi, reliquorum hic ea collegi, quae saepius inveniuntur: *abere* B¹ (4), A¹; *aut* (= *haud*) B¹ (2), A¹B¹; *hauspicium, -cari* AM, ACM, C; *hora* (= *ora*) AM, BF¹, F²M, M, V¹, C¹V; *husus* B¹, C; *exhistimare* A (5).—In consonantium c et t adspiratione etiam plura turbata sunt, quae cum fere omnia ad verba graeca aut nomina propria pertineant (velut *cleantes, crisypus, cocythus, leuchothea, achademia, philagoras, rethor*) neque quidquam faciant ad textum emendandum aut codicum cognationem illustrandam, omisi. Ex latinis adspirata restant *chohibet* B¹, *simulachrum* M (2), *sepulchrum* BCFM et BCFMP; accedit *nichil*, quod C constanter habet, P ut videtur in solo libro III; item *nichi* C, ubi non per compendium scribitur.—Neque scitu dignum, ubi verba graeca per ph, ubi per f scripta sint. Videtur autem in archetypo longe plurimis locis fuisse f, quam posteriores in ph correxerunt.

DE GEMINATIONE CONSONANTIUM: *apellare* A, B (6), BF, M (2), V, AC¹MP (II. 136, 25); *literae* M semper praeter II. 93, 31, praeterea A¹ (2), C, P; *oportunus* Z (4), *opport.* I. 15, 20 B¹, II. 58, 14 APV; *quatuor* M ubique et in lib. III P (3); *repperire* B¹, M (3), V¹, *reperisse* II. 16, 24 AC M^a et B, sed in hoc eadem m. corr. *repp.*; *soters* saepius B vel B¹ (5) et BF (5), sed quinques etiam B *sollers*. Alia quaedam singularia in lectionum seriem recepi.

IN CONSONANTIUM ADSIMILATIONE ubi constantior apparebat codicum usus, ea tantum notavi quae ab illo recedunt, sed addito si utile videbatur numero locorum, quibus quodque verbum in libris *de Nat. Deor.* legitur: *acc-* plerumque; *adcommodare* (4), II. 139, 29 AB¹MPV¹.—*adf-* fere semper ABFP, *aff-* CV. M fluctuat, quem ut levioris auctoritatis hic omittamus; ceteri ab illa regula in his recedunt: *adferre* praeter ABF(P) etiam

C III. 42, 5 et V II. 119, 16. 159, 36; *adficere* C I. 36, 5, V II. 41, 31. III. 67, 26; *adfin gere* C I. 92, 20; *adfirmare* C I. 10, 6; *afflatus* B²F II. 167, 29 (*adst.* C); *afflictus* etiam AP II. 148, 10; *affluere* (3) I. 51, 19. 114, 8 Z (sed *aft.* B¹ et sic ut videtur scribendum est, ut hi duo loci rectius huc non referantur), *aftl.* I. 49, 9 ABFP.—*adg-*: *agnoscere* ubique; *adgredi* (2) ABFMP, *aggredi* C(V).—*all-* Z semper.—*adm-* ABFPV constanter praeter *amirari* I. 121, 29 A¹, *ammixtio* II. 117, 33 P; in lib. I *amm-* octies C, bis M, lib. II *amixtus, -tio* (3) et *aminicula* (1) C.—*adn-*: *annuere* (1) I. 113, 32 B²CM (de F nihil adnotavi); *annectere* (1) V².—*adp-*: *apparatus, apparere, appellare* Z semper (interdum *apellare*, cf. de geminatione); *appetere, appetitus* etc. (13) I. 104, 24. II. 81, 19 Z et reliquis locis omnibus C(V); in AB¹P multo usitatius *adpet.*, nisi quod II. 29, 35. 100, 25. 122, 7. 128, 26 A(P) cum CV consentiunt; B²F et M variant; *appellere* (1) III. 83, 7 Z (*apell.* A), contra *adpulsus* I. 24, 1 AB¹, II. 141, 17 AB¹MP; *apprehendere, appropinquare* CV soli.—*adr-*: *arripere* Z (5); *adridere* I. 17, 1 AB¹C¹M, 79, 33 et III. 1, 1 ABF; *adrogans* II. 16, 33 B¹ solus, sed III. 26, 34—35 semel ABCFM et bis ABF.—*ads-* ante vocalem ABFP (sed I. 114, 2 *assidue* etiam B²F), *ass-* CV (sed *adsequi* I. 23, 23 et II. 97, 30 etiam C), M variat.—*adsc-*: *adsciuisse* (1) Z (*adciu.* A¹); *ascripticius* (1) CV.—*adsp-*: *aspergere, aspicere, aspectus* Z (II. 65, 17 corr. ex *adspic.* P), sed *adspirare* (2) praeter II. 83, 33 *asp.* B²FV².—*adst-*: *adstringere* I. 17, 4 praeter M, II. 136, 35 praeter V, *astringere* II. 138, 17 Z.—*adt-*: *att-* quinques Z et reliquis quoque locis (10) codices plerique, sed *adtinere* A (1); *adtingere* A (3) et ACM (*ating.* B¹ et C singulis locis); *adtendere* AM (2) et AB¹M (I. 99, 10); *adtribuere* (1) ABF (III. 89, 3).—*conb-*: *conburere* (2) I. 63, 6 AM, II. 40, 24 B¹, ceteri *comb.*—*coll-*: *conlatus* II. 148, 5 praeter CV, sed *collatio* III. 70, 7 Z; *collibitum* (1) Z; *conlidere* (1) Z praeter MV; *conligare* Z I. 9, 40, sed *coll.* II. 115, 18; *colligere* (4) Z praeter II. 59, 29 C; *collocare* bis Z, sed *conloc.* II. 17, 9 ABFMP, 140, 7 ABF; *conlucere* Z II. 40, 23, sed *coll.* 99, 18 praeter M; *conlustrare* (1) Z.—*comp-*: *comp-* fere ubique CPV fluctuantibus ceteris. Enumerentur formae non adsimilatae: *conparare* (10) I. 15, 17 A, 112, 20 AM, II. 148, 5 AB¹F, III. 68, 4 A nullo discrimine significationis; *compensatio* (1) Z (= ABCFM); *conpilare* (1) I. 86, 33 ABFM; *conplecti* (13) I. 37, 17 ABFMP, 120, 27 AB, II. 30, 10 AB, 36, 24 B, 38, 4 A, 54, 27 B, 58, 12 ABM, 87, 3 ACM, 101, 32 B, 147, 1 ABM; *conplere* (5) II. 127,

17 AM (B¹ *contempl.* ut vid.); *conplures* (5) II. 13,² B; *conpos* (6) II. 22,¹⁰ B, sed ead. m. in *comp.* corr.; *compositio* (2) I. 47,²⁸ A, II. 146,²⁹ ABCM; *comprehendere* (-*prae*., -*prend.*), -*sio* (12) plerumque ABFM, sed habent *compr.*, praeter CV, I. 94,¹⁰ etiam F², 121,²⁸ FM, II. 147,³⁶ et 4 FP, III. 21,²⁰ AFMP, 64,⁴ AB²FP, 67,²⁸ B²FP; *conprimere* (3) II. 123,²⁵ ABCMP, 148,¹¹ AB¹V, III. 68,⁶ AM; *conprobare* (2) II. 7,⁸ A, 19,²⁵ ABM.—*conr* : *correpere* (1) M solus; *corrumpere* (1) B²CFP (II. 20,³⁵).—*ecf* : *effubique* praeter II. 86,¹⁸ (cf. ad eum locum).—*exs*- et *ex*- : *exsecrari* II. 65,²⁰ Z praeter A; *exsectus* (2) praeter V²; *exsilium* (2) III. 80,¹³ B¹ solus; *existere* (9) Z quater et ceteris locis plerique, *existere* A (2), B¹ (1), BF (2); item *existisse* (4) plerique, *exitit.* A (1), B (1); *extare* (2) Z praeter M (1); *extinguere* (4) Z; *extructio* (1) Z praeter FM; *expectare* (3) omnes praeter M (3) (uno loco de F nihil notavi); contra *expiratio* (1) Z praeter CV².—*inb*- plerumque non adsimilatur praeter V, qui quatenus restat semper habet *imb*-; item *imbecillus* (6) C quater et *imbuere* (2) utroque loco; *inberbis* I. 83,³⁵ Z, sed *imb.* III. 83,¹³ ABFPV.—*inl*- : *inlacrimari* (1) Z; in aliis quoque *inl*- cum ceteris V¹: *illabi* (1) V², *illepidus* (1) V³, sed *illatus* (1) et *illuminare* (1) V; item *illustris*, *illustrare* (11) V semper (8), plerumque etiam C (9) et P (4); *inl.* 1).—*inm*- : *inmanis* I. 62,³⁸ AB¹MP, II. 148,¹² AMPV, sed II. 99,¹⁷ solus A et 161,¹³ M solus; *immensus* (12) plerique, sed *imm.* V semper, interdum etiam C (5), B²F (2), M (1); *immittere* III. 15,⁸ ABFMP *imm.* CV, contra 91,²⁸ *imm.* CMV *imm.* ABF (de P non constat); *immoderatus* (3) P ubique et II. 64,⁹ AB¹, 149,¹⁷ AM, ceteri *immod.* (II. 65,²⁵ ABCFMV); *immolare* (4) plerique praeter A¹ (1), V (2), AV (III. 88,²⁹); *immortalis* et *immortalis* (64) ita variant, ut usque ad II. 16 optimorum codicum auctoritate commendetur *immort.*, inde a II. 17 potius *immort.*, quod in priore parte (32) solus C semper habet, raro F (8), BF (2), B²F (3), M (1), MP (1); sed etiam in parte posteriore (32) uno tantum loco (III. 69,²⁴) *immort.* praebent Z, ceteris fere semper *immort.* M aut solus (6) aut coniunctus cum A (14), AB (2), AC, AP, ACFP (II. 17,³), C, P; praeterea dissentiente M *immort.* scribunt singulis locis AB, ACP, AP, P; *immutare* II. 66,³ Z itemque 67,¹⁰ praeter M; sed *immutare* II. 19,²⁶ AMP et 52,⁴ ABFMP; *immutabilis* II. 49,¹ AMP, 90,⁴ ACM, 95,¹⁶ AM, ceteri *immut.*.—*inp*- : *impedire* (5) bis Z, *inp.* singulis locis A, B¹, ABFMP (II. 36,²²); contra *impellere* (3) plurimi excepto V, *inp.* etiam

C, B²CF; *inpendere* I. 45,¹⁹ APM, II. 98,¹¹ ABFM; *imperare*, *imperium* etc. (6) constanter Z praeter A (2); *imperitus* (6) praeter AM (1), M (2); *impertire* II. 27,²⁵ AB¹M, sed III. 75,⁴ *impert.* ABFV; *inpetrare* I. 94,⁷ AB¹M; *impetus* (1) Z; *impius*, *impietas* (5) constanter; *implicare* (3) plures, *impl.* B²CF (I. 51,²⁰; B¹ deest), CF, et V qui prioribus locis deest; *inplorare* AB¹ (I. 13,³⁸); *inponere* (2) praeter C (I. 54,⁹) et B²CFV (II. 151,¹); *inportunus* III. 81,²³ AMV (B¹ deest); *inprimere* I. 43,³² ABFMP; *inprobus* et *improbus* pari fere sunt auctoritate: illud ABFM I. 23,²² III. 69,¹⁹, 78,²⁸, primo loco etiam C; *impr.* III. 75,³ Z et 81,¹⁹ praeter M, 88,¹ praeter AM; *inprudens* (2), *inprunitas* (1), *inpurus* (1) codices praeter C (V deest), semel *impudens* etiam M.—*inr*- : *inridere* (3), *inrigare* (2), *inrumpere* (1) codices praeter C et V, sed *inrumpere* (II. 144,⁴) etiam V, 162,²⁶ *inridere* etiam C (I. 101,³³ A¹ non agnoscitur, *irr.* A³).—*occ*- semper, item *off*- praeter III. 70,¹¹ *obfuerunt* PV²; *obp*- : *obprimere* (1) BF; *obs*- : *opsidere* (1) B¹ (cf. etiam ad II. 107,⁹ III. 38,¹); *obt*- : *obtinere* (6) I. 36,³³ Z et plerumque A(P), *optinere* II. 42,⁴ Z, 61,¹³ BCMV, 110,⁹ CMV, 140,⁸ et III. 51,³ BFV; *optus* BF (I. 70,²⁹); *optutus* II. 107,¹⁰ ABC¹FM, III. 9,¹³ BF; *optruncare* (1) A².—*subp*- : *supp.* plerique, *subpeditare* (2) A et AV (sed in V corr. 1 *supp.*); *subplicare* (1) A; *subponere* (1) AMP.—

Pertinent huc etiam pronomina et particulae cum -*que* et -*quam* compositae et similia: -*dqu*- : *quicquam* (10) constanter; *quidque*, nisi in aliud corruptum est (cf. ad III. 63,²⁷), codices praeter II. 81,¹⁸ *quicque* A¹(i)B²FMV¹ (*quinque* B¹ quaeque A³); *quicquid* (8) multo usitatius quam *quidquid*, quod exhibent I. 55,¹³ A (*quidquid*), II. 60,³⁷ et 65,²¹ B¹V¹, III. 36,²⁰ AB¹V¹ (*quodquid* C); praeterea pro *quidque* I. 77,⁵ *quidquid* A *quicquid* C.—*mqu*- : *nanque* semel C; *quanquam*, quatenus superest, V semper praeter III. 42,³³; praeter eum C (4), B²CF (3), B²F, F²; *quenquam* ter C; *tamquam* usque ad I. 74 constanter Z (8 ?), nisi quod M semel habet *tamquam*; inde a I. 94 autem C semper *tamquam* (19), semel cum V², ceteri recte; similiter *numquam* C inde a I. 108, cum usque ad I. 107 cum ceteris scribat *numquam*; *unquam* Z etiam usque ad II. 95 (semel antea C *unquam* pro *numquam*), inde a II. 116 *unquam* C (6), libro III cum A (3), AB, BV, V (2), sed III. 7,³² prava verborum coniunctio (*nihilum quam*) in C quoque m servavit.—Notandum denique, lib. I C scribere solere *menbrum* (8), quater cum A¹.

Restat ut dicamus de variantibus FORMIS PLURALIBUS V. DEUS. Atque primum quidem sicubi forma *dei*, *deis* occurrit, aut in omnibus aut in plerisque habetur codicibus: *dei* I. 3, 14, 4, 29 (*dii* C) 25, s. 61, 25 (A¹ obscur., *dii* A³) 68, 9. III. 26, 32 (A¹ obscur., *dii* A²), 45, 4 (*di* P *dii* C) 47, 19 (*di* P) 51, 10 (*di* P *dii* M); *deis* I. 3, 13 (*diis* B²) 16 (*diis* A²). 41, 15 (*diis* A¹) 122, 16, 22. II. 79, 29. Magis in *di* et *dii*, *dis* et *diis* variant codices ita ut numquam sit in omnibus simul *di*, sed *dis* I. 14, 7. II. 2, 10, etiam 163, 1 et 4 praeter V²; contra *dii* Z I. 90, 32. 123, 19. III. 10, 19. 64, 5 (B¹ deest), *diis* ad consensum numquam propius accedit quam III. 70, 1 ABCFV (*dis* MP). Hoc loco et duobus proxime praecedentibus *dii*, *diis* etiam V, cuius prima manus reliquis locis constanter scripsit *di*, *dis*, altera correxit *dii*, *diis*. Illud etiam P habere solet, sed *dii* praeter locos laudatos I. 72, 10. II. 16, 30. 133, s; *diis* 133, 11. In A regnat *dii*, quod plerumque in *di* correxit A², sed *di* etiam A¹ II. 16, 30. III. 43, 20. 49, 13. 75, 1; pariter *diis* (*dis* A²) in lib. III praeter 87, 22, cum in lib. I—II a prima

manu saepius scriptum sit *dis* (praeter 4 locos iam allatos I. 14, 7. 15, 12. 37, 12. 118, 3. II. 10, 30. 12, 27) quam *diis* (6). Cum A correcto paucis locis exceptis facit M, ut F cum B. B ipse fluctuat, sed multo frequentius habet *di*, *dis*: *dii* praeter locos memoratos I. 33, 13. 72, 10 (90, 30 B¹ deest) II. 16, 30. 133, s. III. 43, 14. 17, 20. 44, 28. 75, 28; *diis* I. 121, 31. II. 10, 30. III. 43, 11. 70, 1. 4. 75, 27. 83, 4. 89, 4. 93, 15; a *diis* correxit B², ubi prima manus scripserat *ad his* aut *ab his*. C et ipse variat, sed saepius habet *dii*, *diis*: illud scilicet I. 72, 10. 90, 30. II. 62, 17. III. 43—79; *diis* I. 1—15. 118, 3. 121, 31. II. 10, 30. 45, 37. 140, 1. III. 43—93.

Ea igitur, quae hic conguessi, per se suis locis in apparatu critico non adnotata sunt, nisi quod verbum propter aliam quam lectionis ab editione discrepantiam commemorandum erat. Nam eius modi locis, ne falsa e silentio concluderentur, etiam orthographica quaeque recepi, sed uncinis plerumque inclusa.

P. SCHWENKE.

(Continuabitur).

NOTES ON TUCKER'S SUPPLICES.

499. For the use of καὶ δὴ compare Ar. Av. 1244.—

ἀρ' οἷσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς εἴ με λυήσῃ περά, ..
πέμψω .. πορφύριναν ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν
ὅρνις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ..
πλεῖν ἐξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμόν; καὶ δὴ ποτε
εἰς Πορφύριον αὐτῷ παρέσχε πράγματα.

109. ἄτας ἀπάταν μεταλγοῦς.

[ἄται (ι in ras.) δ' ἀπάτα. ι μεταγνοῦς M.]

This seems to me an excellent emendation, cf. Pers. 94—100. I can testify that before alteration M had μεταγνῶνς. The editor (p. xxxi.) expressly derives the mistake through uncials, but it would arise quite as easily from minuscules.

718. τοῖσιν οὐ φίλῃ had occurred to the editor (as to me) independently of Herwerden. Wecklein represents M as giving τῶσ' ἂν, but the erasure is of an apostrophe (G. has τῶσ' ἂν); certainly not of a letter. I think the reading ought to be accepted.

732. θάρσει χρόνῳ τοι κυρίῳ τ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
θεοὺς ἀτίζων τις βροτῶν δώσει δίκην.

Prof. Tucker states that τις 'is objection-

able in a place metrically emphasised,' and writes τίς ποτ' οὐ ..; So at

760. ἀλλ' ἔστι φήμῃ τοὺς λύκους κρείσσους
κυνῶν
εἶναι.

he says, 'to substitute τις [Burgess] in arsis next the caesura, is to make matters worse.' Now not only are μὲν and γὰρ constantly so placed, but τις and other enclitics are admitted; as

Pers. 348. ἀλλ' ὧδε δαίμων τις κατέφθιρε
στράτον.

Ag. 1123. εἶναι κακῷ δέ τῳ προσεικάζω τάδε.
Soph. Phil. 741. σιγηλός; ἐν κακῷ δέ τῳ φαίνει
κυνῶν.

„ „ 824. μέλαινα δ' ἄκρον τις παρέρ-
ρωγεν ποδός.

„ Aj. 829. καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἔχθρῶν του κατοπ-
τευθεὶς πάρος.

Eur. Alc. 181. θνήσκω· σὲ δ' ἄλλη τις γυνή
κεκτήσεται.

„ El. 892. Αἰγισθον' ὥς δέ τῳ σάφ' εἰδέναι
τάδε.

Theb. 689. θεοῖς μὲν ἤδη πως παρημελήμεθα.

Eum. 462. ἐς οἶκον, ἀλλὰ νιν κελευσφόρον ἐμή.

Soph. *Phil.* 446. ἔμελλ' ἐπεὶ οὐδέν πω κακόν γ' ἀπώλετο.

„ *O.C.* 972. ὅς οὔτε βλάστας πω γενεθλίουσ πατρός.

„ „ 896. ΘΗ. πῶς εἶπας; ΟΙ. οἷά περ πέπονθ' ἀκήκοας.

Aesch. *Supp.* 399. πρᾶσσοιμ' ἂν, οὐδέ περ κρατῶν, μὴ καί ποτε.

In lyrics it does not seem to occur to the editor that there is any condition but strophic correspondence to consider. Dealing with the commonest rhythm in Aeschylus, syncopated trochaic, at 697 he gives αἰδίασι τιμαῖς, altering 704 θεοὺς δ' οὐ γὰν ἔχουσιν αἰεῖ [— — — — —] to θεοὺς δ' οὐ γαῖαν ἔχουσιν αἰεῖ, which is impossible. Equally impossible in the same rhythm is 594 τέκτων τὸ πᾶν μάκαρ οὔριε Ζεῦ [μήχαρ οὔριος Zeus M.] = 599, σπεύσαι τι τῶν λόχιος φέρει φρήν [δούλιος M. βούλιος Aurat.].

At 135 he writes—

ἀχείματόν μ' ἔπεμπε σὺν πνοαῖσιν
οὐδὲ μέφομαι· τελευτὰς δ' ἐν χέρσῳ νῦν—
spondaeorum stabilium, ut orinor, amore captus; and in a passage plainly dactylic presents us with this strange cacophony:

53. τά τε νῦν ἀποδείξω
πιστὰ τεκμήρι', ἄλλα τ' αὖ τὰχ' ὁμοί',
ἄελπτά περ ὄντα φανέεται.

[πιστὰ τεκμήρια τά τ' ἀνόμοια | οἶδ' M τά τ' in ras.] I would read τοῖσιν ὁμοια δ' or τοῖς πανόμοια δ'.

875. ἴυξε καὶ πικρότερον οἰζύος νόμον.

ἴυξε καὶ βόα πικρότερ' ἀχέων οἰζύος ὄνομ' ἔχων M. Idem accipio quod Emperius. Ratio corruptionis mihi haec videtur. βόα glossema est ad ἴυξε, ἀχέων ad οἰζύος.

It is not the first time ἄχος has been supposed a gloss; but I have never met with it so used—or with ἄχη written to a word in the singular. Cf. Apollon. ἄχος: λύπη ἀφωνίαν ἔχουσα and ἀκαχίζεο: ἐν ἄχει γίνου. ἄχος γὰρ ἡ λύπη. Schol. Hom. B 171 ἄχος ἡ ἀφωνος ἀνία. Suid. ἄχος: λύπη σιωπὴν ἐπιφέρει. Schol. Ap. Rhod. I. 262 ἄχος δέ ἐστι σύγχυσις ψυχῆς, λύπη ἐπιτεταμένη. σαφές δὲ ἐκ τοῦ λέγειν

τὸν ποιητὴν 'ἡ δ' ἄχῃ οὐ παιδὸς ἀπέφθιτο' (Hom. ο 358). For οἰζύς Hesychius gives πτωχεία, κακοπάθεια, ταλαιπωρία, κακουχία: Eustathius ἡ ἀξία θρήνων κακοπάθεια.

106. καὶ διάνοιαν ἀλεὰν
[μενόλιν M. in text, μαινόλιν in schol.].

διάνοιαν μαινόλιν is against the metre, although editors for the most part ignore the fact...διάνοια and μαινόλις are both used in connexions like this [*Theb.* 831, Eur. *Or.* 813]. A gloss presupposes a rarer word to be explained and ἀλεὰν (ἡλεὰν) is such a word.

However rare the word to be explained, it may safely be said that μαινόλις would never be used to explain it. The metre used to trouble me, till I found the indifferent syllable also at

Eur. *Alc.* 216. καὶ μέλανα στολμὸν πέπλων
= 229. καὶ πλέον ἢ βρόχῳ δέρην.

74. ποιμαίνουσα φόβους
[δειμαίνουσα φόλους M. φίλους manus recentior].

The ο preserved in M can scarcely be accidental. In minuscules β and λλ are practically indistinguishable, the single λ for β is no improbable error. The reading given above supposes δειμαίνουσα to have been a gloss on ποιμαίνουσα φόβους and then to have taken the place of the participle.

The poetical δειμαίνω might be written to a phrase containing δέιμα, not otherwise. It is itself regularly explained (as in the lexicons) by φοβούμαι: and φόλους may have been caused by φοβουμένη superscript, as τύφω in *Cho.* 85 M. doubtless by confusion of τύμβω with τάφω.

914. κάρβανος δ' ὦν Ἑλλησιν ἐγχλίεις μέγα.

So M. κάρβανος ὦν δ' Porson rightly. In MSS. δέ is constantly transferred from the unusual position to the usual: e.g. *Eum.* 617 μάντις δ' ὦν οὐ ψεύσομαι M. ὦν δ' Canter. But Prof. Tucker says:

κάρβανος δ' of MSS. can scarcely be accounted for, unless we assume that the particle was misplaced after the -s of κάρβανος instead of after another -s.

Therefore he reads κάρβανος ὥς δ'.

WALTER HEADLAM.

ON SOME PASSAGES IN PLATO'S *REPUBLIC*.

VII. 516 D.—ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἂν πεπονθέναι καὶ σφόδρα βούλεσθαι ἐπάρουρον ἔοντα θητεμένον ἄλλω ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ καὶ ὅτιον ἂν πεπονθέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ τε δοξάζειν καὶ ἐκείνως ζῆν; The first πεπονθέναι should be omitted: other-

wise τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου must mean 'what Homer has experienced,' whereas it was Achilles, not Homer, whose experience this was. The word was doubtless inserted by a scribe who failed to see that τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ('in the

words of Homer' cf. *Theaet.* 183 E) is the accusative in apposition to the quotation.

532 B.—In this very difficult passage we should perhaps read instead of *πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν ὕδασι φαντάσματα θεία* the words *πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν ὕδασι φαντάσματα < καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅσα πυκνά τε καὶ > λεία*. There is a reference to VI. 510 A, where we read *τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι φαντάσματα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅσα πυκνά τε καὶ λεία καὶ φανὰ ξυνέστηκε*. Stallbaum rejects *θεία*, while Madvig emends to *ἐν ὕδασι φαντάσματα ἄδεια καὶ κ.τ.λ.* In the earlier part of the sentence Naegelsbach's *ἐτ' ἀδυναμία* for *ἐπ' ἀδυναμία* of the Paris MS. is probably right.

533 C.—*ἡ διαλεκτικὴ μέθοδος μόνη ταύτη πορεύεται, τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀναιροῦσα ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν κ.τ.λ.* If the text is right, *ἀναιροῦσα* is not to be connected with *ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν*, as Stallbaum thinks, but means 'getting rid of,' 'annulling,' and *ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν* is exegetical of *ταύτη*. *ἀναφέρειν* in the sense of *ἀναφέρειν* or *ἀνάγειν* apparently does not occur. Perhaps however we should emend to *τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀναιροῦσα ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν*, i.e. climbing the *ὑποθέσεις* to the self-existent *ἀρχή*. Compare VI. 511 B *τὰς ὑποθέσεις ποιούμενος οὐκ ἀρχὰς ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι ὑποθέσεις, ὅν ἐπιβάσεις τε καὶ ὁρμάς, ἕνα μέχρι τοῦ ἀνυποθέτου ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴν ἰὼν κ.τ.λ.*; and *Sympr.* 211 B *ὅταν δὴ τις ἀπὸ τῶνδε διὰ τὸ ὀρθῶς παιδευαστεῖν ἐπανιῶν ἐκεῖνο τὸ καλὸν ἀρχηταὶ καθορᾶν κ.τ.λ.*

VIII. 543 B.—*ἀλλὰ μνημονεύω, ἔφη, ὅτι γε οὐδὲν οὐδένα ψόμεθα δεῖν κεκτησθαι ὧν νῦν οἱ ἄλλοι.* ἄλλοι seems to be wrong: 'the rest' implies the existence now of some *other* than the rest, who resemble Plato's guardians in having no private property. But nothing is said of these others in the whole passage. Read *ἄνθρωποι* for *ἄλλοι*. Cobet (*Variae Lectiones*, p. 432) remarks 'solent ΑΛΛΟΥC et ΑΝΟΥC inter se permutari.'

VIII. 547 B.—*στάσεις, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, γενομένης, εἰλέκην ἄρα ἑκατέρω τῷ γένει, τὸ μὲν σιδηροῦν καὶ χαλκοῦν ἐπὶ χρηματισμὸν καὶ γῆς κτῆσιν καὶ οἰκίας χρυσίου τε καὶ ἀργύρου, τὸ δ' αὖ, τὸ χρυσοῦν τε καὶ ἀργυροῦν, ἅτε οὐ πεινομένω, ἀλλὰ φύσει ὄντε πλουσίω, τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν κατάστασιν ἡγέτην.* I print the passage as it stands in Stallbaum and the Paris MS. But (1) *ἔλκειν ἐπὶ* in the sense of *ἔλκεσθαι ἐπὶ* seems unexampled, and *τὰς ψυχὰς* cannot be supplied: (2) *τὰς ψυχὰς* (with Stallbaum's punctuation) is in too emphatic a position: (3) *ἡγέτην τὰς ψυχὰς* is curious—could Plato have written *ἐγὼ ἄγω τὴν* (sc. *ἐμὴν*) *ψυχὴν*? Read *εἰλκίσθη* *τὴν ἄρα*—*ἀλλὰ φύσει ὄντε πλουσίω τὰς ψυχὰς*

(accusative of respect), *ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν κατάστασιν ἡγέσθην*.

VIII. 559 E.—*ἐνταῦθα που οἶον εἶναι ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ μεταβολῆς ὀλιγαρχικῆς τῆς ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἰς δημοκρατικὴν.* The reference is to the change from oligarchy to democracy within the man. As the text stands, *μεταβολὴν* must be supplied with *δημοκρατικὴν*: but this would result in the wrong sense, if not in nonsense. We should either read for *ὀλιγαρχικῆς* and *δημοκρατικὴν*, *ὀλιγαρχίας* and *δημοκρατίας*, or insert *πολιτείας* after *τῆς ἐν ἑαυτῷ*.

VIII. 562 B.—*ὁ προὔθετο, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀγαθόν, καὶ δι' οὗ ἡ ὀλιγαρχία καθίστατο—τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὑπέρ πλούτου.* *ἡ γάρ*; Madvig's emendation *ὑπὲρ πλούτου* is undoubtedly right, but the passage is not yet whole. It has not been said by Plato that wealth is the instrument, but the end, of the establishment of oligarchy: moreover *ὑπὲρ πλούτου* points in the same direction. Read *καὶ δι' ὃ αὖ ἡ ὀλιγαρχία κ.τ.λ.* *καὶ* is explanatory: 'in other words that for which oligarchy in its turn was established—that is, as we saw, for wealth, is it not?'

X. 606 C.—*ἀρ' οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τοῦ γελοίου; ὅτι ἂν αὐτὸς αἰσχύνῃσι γελοιοποιῶν, ἐν μὴήσει δὲ κωμωδικῇ ἢ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀκούων σφόδρα χαίρης καὶ μὴ μισῆς ὡς πονηρά, ταῦτόν ποιεῖς ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐλέοις.* This is the reading of the Paris MS. Stallbaum prints *χαρῆς* for *χαίρης*, and *ποιῶν* for *ποιεῖς*, but in his note he suggests that the mark of interrogation should be placed after *γελοιοποιῶν*, and recommends the insertion of *ἂν* after *ἀκούων*. Madvig's emendation (accepted by Baier) is *ὅταν, ἂν αὐτὸς—ἐν μὴήσει δὲ—χαρῆς—ἐλέοις*; The contrast between *αὐτὸς* and *ἐν μὴήσει κωμωδικῇ* makes it clear that *δέ* is not to be changed into *δή*. I have no doubt that Plato wrote *ὅταν τι ἂν αὐτὸς αἰσχύνῃσι κ.τ.λ.*, i.e. 'whenever you would be ashamed to make a certain joke yourself, but are exceedingly delighted when you hear it in the imitation of comedy, etc., you do just the same as in commiseration.' The old reading *ὅτι ἂν αὐτὸς αἰσχύνῃσι* points to *ὅταν* at the beginning: and as the MSS. have *αἰσχύνῃσι* it is clear that there was an *ἂν* to go with it, so that we are forced to the reading *ὅταν τι ἂν αὐτὸς αἰσχύνῃσι*, which is moreover the only possible way to express the precise shade of meaning. *ἂν αὐτὸς αἰσχύνῃσι* is itself the apodosis to a (logically) suppressed protasis: and the idiom is in no way stranger than that commented on by Goodwin in *Moods and Tenses*, § 506, e.g. *καὶ ἐγώ, εἴπερ ἄλλω τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ πειθοίμην ἂν, καὶ σοὶ πείθομαι* (Plat. Prot. 329 B).

J. ADAM.

SOME READINGS OF PLATO'S *REPUBLIC* IN MS. gr. 1807 IN THE
LIBRARY AT PARIS (Bekker's Paris. A, Baiter's A, Hermann's P).

HAVING been engaged in preparing a text of Plato's *Republic*, I visited Paris in June 1890, for the purpose of verifying four or five readings which Baiter mentions doubtfully (with 'A (?)'). As the MS. had been repeatedly examined by eminent scholars,—Bekker, Dübner, K. F. Hermann, Baiter, Cobet,—it had not occurred to me that more than such a cursory inspection would be necessary. I remembered Bekker's words on hearing that Gaisford had collated the Bodleian MS.,—*nolui actum agere*. On being confronted with the MS., however, I

was led to read in it a little more widely, and, to my great surprise, discovered that many readings which in Par. A are quite distinct have somehow been misquoted in the editions. Schanz' collation of the chief MSS. of the *Republic* is not yet published. No doubt, when it appears, it will be complete. Meanwhile it is well that scholars should be apprised of the existing state of things. I therefore herewith append a list of 21 places selected from a considerably larger number, in which I found that Baiter's report was falsified by an inspection of the MS. itself.

Readings of Par. A, as now ascertained.

Ditto, do., as quoted by Baiter, ed. 1887.

- Plat. *Rep.*
I. 333 D. οὐκοῦν A : οὐκ ἂν οὖν A²mg.
„ 341 B. ὁ νῦν (δ in erasure).
II. 361 C. ἦτω corrected to ἦτω by A¹.
„ 367 D. κελεύεις (ι in erasure).
„ 383 A. γόητας ὄντας.
„ „ B. παιῶν.
III. 391 C. ὥρμησαν.
IV. 428 D. τελέους.
V. 450 B. μέτρον.
„ 479 C. ῥ.
VI. 496 D. τῷ δικαίῳ.
„ 503 A. παρακαλυπτομένον.
VII. 534 C. φήσεις.
„ 535 C. πάντη.
VIII. 546 C. παρέχεται.
„ 559 A. ἀναγκαίους.
IX. 578 A. ὀδυρμούς τε.
(So Bekker).
X. 606 A. εἰ ἐκείνη.
„ 606 E. ἄξιος.
607 D. ἀπολογησαμένη pr. (corrected by neat erasure to ἀπολογησομένη).
614 B. ἐπειδὴ ὅν (sic) pr. : ἐπειδὴ οὖν A²

- οὐκοῦν A cum altero (οὐκ ἂν οὖν an οὐκουν ?) in margine ab eadem manu.
δ νῦν A (δν νῦν conj. Benedict).
ἦτω.
κελεύεις A¹ : κελεύεις A.²
'ὄντας om. A.'
παιῶν.
ὥρμησεν (in text—no variant given).^b
τελέως.
μέτριον.
ῥς.^h
τῶν δικαίων.^h
παρακαλύπτεσθαι.
οὐδὲν φήσεις A (?).
πάντα A (?).
παρέχεται.
ἀναγκαίας A (?).
ὀδυρμούς δὲ (in text—no variant given).
'εἰ om. A.'
ἄξιον (in text—no variant given).^h
ἀπολογησομένη (in text—no variant given).^h
ἐπειδὴ ὃν A¹ :
ἐπειδὴ οὖν A².

The question of the bearing of these and other errors of collation on the constitution of the text must be reserved for the edition now in preparation by the Clarendon Press.

^h NOTE.—The errors marked with ^h are

repeated in the Hermann-Teubner edition. As only a selection of v.rr. is there given, the other places are perhaps simply omitted.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

2 CORINTHIANS VI. 14—VII. 1.

As the discussion of this passage is still going on, it may perhaps be worth while to point out that Mr. Whitelaw's interesting theory about it is not a new one. That the passage is an interpolation where it stands has been often maintained. Many contend that it was not written by St. Paul at all (e.g. Schrader, Holsten, Straatman, Baljon, and apparently Van Manen *Conjecturaal-Kritiek*, p. 294, Van de Sande Bakhuyzen *Over de Toepassing, &c.*, p. 266). Others hold that it was really St. Paul's but not originally written for its present place (so Ewald and Chantepie de la Saussaye, *ap.* Van Manen, p. 295: Heinrici also adopts this view *Das zweite Sendschreiben, &c.*, p. 334). But two critics at least, Hilgenfeld (*Einkl.* p. 287 n.) and Franke (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1884), had thrown out the same suggestion as Mr. Whitelaw—that the passage in question belonged to the lost letter referred to in 1 Cor. v. 9. On the other hand, two of the weightiest of recent writers, Weiss (*Einkl.* p. 220 n.) and Weizsäcker (*Apost. Zeitalt.* p. 318), join with Mr. Chase in rejecting all these alternatives and upholding the substantial integrity of the text as it has come down to us: Holtzmann, at least in the first edition of his Introduction, does not express any opinion. The fullest discussion with which I am acquainted is that by Heinrici (*ut sup.* pp. 329–334).

The arguments put forward by our English critics will, I think, well bear comparison with those which have been urged upon the Continent. Unfortunately, the case is one which does not seem to admit of a positive decision: the most we can reach is a certain balance of probability on the one side or on the other. I think we may dismiss the idea that the passage is spurious altogether (how weak are some of the arguments relied upon for this view may be seen in Bakhuyzen, p. 267, Heinrici, p. 333): but between Mr. Whitelaw and Mr. Chase it is less easy to decide. It is true that there is considerable abruptness of transition: but that abruptness, as Weiss and Weizsäcker as well as Mr. Chase maintain, may not be so great as appears at first sight; and we must also admit that St. Paul is capable of abrupt transitions. Still I confess that the view of Hilgenfeld, Franke and Mr. Whitelaw would have a rather strong attraction for me, if I could only get over the initial difficulty of supposing an interpolation in a text which is

so unanimously attested, and of framing to myself a satisfactory hypothesis as to the way in which that interpolation came in. Heinrici's contention that there is an unusual amount of uncertainty in the text of the passage does not seem to be borne out. The readings which he quotes are all of the same character, and only such as distinguish the groups by which they are supported elsewhere. The evidence for the passage is practically unbroken. It is natural to ask if Marcion had it; and it seems on the whole probable from the way in which Tertullian quotes 2 Cor. vii. 1 (*Adv. Marc.* v. 12), and from the absence of any statement to the contrary either in Tertullian or Epiphanius, that he had. In any case the archetype of our existing MSS. must go up well to the time of Marcion. Again, Clement of Rome assumes that the First Epistle at least is kept by the Corinthians among their archives (*ad Cor.* 47. 1); and when Dionysius of Corinth refers to the practice of his church to bring out from time to time and read Clement's own Epistle (Eus. *H.E.* iv. 23. 11) we can hardly be wrong in supposing that this practice would extend to the writings of the Apostle. We are thus brought almost to the threshold of the Apostolic age, and the security for the safe transmission of the text would be as good as any of which we have record.

I am aware that our German friends do not hesitate to assume an interpolation wherever they want it. I am aware also that Old Testament scholars have shown considerable reason for admitting not only large incorporations like Isa. xl.–lxvi. but small ones like Isa. xiii. 1—xiv. 23, xxiv.—xxvii. &c., in the writings of the prophets. Cases like these last involve less difficulty because of the wider interval between the dates of composition and the appearance of the first complete text, as well as from the vicissitudes of siege and sack and exile to which the Old Testament writings must have been exposed. It cannot be said that 2 Corinthians is upon the same footing with these. Within the New Testament we may be willing enough to admit interpolations of which traces are left in MSS. or versions, and willing even, it may be, to admit other interpolations analogous to these without documentary authority; but here the question is whether we have any true analogy, and there is a further question how the process of interpolation is

to be conceived of. We must remember that in the Apostolic age we have to deal with rolls not books. I doubt if more than a single epistle was ever included in a single roll. We might imagine the lost epistle of 1 Cor. v. 9 frayed away or torn and so reduced to a fragment: but it is another thing to have this fragment introduced into the body of the Second Epistle. I will not say positively that it could not be; but examples like the *pericope adulterae*, or the

last twelve verses of St. Mark, tell against rather than for the hypothesis, because, early as they are, there is a divergent tradition still earlier. In the absence of such a tradition I should feel obliged to say to Mr. Whitelaw, with full recognition of the force of his arguments and of the attractiveness of the hypothesis which he builds upon them, not perhaps 'not true,' but at least 'not proven.'

W. SANDAY.

KELLER'S XENOPHON'S *HELLENICA*.

Ξενοφώντος Ἑλληνικά. Xenophontis *Historia Graeca*. Recensuit OTTO KELLER. Editio maior cum apparatu critico et indice verborum. Lipsiae: Teubner, 1890. 10 Mk.

THIS is one of the volumes with the familiar blue wrapper, which by the beauty of their type, accuracy of execution and general completeness have brought the house of Teubner into such favour with scholars in all parts of the world. The want of a really good edition of the *Hellenics* with a full and properly digested *apparatus criticus* has long been felt. Such an one was promised ten years ago by Otto Riemann, but this eminent French scholar seems to have abandoned his project. Another Otto has undertaken and completed the task in a volume, which will be hailed with delight by scholars and book-lovers, the most fastidious of whom cannot fail to be satisfied with the general completeness of the volume.

A well-written preface gives a succinct and remarkably clear account of the MSS which have been specially collated for this edition. The best of all is generally admitted to be the Paris *B*, which, however, does not go back further than the beginning of the xvth century. It is for the most part carefully transcribed, but several pages of the seventh Book have been lost and there are one or two passages where the volume has suffered from mutilation. Louis Dindorf professed to have collated this MS accurately, but his collation, though, as might be expected, considerably more trustworthy than that of Gail, leaves something to be desired, as Professor Keller points out in the case of several readings, which have been wrongly ascribed to it by him. Even Sauppe and other editors have not given an entirely accurate account of its variants. The MS, it is true, is full of

slips and errors, but most of these are so obviously absurd, that they are not likely to mislead even the least learned reader. The Milan MS *M*, also of the xvth century, remarkable for its clear and distinct writing, has been collated for the Editor with unusual care, the first Book by the late Professor W. Studemund of Strasburg, and the fifth Book by F. Rühl of Königsberg, the remaining book by F. Villa. Riemann was the first to draw attention to the excellence of this MS. in a paper contributed to the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 1878, which was followed by an essay on the text of the *Hellenics* in the year following; in which he shows that it preserves the true reading in more places than either *B* or any of the other MSS of Xenophon. On the other hand it does not supply the place of *B*, because there are many passages which could never have been correctly restored, had the latter been lost.

A third but less important MS *D* in the National Library at Paris, belonging to the same family as *M* and of the xvth century, has been collated afresh. This MS requires to be used with care, because the copyist has supplied its frequent *lacunae* with conjectures of his own, without consulting other MSS. These our Editor very properly takes no notice of in his critical apparatus. It alone gives the reading *παρόδους* for *πάλεις* in IV iv 18. Sauppe formed too high an estimate of this MS—which contains also the *Memorabilia Hieron* and *Agesilaus*—but his collation of it like that by L. Dindorf, as Keller shows, is imperfect.

The two other *codices deteriores melioris classis*, viz. *V* and *L*, both of the xvth century, the former in St. Mark's Library at Venice, the latter in that of Paris, have likewise been collated anew. The transcriber of the former seems to have been more or less of a

scholar; he has marked several passages as corrupt and several of his conjectural emendations have approved themselves to modern critics; but in other places he has introduced violent and uncalled for changes. The collation of the latter—which is closely related to it—made by J. A. Simon has not been used except in a few passages.

Lastly, there are two MS, *F* (in Leyden of the xvth century), and *C* (in Paris also of the xvth century), the readings of which are occasionally given by the editor: in some places *C* alone of all MSS has preserved the true reading of the *archetypus codex*, and they are both of use in supplying the gaps found in the better MSS.

Professor Keller has a convenient designation of the consensus between the several MSS. enumerated above, by different letters of the alphabet, thus Ω = BCFM etc. The conjectural emendations of the older scholars Henri Estienne, Pirckheimer, Löwenklau—have been received or mentioned, together with those of modern critics including Madvig, Kurz, Cobet and Hartman.

The complete Index of words, the credit of which is due to F. Stolle and Fr. Köppner, cannot fail to add to the value of an edition, which merits unqualified praise, and will be found a great boon to students of Xenophon.

H. A. HOLDEN.

HARTMAN'S *ANALECTA NOVA XENOPHONTEA*.

Analecta nova Xenophontea: scripsit I. I. HARTMAN. Lugd. Bat. 1889. 10 Mk.

THIS volume forms a sequel to the work favourably noticed in Vol. iii p. 405 f, (where, by the way, the author's name is incorrectly given as I. T. Hartmann). The writer expresses his regret that he did not publish the two volumes in one with the emended title *de Xenophontis vita scriptisque commendatio*. His readers will probably regret that he did not see fit to reduce his two volumes into a much smaller compass. He writes, it is true, with a facile pen, and his command over the Latin language enables him to express his thoughts in a clear and vigorous style, not least so where he borrows his illustration from familiar modern topics, such as Alpine climbers, horses taking fright at steam engines, etc. etc.

More than two thirds of the publication before us is taken up with the *Cyropaedia*; the remaining third deals with such of Xenophon's minor writings as were not noticed in the former part. The studies in the *Cyropaedia* begin with a long and discursive essay entitled *de Xenophonte e Cyropaedia cognoscendo*. Dr. Hartman starts with the assumption that the work is not a mere historical romance any more than it is a genuine and real history, but an elaborate device adopted by Xenophon for expounding his own views and giving to the world the results of his own experience of life. For what else are the sentiments put into the mouth of the hero of the work but an echo of the author's own? What are the incidents recorded in

the *Cyropaedia* but so many reminiscences of similar events which happened within the writer's own experience, as recorded in the *Anabasis*? (Compare *Cyr.* VII v 22 with *Anab.* V ii 24 ff., *Cyr.* IV i 10, iii 4 with *Anab.* III ii 19, *Cyr.* V iv 18, 20 with *Anab.* V iv 16—21). The book moreover abounds in traces of Socratic teaching. In his second chapter Dr. Hartman, following in the steps of his great master C. G. Cobet, controverts the generally received opinion as to the authenticity of the *Epilogue* or concluding Chapter of the VIIIth Book.

Before proceeding with his critical comments on the *Cyropaedia*, Dr. Hartman has a chapter *de philologis operam perdentibus*, in which he complains of the excessive deference, which it is the fashion, especially in Germany, to pay to 'diplomatic probability,' as the chief, if not the only proper test of a correct reading. *Codicum stemmata conficere*, he exclaims, *nunc philologicae artis fastigium videtur*. If critics were agreed about the pedigree of MSS., we might expect more satisfactory results. As it is, the text of Greek authors is frequently disfigured by vicious readings, which have been adopted to the extrusion of those generally received. These remarks have a special bearing on Arnold Hug's treatment of the text of the *Cyropaedia*. Dr. Hartman does not withhold from him the deserved tribute of praise, as a *vir prudentissimus et haud mediocri acumine atque doctrina*, but he takes exceptions to some of his innovations, which in his judgment are absurdly improbable. The worst of all is a passage in Book V v 22, where, in answer to the complaint of his

jealous uncle Cyaxares that he had taken unfair advantage of his kindness and eclipsed him in the estimation of his subjects, Cyrus, after saying that he had merely asked him to permit Median volunteers to join him in his projected campaign, continues thus:—*οὐκοῦν παρὰ σοῦ τούτου τυχόν οὐδὲν ἦν, εἰ μὴ τούτους πείσαιμι* i.e. 'if I got this concession from you, I was nothing (no good), if I failed to get their consent.' Dr. Hartman condemns Hug for recalling what he calls the absurd reading *οὐδὲν ἦν*—which is that of the four best MSS—instead of adopting the correction *οὐδὲν ἦνον*, which is due to a second hand in one of them and found its way into the Aldine and Juntine Editions. Hug quotes one passage from VI ii 8 to justify his choice, but Dr. Hartman is not satisfied; perhaps he might have been, had he remembered his Aristophanes, who has two instances of the phrase, *Vespae* 1504 *ἐν τῷ ῥυθμῷ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστι* and *Eccles.* 144 *οὐ μὲν βιάδιζε καὶ κάθησ'* *οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶ*. Hug is probably right in this as in most of the other readings which Hartman selects for adverse criticism.

Chapter IV, extending over more than 100 pages, contains critical comments on passages of the *Cyropaedia*, 140 of which are taken from the five first Books, but in at least 100 of these the writer of this notice is unable to detect any difficulty that cannot be solved on the ordinary principles of Greek syntax. There are not more than 14 of the remainder in which Dr Hartman's observations serve to elucidate the meaning, while ten or more have been already satisfactorily explained in commentaries which he does not appear to have consulted. The same observation applies equally to the critical comments on the *Hieron* and other minor writings, a detailed examination of which would be impossible in a short notice like the present.

Dr. Hartman differs very decidedly in opinion from Cobet as to the authorship of the essay 'on the Spartan constitution'; he regards it as a scholastic compilation, the

clumsy work of some *ludimagister insulsus* arrogant, *verborum et sententiarum aucops*. He agrees with most critics in considering the tract 'on the Athenian constitution'—which strangely resembles Machiavelli's 'Prince'—as an anonymous production, not however that of a contemporary politician—such as Critias Alcibiades or Phrynichus—but rather of some later compiler, who had no other sources of information but those which are open to us, especially Aristophanes and Xenophon. As to its being the earliest specimen of Attic prose—he considers that it does not bear the smallest resemblance in style to Antiphon or Thucydides. Of the three technical tracts ascribed to Xenophon two—the *Hipparchicus*, and that 'on the Horse'—carry with them unquestionable proofs of being genuine, the third—that 'on Hunting'—Dr. Hartman considers quite unworthy of Xenophon: it is, he thinks, the composition of some *Ἰσοκπαριδὲς* qui arroganter et rixantis in modum loqui a magistro suo didicit, though he admits that he has no practical knowledge of the subject himself, nor does he know any brother philologist who has. Such is the degeneracy of the modern Dutch scholars, whose compatriots—the Ruhnken Lenneps and other celebrities—were in their day as distinguished in the hunting-field as they were in the field of Greek scholarship.

It is impossible to lay down this volume without a feeling of gratitude to the writer for his contribution to our knowledge of Xenophon and for the interest he has succeeded in imparting to his writings. There is not a dull page throughout, and though, as a whole, it does not rise to the level of its predecessor, it is full of instruction, even where the conclusions of the writer provoke difference of opinion. It is a pity that a book, so elegantly got up, should be disfigured by such misprints as *vellit* (for *velit*), *deviciendi*, *coelo*, *lascinia*, which are only a few specimens, taken at random.

H. A. HOLDEN.

ADAM'S PLATONIS EUTHYPHRO.

Platonis Euthyphro, with Introduction and Notes by J. ADAM, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. 1890. (pp. xxviii. 107.) 2s. 6d.

THIS edition would bear pruning, but is highly to be commended on the whole. Mr.

Adam proves himself thoroughly competent for the work he undertakes. He evades no difficulty, and he is generally most successful where the difficulty is greatest. His elaborate notes on IV. 4 A, 4 D, V. 5 A, IX. 8 A, XX. 15 D, for example, might perhaps be shortened with advantage, but they are

entirely sound. In more than one instance Mr. Adam's independent conclusion is to be preferred to that of Schanz or Cobet. The following may be quoted as giving a fair impression of the commentary :—

IV. 4, Β ἔδνπερ is not = 'although,' a meaning which it never bears, but 'that is to say, if.' Euthyphro implies that one is not bound to prosecute unless the guilty man lives under one's own roof: only then is one exposed to μίσμα. XIII. 11, C. τοῦτοίς is wrongly rejected by Stallbaum: it goes with ἐντίθείς, by the usual Platonic hyperbaton, on which see Riddell's *Apology of Plato*, p. 236 ff., and Prof. Cook Wilson 'On the Interpretation of Plato's *Timaeus*,' p. 97 ff. Schanz remarks that its position is determined by the paronomasia with τοῦτο, and quotes the parallel in *Phaed.* 239 A.

The editor's remarks on IX. 8 D, XI. 9 C, although equally ingenious, are less convincing.

The Introduction touches on the same topics as those dwelt on by Professor Jowett, and to much the same effect. Both seem to agree that the truth hinted at in the *Euthyphro* but not expressed is that 'piety consists in working under God for the production of some good result not specified' (p. xiv.). 'When we expect him to go on and show that the true service of the Gods is the service of the Spirit, and the co-operation

with them in all things true and good, he stops short; this was a lesson which the soothsayer could not have been made to understand, and which every one must learn for himself' (Jowett). The coincidence is the more striking in that our editor, who is most conscientious in acknowledging obligations, makes no reference to the earlier and abler writing.

As I hinted at first, some things in this edition might be dispensed with. Citations, especially of German books, are needlessly profuse. What need we Nägelsbach to tell us that 'it had been a common-place with Pindar, Aeschylus, and other writers of a lofty moral tone, to urge that goodness must needs be one of the divine attributes' (xix.)? Or why must the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* be dragged in to prove that sacrifice was 'originally the gods' food' (xxii.)? In the notes also there are some things that might well be spared. Too much is sometimes made of accidental coincidences (IV. 4 A. περόμενόν τινα διώκεις). And here and there a note is quite away from the point (XI. 9 C ὥστε τοῦτον ἀφηνί σε). Altogether, the little book might be made better by being made still smaller. But, as it is, it is decidedly good.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

AELIUS DIONYSIUS AND PAUSANIAS, THE ATTICISTS.

ΑΙΛΙΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ
ΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ ΑΤΤΙΚΑ. Aelii Dionysii et
Pausaniae Atticistarum Fragmenta colle-
git ERNESTUS SCHWABE. Accedunt Frag-
menta Lexicorum Rhetoricorum apud
Eustathium laudata. Lipsiae. Sumptibus
Dykianis. 1890. pp. vi. 282. Mk. 12.

THE fame of these two Atticists of the age of Hadrian is closely bound up with the fame of other distinguished Greek scholars, some their predecessors, some their followers, from Aristophanes and Aristarchus in the third century B.C. to Cobet and Naber in our own day. Between these two extremes are many more, who either contributed to or borrowed—in too many cases stole—from these 'cabinets of precious rarities.' The most honest among the borrowers was Eustathius, who never attempts to conceal the source from which he derives his knowledge; yet he often cites his authorities so vaguely as to make it very difficult to trace his glosses to their true author. Were it not for this carelessness, the collection of

the fragments of Aelius and Pausanias would be a far easier matter than it is.

To Cobet belongs the honour of having been the first to point out the immense value of the glosses in the twelfth century lexicographers. The year 1860, in which Cobet published his first paper on Photius, is an epoch in the study of the Attic Dialect. In a second paper, in 1861, he dealt with the relations of that lexicographer to the Atticists. Cobet's conclusions, it is true with some important reservations, still hold good. About the same time (1861 and 1863) appeared Meier's *Opuscula*, in which he dealt with the Atticists, and made the first systematic collection of their fragments from Eustathius. In 1866, W. Rindfleisch wrote an Academic dissertation on the same subject. He added from Eustathius twenty-five fragments of Pausanias and twenty-two of Aelius to those given by Meier. He also contested some of Cobet's views. Cobet says (*Mnem.* x. p. 54 fol.) that, as Photius considered Aelius and Pausanias to be of the highest value—*χρησιμώτατος τοῖς τε ἀττικίζουσιν*

ἔχουσι φροντίδα καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀττικῶν συγγράμμασιν ἐνομιλεῖν προαιρουμένοις—and as a comparison of the remains of Photius' Lexicon with Eustathius shows that Photius constantly transcribed Aelius and Pausanias verbatim, therefore we are justified in attributing to the Atticists anything that is common to Photius and any other known excerptor of Pausanias and Aelius. Thus the author of the *Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων καὶ διαφορῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ ῥητόρων πολλῶν*, (being the sixth lexicon in Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 319) copied, not Photius, as Dobree said, but the Atticists. Moreover Suidas 'descripsit Photium.' Therefore from the Atticists comes anything which appears both in B.A.G. *l.c.* and in Suidas. For instance, ἀβέλτερος, ἀγαπησμός, ἀγγῆλαι, ἀγκράτος, come from Aelius. So too many others. Not one of these words appears in Schwabe's book; and the reason will presently be apparent.

Cobet goes further. He attributes to Aelius (why not also to Pausanias?) all passages of Suidas (or Photius) which have λέγονσι without Ἀττικοί appended; all glosses in B.A.G. *l.c.* with ὡς ἡμεῖς added—even though such glosses be not contained in both of these sources. Thus, in B.A.G. Ἀρκτον, though not in Suidas, in Suidas Ἀνάδοχον, ἀναλίσκειν and so forth, though wanting in B.A.G., come from Aelius. Cobet gives many other examples from Photius, of which I find only παῦ and πεντέπηχυν (with its companions) in Schwabe, who in both cases quotes from Eustathius. For Schwabe arranges his book in two parts, the first of which contains only the fragments which Eustathius expressly assigns to Aelius and Pausanias, with so much of the context as may be reasonably connected therewith; and the second part the fragments of the λεξικά ῥητορικά, many of which can be proved to belong to the Atticists. Cobet is as usual daring, brilliant, incisive. 'Sine ulla dubitatione ad verbum descripta sunt.' 'Sic scribere potuit eruditissimus Atticista Hadriani temporibus, non Suidas et Photius.' And so on.

If Cobet errs on the side of audacity, Rindfleisch represents the extreme of caution. Eustathius, he says, consulted other lexica besides those of Aelius and Pausanias. For that reason he omits all passages cited by Eustathius from the λεξ. ῥητ., without name. Yet he allows that if such a passage is found also in some other known excerptor of the Atticists, such as B.A.G. *l.c.* or Photius, that passage will probably be due to Aelius or Pausanias. But as these excerptors had other authorities who were also used by Eustathius, we cannot be certain. This he illus-

trates with ἀστούξενος. Eustathius first quotes Aelius by name, then Pausanias. Then he adds ἕτεροι δὲ οὕτω. B.A.G. *l.c.* gives the explanation which Eustathius ascribes to ἕτεροι; i.e. the compiler here used some author, other than the Atticists, whom Eustathius also used. But, since the discovery of the Codex Athous, we know that Aelius and Pausanias both copied Aristophanes here. Probably therefore Schwabe (p. 44) is right in saying that ἕτεροι δὲ gives us, not another lexicon cited by Eustathius but merely another χρῆσις which he found in Pausanias. Besides, Rindfleisch overlooked the fact that Hesychius also gives both the explanation expressly ascribed to Pausanias and this other χρῆσις together, and therefore found them in his authority together. We must agree with Naber (*Prol. ad Phot.* p. 27) and Schwabe (p. 79), that Diogenianus is the common source of the glosses which are common to Hesychius and the Atticists. I should therefore suppose that this ἕτεροι δὲ was found in Diogenianus, who found it in Pamphilus; and that thus the whole of the gloss in Eustathius goes back in direct ascent to Aristophanes. Rindfleisch concludes that we must be satisfied with those passages which Eustathius gives with the name of Aelius or Pausanias attached, and that, even with these, it is often hard to determine how much really comes from the Atticists, how much was added by the bishop.

Cobet's articles were followed in the sixties by Naber's admirable edition of Photius; and that again by Schwartz' edition of the fragments of Aelius Dionysius (Utrecht 1877). Naber held that of the two editions which Photius says he had of Aelius, the shorter was an epitome of the longer. This opinion is accepted by Schwabe without discussion. It was rejected by Schwartz; and Engenolf, who reviewed Schwartz' book in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, thinks rightly rejected. If Naber is right, Photius must be wrong; since he says that the second edition was an expansion of the first. Schwabe shows that in two places only does Eustathius mention two editions; but he thinks that when Eustathius quotes Aelius or Pausanias and ἕτερόν τι λεξ. ῥητ., he is referring to the fact that he had two editions of Aelius. Unfortunately Schwartz gave as the fragments of Aelius a hasty and preposterous compound from the various excerptors of the Atticists. He followed, without question, Naber's list of the excerptors: so that the glosses in Schwartz's volume are a mere patch-work, with notes appended to inform us from what rag-bag he took the bits. Nor should he

have attempted a presentment of the fragments of Aelius, apart from those of Pausanias; since there are many passages which beyond doubt belong to one or the other scholar, but may belong equally well to either. His 'verisimilia' and 'incerta,' which depend on the assumption that Suidas copied Photius, and that we can recognise, as Cobet put it, Aelius' orationem manumque in Suidas and B.A.G. *l.c.* even when the gloss is not found in Eustathius—which depend, in fact, upon the Dutch doctrine—are, of course, not included by Schwabe.

The Dutch doctrine has been widely discussed. Its champions were Cobet, Naber, Schwartz, Stoientin and Zarncke. I hope to notice soon a pamphlet of importance by the last mentioned in this *Review*. The Dutch doctrine was combated by Boysen, Freyer, and Röllig. In the *Dissertationes Phil. Halenses*, vol. viii. 1887, Röllig, having gone right through Photius, showed that up to ρ a third of Photius' glosses are wanting in Suidas, from ρ onwards about a fifth. Therefore, he argues, Suidas had an authority whom Photius had not. Nearly all the glosses expressly assigned by Eustathius to Aelius or Pausanias appear in Photius; very few of them are found in Suidas. And Suidas has two glosses, *κάλλαια* and *κράστις*, which Eustathius assigns to Aelius, and which are looked for in vain in Photius. Even what remains under *a* in Photius proves that he has many glosses in common with the second series in B.A.G. *l.c.* Now, while Suidas has many glosses from the first series of this *Συναγωγή*, he has not one from the second. Röllig shows clearly that Suidas used sources which Photius used, but had not seen his work. It is not possible to assume, without other evidence, that anything in Suidas comes from the Atticists.

The discovery of the Codex Athous, containing fragments of Aristophanes by Byzantium, made it clear that Nauck was mistaken in supposing that Eustathius obtained his knowledge of Aristophanes at second hand. The whole subject of the authorities of Eustathius is dealt with by L. Cohn, *Jahrbücher für class. Phil.* xii. p. 285 fol. He considers that Aelius and Pausanias went to Pamphilus, and Photius to Aelius and Pausanias, for what they knew of Aristophanes. Naber, on the contrary, thinks that the Atticists knew Aristophanes only through Tryphon and Diogenianus. Schwabe, in dealing with the authorities of our lexicographers, agrees that the chief source of their knowledge of Athenian antiquities was Aristophanes; but often they went for their information not

direct to him, but to Didymus Chalcenterus, or to Pamphilus, who used Didymus, or even to Diogenianus, who epitomised Vestinus' epitome of Pamphilus. On grammatical points, Schwabe admits that Aelius used Tryphon: and he may have known him partly through Herodian. If the Atticists had Aristophanes complete—a question to which Schwabe should have sought some answer—it is strange that they did not always go direct to him. But I may observe that the inheritors of the Alexandrine erudition seem to have consulted by preference the works of their immediate predecessors, when they had them at hand; and that the evidence, incomplete and unsatisfactory as it is, seems to show that the Atticists had Aristophanes only in excerpts. According to Cohn's view, the excerpts were those contained in Pamphilus' *Λειμών*. So incomplete and so unsatisfactory is the evidence that there are not wanting scholars, as Weber and Boysen, who think that Diogenianus copied the Atticists; while Schwabe agrees with Naber that the Atticists copied Diogenianus.

Such, in the barest outline, is the history of these two Atticists. It is clear that a new edition of the fragments was much needed; and Schwabe is no novice in this kind of work. He is already known as the author of *Quaestiones de Scholiorum Thucydideorum fontibus* (*Leipziger Studien* iv.); in the third chapter of that inquiry he seeks to show that the Atticists were widely used in the Scholia to Thucydides. He argues that when Photius and the Scholia agree, the common source of both is Aelius or Pausanias. That this is at least sometimes the case he proves by quotations from Eustathius. So too when Hesychius and the Scholia agree. The same method was followed by Freyer in his *Quaest. de Schol. Aeschineorum fontibus*; and it is similar to Cobet's argument. From this it might have been expected that anything Schwabe might write of the Atticists would be both daring and original. His edition is neither. It is studiously cautious, and follows closely the lines of the latest writers.

The main questions discussed in the eighty pages of Prolegomena are four: (1) What constitutes the fragments of Aelius and Pausanias? (2) What was the method of Eustathius in quoting the Atticists? (3) What was the condition of their works in the days of Eustathius? (4) From what authorities did they draw? The mere enumeration shows that Schwabe has become cautious. For he takes Eustathius, not Photius, to be the final authority for the fragments of Pausanias

and Aelius. As for those of the *λεξικὰ ῥητορικά*, some are assigned by Eustathius in other places to Pausanias or Aelius: most appear in some known excerptor of them—in Photius, B.A.G. *l.c.*, Suidas Et. Mag., Moeris or Hesychius. He should have given a full list, supported by argument, of the excerptors of the Atticists. Some of the fragments of the *λεξ. ῥητ.* he thinks may have come from the *λεξικὸν ἀνώνυμον* used by Eustathius.

The title assigned to Aelius' work varies. The editor argues that the title given to it by Photius in the *Myriobiblon*—*Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων λόγοι πέντε*—is the correct one. Similarly Pausanias' work was probably called *Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα*. Schwabe rightly rejects Naber's opinion that Eustathius used two editions of Pausanias. In one of the passages brought forward by Naber, Eustathius, after referring to Pausanias, does say: *ἐν ἐτέρῳ δὲ ῥητορικῷ γράφει*, but there are fair grounds for substituting *γράφεται*, and assuming that Eustathius refers to Aelius. How is it that Eustathius and the Et. Mag. quote the Atticists with the title *λεξικὸν ῥητορικόν*, and that the authors are called *ῥήτορες*? To this question, Meier's answer (*Opusc.* II. p. 62) is that *ὁ ῥήτωρ* in late Greek includes almost any prose writer, and that the Atticists wrote dictionaries relating to prose. The difficulty in the way of this explanation is that they quote the Tragedians freely. Schwabe's view is that *ῥητορικόν* has here a passive sense—'a dictionary for those who wish to speak pure Attic'—and he quotes Photius' title, *λεξικὸν κατὰ στοιχείον, δι' ὧν ῥητόρων τε πόνοι καὶ συγγραφῶν ἐξωρίζονται μάλιστα*. The point at issue is, how was the term used in the time of Eustathius, not in the time of Aelius? What constitutes the difference at that time between *ῥήτωρ* and *συγγραφεὺς* or *λογογράφος*? The former are probably Greek Professors, the latter authors, and probably *λεξικὸν ῥητορικόν* means a composition, or common-place book. Whatever meaning Eustathius attached to *ῥήτωρ*, it seems clear that the Atticists did not fully realise the essential difference between the diction of Prose, Tragedy, and Comedy.

As to the meaning of the phrases *οἱ παλαιοί, κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, παρὰ τοῖς π.*, in Eustathius, no very satisfactory solution has yet been found. Cobet says the classical authors are always meant; that therefore every word which bears this precious hall-mark is genuine gold. Freyer and Engeloff agree that this is the case, but qualify the assertion by the assumption that Eustathius found the phrases already in the

Atticists. Schwabe seems to think that Eustathius designated any author whom he consulted as *ὁ παλαιός*, whether scholiasts, grammarians, lexicographers or others. Yet he admits that the bishop does sometimes use *οἱ παλαιοί* in the sense of 'veteres ipsi, non lexicographi,' *i.e.* that sometimes he found the title in his authorities. The meaning of these, as also of *ὁ γράψας, ὁ εἰπών*, in Eustathius, requires further investigation.

In Chap. iii. the editor shows that Eustathius habitually quotes different glosses of the Atticists together: as many as thirty occur. In arranging the fragments Schwabe has not attempted to separate them, but left them with their surroundings as he found them. The result of Eustathius' method was to make it appear as though he were quoting from a thesaurus arranged according to subjects, instead of alphabetically, as we know the Atticists' works to have been. This chapter contains nothing new, and is marred by some repetition. More interesting and more important is Chap. iv. which deals with the origin of the blunders in Eustathius. Naber showed that the Atticists were human enough to err. But the bishop is at times so intensely human as to make ridiculous errors. So says Schwabe: but these absurd mistakes may sometimes be due to the scribes of Eustathius. Schwabe also points out that Eustathius, Photius, and Hesychius show identical corruptions, which shows that in their time the texts of the Atticists were corrupt. Cobet pointed this out in the case of B.A.G. *l.c.* and Suidas. Chap. v., the last of the *Prolegomena*, is an examination into the sources from which Aelius and Pausanias drew. The editor states the case with candour and, of necessity, with some obscurity. He allows that much is uncertain, and that much is left for future labour to unravel. The Atticists' authorities are of four classes. (i) *Works on Athenian Antiquities*; the chief author is Aristophanes. In both writers occur fragments of Aristophanes extant in the Cod. Athous. (ii) *Books on Grammar and Orthography*. Probably Aelius consulted Tryphon freely; but there is no evidence that Pausanias used him. In this section we find ourselves in the region of pure conjecture. This much is certain and consolatory: however the grammatical glosses were obtained, they are, as Cobet declared, genuine remains of Alexandrine learning. (iii) *Collections of Proverbs*: these glosses come from Pausanias, who probably used Aristotle, Aristides, Zenobius. This subject has been dealt with by Rindfleisch and Hotop. Schwabe merely

says he follows the latter. He should at least have given his arguments. (iv.) *The results of their own reading*; especially in Thucydides. Cobet (*Mnem.* x. p. 84-94) already showed the value of the Atticists in studying the text of Thucydides. They are not so strict as Phrynichus, since they admit the new Comedy as evidence for Attic. What was the relation between them and their contemporaries Pollux and Harpocration, Schwabe leaves undecided. Nor has he any fresh information about the author called 'Ἀντιαττικιστής' (B.A.G. p. 77). He even omits to say that this author has something in common with the fragments of Aristophanes. In concluding he reverts to the cautious subject with which he began, by admitting that the Scholia do not contain so much of the Atticists as he formerly supposed.

The new editor has done good service to Aelius and Pausanias. The value of his service may be gauged by comparing his Index of the authors quoted by them with the corresponding enumeration at p. 17 of Rindfleisch's dissertation. For instance, in Rindfleisch's fragments, Aristophanes com. is referred to eight times: in Schwabe's,

twenty-four times. But it would be rash to imagine that we have here the final edition. Probably when the fragments of all the grammarians are collected with the care of Nauck and the caution of Schwabe, when Boysen's promised edition of Eudemus has appeared—even then, perhaps, not until a new edition of Eustathius is available—we shall know all that can be known of the relations between Photius and Suidas, recover all that remains of the Atticists and the other authorities of Eustathius. A little wit with some malice might prompt a critic to jest at these imperfect beginnings of so vast an enterprise as the collection and comparison of the successors of the Alexandrines. But Schwabe is well aware that his work lacks finality. 'Fundamentum solidum struere visi sumus, in quo ipsa illa aedes atticismo purissimo sacra a posterioribus, si Deo placet, exstruatur.' Though we still feel that there is much that we do not understand, he has at least helped us towards the possession of the old Aelius and the old Pausanias. After how long a time shall we possess and understand *The New Aelius* and *The New Pausanias*?

E. C. MARCHANT.

WERNER'S ST. PAUL AND IRENAEUS.

Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur von Oscar von Gebhardt und Adolf Harnack. VI. Band. Heft 2. *Der Paulinismus des Irenaeus Eine Kirchen- und dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung über das Verhältniss des Irenaeus zu der Paulinischen Briefsammlung und Theologie.* Von Lic. Dr. JOHANNES WERNER, Privatdocent an der Universität Marburg. Leipzig, 1889. pp. 218.

This work is divided into two parts of equal length. In the first part the relation of Irenaeus to the writings of S. Paul is investigated on the historical side; in the second, on the dogmatical side. In the first part an answer is sought to the question, What kind of authority had S. Paul and his writings for Irenaeus, and what kind of interest had he in them? The results of this investigation throw light upon the wider question, How did the Epistles of S. Paul win their way to general recognition as canonical? In the second part the question to be answered is, How far does the teaching of Irenaeus respecting leading

articles of the Christian faith agree with that of the Apostle? The answer to this question is a contribution to the history of primitive Christian doctrine.

Dr. Werner gives a list of treatises and articles on Irenaeus which fills two pages, but says that a great deal still remains to be done, and that he has not derived much help from any of the existing literature, excepting Ritschl's *Altkatholische Kirche* and Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* with the monographs of Ziegler and Lipsius.

Harvey in his edition of Irenaeus gives 324 references to the Pauline Epistles; but many of these are of too vague a character to be admitted as quotations or reminiscences. Werner reduces the number to 206, which number does not include the 18 cases in which Irenaeus mentions that heretics quoted S. Paul in defence of their views. These 206 citations are thus distributed: Romans, 54; 1 Corinthians, 68; 2 Corinthians, 13; Galatians, 24; Ephesians, 16; Colossians, 7; 1 Thessalonians, 2; 2 Thessalonians, 9; 1 Timothy, 2; 2 Timothy, 2; Titus, 2. The number of quotations increases, as the work progresses; but apparently this is caused by the

arrangement of the subject-matter. There is nothing to show that the writings of S. Paul had acquired greater authority in the eyes of Irenaeus during the years in which he was engaged in writing the work on heresies. He treats them throughout as of authority ; but probably he did not put them on the same level as the Gospels or the Old Testament. Not one of the 206 quotations from S. Paul is introduced with the formula, 'The Scripture saith,' He cites him as 'the Apostle,' not as Scripture ; and 'the Apostle' seems to mean the writer himself, not a recognized collection of his Epistles. Yet it would be difficult to show that there is any essential difference between the authority which Irenaeus assigns to the Old Testament and the Gospels and that which he assigns to the writings of S. Paul. Dr. Werner thinks that, in the first instance, not only Irenaeus, but the primitive Church generally, was led to treat the Pauline Epistles as canonical more because they were found to be invaluable for polemical purposes, than because their contents were specially attractive, or were recognized as specially edifying. He thinks also that what delayed their full recognition as Scripture was not the fact that they emanated from one who was not one of the Twelve, but their profane literary form. There was no precedent in the Old Testament for inspired *letters*. Irenaeus seems to be not so much concerned to understand and reproduce the teaching of S. Paul, as to be able to quote S. Paul's authority for his own teaching. It is the latter which determines what he shall quote from the writings of the Apostle rather than the writings which determine what he shall teach. This point brings us to the second part of the treatise.

Irenaeus is pronounced to be a theologian and not a philosopher. It is not an intelligible

theory of the universe, but a description of how God deals with men, and how they may attain to God, that he desires to give : and he appeals, not to speculation, but to experience. His end is not truth, but practical Christianity. He lacks the scientific conscience. Theology with him is not science, but apologetics ; and its business is to supply external supports to what is established, rather than to find out and establish what is true. Irenaeus starts from a cut-and-dried system, which he desires to fortify with proofs ; and therefore he quotes S. Paul's words, without proper apprehension of what they really imply. He has no idea how widely he differs from S. Paul, for he has no head for system and does not see that the same form of words may express very different ideas. But he is grand in his contention for a practical Christianity exhibited in a moral life. He is a lover, not of controversy, but of peace, ; and he is moved to attack heretics, because they disturb the peace of the Church, not because he is fond of polemics. Hence there is little of personal bitterness in his criticisms. He lived in a time of *Sturm und Drang*, and we must measure him by that rather than by the breadth and depth of the teaching of S. Paul.

But one is inclined to doubt whether the critic is not himself guilty of some of the narrowness with which he is disposed to tax Irenaeus. The amount of difference between Irenaeus and S. Paul is perhaps less than that between Irenaeus and Dr. Werner's interpretation of S. Paul. In any case it must be remembered that for us the teaching of the Apostle has been illuminated by the experience of eighteen centuries, and that of that illumination Irenaeus had experienced only the beginning.

A. PLUMMER.

A GREEK STORY OF ST. MICHAEL, EDITED BY MAX BONNET.

Narratio de miraculo a Michaele Archangelo Chonis patrato, adjecto Symeonis Metaphrastae de eadem re libello. Edidit MAX BONNET. (pp. xlv. 36. Paris, Hachette et Cie.: 1890.) 3 francs.

THE name Chonae was applied, it would seem, to a suburb of Colossae which afterwards supplanted the mother-city, on account of the funnel-shaped chasm into which the river Chryses disappeared at that spot. The

phenomenon is common in the district, as in many other limestone regions, and is associated with a peculiar petrifying action of the waters. The popular tendency to explain remarkable natural or prehistoric features of a country by supernatural agencies, and the angelolatrous proclivities which prevailed in this region (Col. ii. 18), naturally explain the existence both of the story that the disappearance of the river at Chonae was the work of S. Michael, and of a shrine

or *εὐκτήριον* of the 'Archistrategus' at the spot. M. Bonnet has printed the Greek text of the narrative from several MSS. with an *apparatus criticus*, a thorough discussion of the problems offered by the history of the text, and excellent grammatical and other indices. He has also prefixed a very valuable dissertation on the origin and criticism of the narrative. The latter exists in three forms: an anonymous document, which Bonnet shows to be the source of the others; a narrative in a hortatory form bearing the name of Sisinnius (probably the patriarch of Constantinople 996—999 A.D.) and printed by the Bollandists (Sept. viii. 41 sqq.); and a recension by the Metaphrast, which Bonnet prints at the end of the present edition. The Greek menaea have summarised the tale, but it cannot be determined which document has been used.

The narrative as it stands is of literary, not of popular origin. The writer, in order to lead up to his subject, which requires some account of a miraculous spring, and a shrine beside it, borrows freely from the apocryphal acts of Philip, and perhaps in part from those of John. Finding that these Apostles came to Hierapolis, the author makes them, at a spot which he calls Chaeretopa, *predict* the miracle which he has to relate. This prediction, and the miraculous spring which issues forth as the memento of the apostolic visit, are the clumsy introduction to a pause of over ninety years after the death of the apostles, at the outset of which a converted heathen builds the *εὐκτήριον*. At the close of the ninety years, a certain Archippus (whose name is borrowed from Col. iv. 13, and clothed with purely conventional ascetic touches) becomes 'prosmonarius' or sacristan of the chapel. The heathen conspire to destroy the sacred spring by diverting the river to overwhelm it. Just as the dam is broken, and the flood is about to destroy the sanctuary and spring, Archippus, who has remained within in prayer, hears a great clap of thunder. The 'Archistrategus' Michael descends, rends the solid rock, promises that miraculous cures shall be wrought at the spot, and that the malicious conspirators shall be turned to stone, and finally bids the waters flow into the rent in

the rocks: ἀκοντίσθητε ὑμεῖς ἐν τῇ χώνῃ ταύτῃ καὶ ἔστε χωνευόμενοι κ.τ.λ.

The remarkable thing is, that the name Chonae does not occur in the text. The scene of the apostolic prediction, and of the miracle itself, is 'Chaeretopa,' which M. Bonnet shows to have been quite a distinct place from Chonae or Colossae, and a spot marked by no such natural features as the narrative demands. The parting words of the Archangel are clearly meant to explain the name Chonae; and the mention of Chaeretopa must be set down to the topographical ignorance of the author, who perhaps, as M. Bonnet suggests, derived the name from the Acts of Philip. That the words which close the legend in the Basilian menology—καὶ ἐκλήθη ὁ τόπος ἔκτοτε Χῶναι—may have been taken from the now imperfect close of the narrative is possible, although if so the mutilation must have taken place at a very early date.

The date of composition falls not earlier than the fifth century; while the mention of heathen (not heretics) as the enemies of Archippus, and of the small shrine which had in later days given place to a sumptuous building, seems in favour of a date not much later. M. Bonnet leaves the date undetermined between the fifth and seventh centuries, but within these limits appears to incline to an earlier rather than a later date.

M. Bonnet has certainly imparted to the subject as much interest as it was capable of, and has brought out its points of contact with numerous questions of geography, history, and criticism. A better monograph on such a subject can scarcely be imagined; as the editor justly remarks, a book not likely to attract a second editor requires all the more thoroughness in what is likely to be a definitive edition.

M. Bonnet's Greek text and critical notes are an overprint from the *Analecta Bollandiana* viii. 287 sqq. The dissertation and indices are now added for the first time, and are a model of thoroughness and accuracy. Specially careful and scholarly is the eighth section 'de libris manu scriptis,' a thoroughly scientific exercise in textual criticism.

A. ROBERTSON.

AN INTERMEDIATE GREEK-ENGLISH LEXICON.

An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon,
Founded upon the Seventh Edition of
Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon.
Oxford, 1889.

THIS lexicon is in the main an abridgment of the large edition, made by curtailing etymological matter and by omitting words and meanings of words which occur only in authors of late date and little read, as well as most citations of passages. The reduction in bulk thus effected amounts to nearly three-fourths of the original work. Thus we get a book which shares the great merits of its parent, and which, by reason of its superior lightness and compactness, is better adapted for beginners in the language and is at the same time a valuable accessory convenience for more advanced students. The assertion of the editor, Dean Liddell, that all words occurring in Greek literature down to the close of Classical Attic Greek have been inserted, seems to be, to all intents and purposes, exact, though one may observe the occasional omission of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, as *ταλαντεία* (or *τανταλεία*), *ταλαντόομαι*, which occur in Plato, *τάραξις*, which occurs in Aristophanes, not to speak of words found only in the dramatic fragments. The needs of beginners have been consulted by the copious insertion of irregular verb-forms and crasis combinations, many of which do not appear in the unabridged edition.

In dealing with etymology, this abridgment has departed from the practice of the larger work in two particulars. In the first place the separation by a hyphen of the two parts of a compound word is carried out much more consistently, and where the second element of the compound is disguised a reference is more consistently inserted to the simple word from which the said element is regarded as derived. The other change is thus described by the editor, 'When the word represents the Root or Primitive Form with a termination easily separable, it is printed in Capital letters.' The attempt is one from which a scientific etymologist would shrink with dismay, but it surely might have been carried out with greater consistency than it has been. Thus we find *ἔπι* and the prepositions generally in capitals, but *κατὰ* and *ὑπέρ*; *ΓΑΡ*, but *γε*; *ἌΝ*, but *κε*; *ΚΑΙ*, but *τε*; *ΔΕ*, but *μέν*; *Εἰ*, but *ἤ*. In the printing of verbs with modified present-stems, the confusion is

equally great. Thus we find *ΚΕΥ΄ΘΩ*, *ΠΕ΄ΘΩ*, etc. but *τήκω*, *λείπω*; *ΚΡΥ΄ΠΤΩ*, *ΠΑ΄ΠΤΩ*, etc. but *ἄπτω*, *βάπτω*, etc.; *ΘΑ΄ΛΛΩ* etc. but *βάλλω*, *σφάλλω*; *ΑΥ΄ΞΑ΄ΝΩ* etc. but *ἀμαρτάνω* etc.; *ΠΕΤΑ΄ΝΝΥΜΙ* etc. but *κεράννυμι*; *ΟΡΥ΄ΣΣΩ*, etc., but *πλήσσω* etc. In nouns we have *φνυγή* etc. but *ΤΥ΄ΧΗ*; in pronouns *ΤΙΣ* etc. but **πός*. Apart from these aberrations, the treatment of etymology in this abridgment seems to be generally judicious, silence being preferred to disputable explanations. But it is to be regretted that the astonishing statements prefixed, under the head of 'dialectic and other changes,' to each letter were not condensed out of existence. Possibly they are not to be regarded as scientific statements, but as clues for the recognition of identical words under different aspects. If so, it may well be doubted whether they are used for that purpose by anybody. Their removal would eliminate at a stroke a mass of error, without loss to the learner. In this connexion it may be mentioned that the epigraphical remarks on the signs *E*, *H*, *Ξ*, *O*, *Σ*, are all more or less false or misleading.

Although this lexicon is professedly nothing more than an abridgment of the larger work, it has introduced, as was to be expected, a considerable number of corrections in matters of detail. In the hope of contributing something towards the improvement of the next edition I take this opportunity of pointing out some uncorrected errors which have fallen under my notice.

The political and legal terms generally need a thorough over-hauling. Thus under *δῆμος* *III*: 'in Attica....(in the time of Hdt.) 100 in number.' For the words in parenthesis substitute, 'as established by Kleisthenes.' The increase in the number of the demes may have taken place before Herodotus' time, as Köhler has shown.—*στρατηγός* *II*: 'at Athens, the title of ten officers....with the Polemarch at their head, Hdt. Thuc. etc.' The military functions of the Polemarch were lost early in the fifth century B.C. The account given under *πολέμαρχος* is correct.—*κατάστασις*: the signification in which this word is used in Lysias *xvi.*, viz. allowance for equipment to one entering the cavalry force of Athens, is omitted, as also from the unabridged edition.—*πρυτάνις* *II*: 'at Athens. . the πρυτάνεις were a committee of 50, chosen by lot from each of the 10 φυλαί.' This does not say what was meant, as the context

shows. The *πρυτάνεις* at any given time were all of one *φυλή*.—*προεδρος* II.: 'in the Athenian *ἐκκλησία*, the *πρυτάνεις* in office were called *πρόεδροι*.' Quite wrong. The mistake is the more surprising, because the *Addenda* to the unabridged edition give *s.v.* *ἐπιστάτης* the correct statement, that the *πρόεδροι* belonged to the non-*prytanising* tribes.—*γραφή* III.: 'as Att. law-term...a criminal prosecution undertaken by the state.' On the contrary, criminal prosecutions were generally undertaken by private citizens.—*συνήγορος* II.: 'at Athens public advocates, ten being appointed annually to represent the state.' *συνήγοροι* were in fact appointed only for special occasions.—*δικαστής*: 'at Athens...jurymen (the presiding judge being *ὁ κριτής*).' The presiding magistrate (not judge) was called *ἡγεμὼν δικαστηρίου*, never *κριτής*.

The following miscellaneous suggestions are arranged alphabetically. Where a reference is given in brackets, it is taken from the large edition, as the Intermediate Lexicon gives nothing more than names of authors. *ἀεὶός* II.: 'the pediment of a temple.' Add, 'or other building.'—*βαφή* IV.: 'in Soph. *Aj.* [651], *βαφή σιδήρος ὥς* must be construed not with *ἐθελύνθην*, but with the preceding words *καρτερὸς γενόμενος*, for iron becomes harder, not softer, by being dipped' [*i.e.* in cold water]. This is according to Professor Campbell's explanation. It might do, if Sophocles had really written *καρτερὸς γενόμενος*. What precedes is in fact *ἐκαρτέρον*. There is no difficulty in the rejected construction. Sophocles is thinking of the immersion of iron in hot oil, a process still in use for softening that metal. But the note is one which has no proper place in a lexicon such as this,—*βληχή*: 'the wailing of children, Eur.' [*Cycl.* 48]. It is lambs, not children, that are spoken of.—*διαφόρητος*, which occurs in Eur. *Cycl.* 344, is omitted, as also from the large edition.—*δίκαιος* C.: 'in Prose, *δίκαιός εἰμι* with inf.' The con-

struction occurs in poetry also. Besides Ar. [*Nub.* 1434], actually referred to in the text I have noted Eur. *Hipp.* 1081, where, to be sure, the inf. is only understood.—*καθυβρίζω*: 'Pass., absol., *to wax wanton*, Soph.' [*O.C.* 1535]. The form referred to is active.—*κᾶν*: 'κᾶν εἰ πολλοὶ...εἰσιν, for *ᾧσι* Plat.' [*Meno.* 72, C]. Omit 'for *ᾧσι*.' This slip is not in the unabridged edition.—*μετάστασις* II.; 'μ. ἡλίον, an eclipse, Eur.' [*I.T.* 816]. The reference is to the sun's fabled change of course.—*ξενοφονέω*: 'to murder strangers, Eur.' [*I.T.* 1021]. For 'strangers,' read 'one's host.'—*οὔτι* II.: 'ὅ τι, wherefore, οὔτι τί.' If *οὔτι* meant wherefore, what would *τί* mean? In this combination, as elsewhere, *οὔτι*=*οὔτι*, because.—*παλεύω*: 'to catch by decoy-birds, Ar.' [*Av.* 1083, 1087]. For 'catch by' read 'act as.'—*πόριμος*: 'ἄπορα πόριμος, making possible the impossible, Aesch.' [*Pr.* 905]. This neither makes sense nor can be got out of the words. Translate *fruitful in difficulties*, as Woolsey.—*ῥηγμίν* or *-μίν*, *ἴνος*, *ὄ*. For *ὄ* read *ῥ*. The error is repeated from the unabridged edition, and appears also in Pape's *Handwörterbuch*.—*σύννοδος* II.: 'κνάνει σύννοδοι θαλάσσης [*i.* θαλάσσης], of the straits of the Hellespont, Eur.' [*I.T.* 393]. For 'Hellespont' read 'Bosphorus.'—*σχολάζω* III. 2: 'σχ. τινί, to devote oneself to a master, attend his lectures. Xen.' [*Symp.* 4, 44]. The phrase is *σχολάζων συνδιημερεύει*, where *Σωκράτει* depends on *σύν* and *σχολάζων* means *at leisure*, as the context shows beyond a doubt.—*τά*, 'neut. pl. of *ὁ*, *ῥ*, and *ὄς*.' Omit 'and *ὄς*.'—*τρίγλυφος*, *τὸς*, Arist.' [*Eth. N.* 10, 4]. In the passage referred to, Aristotle uses *τὸ τρίγλυφον* of the frieze of the Doric order, as *ῥ* *τρίγλυφος* is used in line 30 of the inscription giving the plans and specifications for the naval arsenal of Philon (*Corp. Inscr. Att.* II. 1054).

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H. D. MÜLLER ON THE INDO-GERMANIC VERB.

Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des indogermanischen Verbalbaus, von HEINRICH DIETRICH MÜLLER. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprechts Verlag, 1890. 4 Mk.

THIS work is an attempt to reinstate the science of philology in the position in which

it was left by Curtius. The theories of the junggrammatische Schule are abhorrent to Herr Müller; he will have none of them. The theory of nasal sonants is absolutely rejected (p. 114). Velar gutturals seem to escape unscathed; but against the view that the original language possessed three and

not one vowel he reasserts emphatically the old position. His argument on this point seems to have been drawn out more fully in his *Sprachgeschichtliche Studien*, published in 1884, but it is summarised on p. 97 *sqq.* of the present pamphlet. The position is as follows. The fact that in the present participle, a formation of universal occurrence, Greek has *-ovr-*, Latin *-ent-*, but Sanskrit and all other languages *-ant-* is in itself strong presumptive evidence that *a* was the vowel of the original speech. The theory of a nasal sonant and an ablaut of inflexion is passed over unnoticed. For the existence of an original *o* he declares with Curtius that there is absolutely no evidence. We might reply in his own words that the fact that while Sanskrit, Zend, and to some extent German, have *a*, Greek, Latin, Armenian, Celtic, Balto-Slavonic (to some extent) and German (in the case of the long vowel) have *o* is on the principle of counting heads strong presumptive evidence that *o* was a vowel of the original speech. His explanation of the passage of an original *a* to European *e* is remarkable. It began, it would appear, in unaccented syllables, *bhārati* becoming *bhāreti*. Such an alteration of the vowel in an unaccented syllable in Greek is hard to believe, and indeed Herr Müller only supports it by an appeal to German and at the expense of ignoring the difference between the musical and the expiratory accent. *bhāreti* then passes into *bhēreti* by 'regressive assimilation' of the *a* to the following *e*; a theory which is again supported by an appeal to the German umlaut. *ᾄει* does not become **ἔει*, because as a verb of the sixth class it was originally accented after the root (*agāti*), or, as Müller would say, on the second syllable of the root, and regressive assimilation is only possible in the case of an accented vowel.

The author's views as to the development of language are peculiar. All language begins with the pronominal roots, from which are developed the adverbs. The simplest sentence is of the type *πάρα δ' ἀνῆρ*. From these roots are developed nouns and verbs, the only difference between the two being the presence or absence of endings of person, mood and tense. The suffixes that elevate the pronominal root into a verb are the same as those that elevate it into a noun. The suffix *na* of the verbal adjective in Sanskrit and Greek is the same as the *na* of the Gothic passive. The *ya* of present stems of the fourth class is the same as the *ya* that forms adjectives of the type *ἄγιος*—and so on. In fact there is a river at Macedon

and a river at Monmouth. The verbal stem *bhara* is derived from a pronominal root meaning 'upwards' (cf. Germ. *em-por*). Conceived as an adjective *bhara* means 'high,' *bhara-mi* 'high I,' *bhara-mi* may be understood either of a *status motivus* or a *status quietivus* and signify either 'I become high' or 'I am high.' With an accusative it means 'hoch ich den Stein,' that is either 'ich hebe den Stein empor' (*status motivus*) or 'ich halte den Stein empor' (*status quietivus*). The long *a* in *bhārāmi* is explained (p. 15) as originating in the time when the suffix *mi* was not yet added, and as being merely a method of protecting the final short vowel in *bhara* from disappearing, which it seems it must otherwise have done. The same explanation applies to *ἄνω* beside *ἀνά*. The same service of protecting a disappearing vowel may be performed by certain consonants (*s, m, n, t, d*), which then have a purely phonetic value.

In a book which departs so entirely from the now accepted tradition we naturally look to see whether any light is thrown by the galvanisation of the old method of the school of Bopp on such cruces as the Greek perfect in *-ka* or the Latin perfect in *-vi*. For the perfect in *-ka* Müller rejects, no doubt rightly, the theories both of Osthoff and of Brugmann. His own theory is as follows. A suffix of some kind being required to distinguish the perfect forms more clearly, the Greeks would naturally have employed *-va*, the suffix of the perfect participle: but being apparently aware that in the natural course of things an intervocalic *f* would ultimately disappear, they rejected this method and employed instead the suffix *-ka*, which appears in Lat *cum* (with final protecting nasal), in Sanskrit forms like *nartaka*, and in *medicus*, *γραφικός*, *capax*, etc. The original meaning of *ka* was 'with,' and the idea of accompaniment is well adapted to give the required present meaning of the tense. Latin on the other hand, in which an intervocalic *v* would not have dropped out, forms its perfect with the suffix *va*, which has the same meaning of accompaniment, and the final long *i* of the first person is due only to the lengthening which is elsewhere found in final syllables.

It is no doubt well that we should not hold the laws of any science merely as a matter of tradition; and above all in Comparative Philology there is a danger lest principles should come to be accepted unquestioningly merely on the strength of the great names with which their discovery is associated. A real service may be done

to the science by an attack on the foundations of the accepted creed, if only because it enables those foundations to be established more securely. And a doctrine when it becomes traditional often gathers round it an accretion of other matter which overlays or sometimes distorts the truth that the doctrine originally asserted. The statement for example of Grimm's Law, as given in the popular handbooks of to-day, generally shows that the exact point which Grimm proved is entirely misconceived. And so it is not desirable that the philologist of the future should become acquainted with the theory of nasal sonants only through the medium of the *Grundriss*, and should never have read Brugmann's original paper on the *nasalis sonans*. But we cannot think that Herr Müller's attack seriously invalidates the truth of the theories of the scholars who are still, though rather inappropriately, known as the Junggrammatiker. The test of the value of an hypothesis is solely its power to explain the facts, and it is obvious that no detailed defence of the position is possible within the limits of a review. But while for the destructive part of this pamphlet we can only refer to such an accumulation of instances as are to be found in Brugmann's *Grundriss*, we may perhaps be allowed to enter a protest against the method of the constructive part. All that is written on what the Germans call glottogonic problems is written in water. In England, so far as original work in philology has been attempted, the common sense of scholars has kept them off the dangerous ground. But in Germany such questions seem to have an increasing

attraction, and even Brugmann's second volume is not free from traces of rather wild conjecture in this province. No doubt *i* appears in the suffix of *βάλλω* and equally in the suffix of *ἄγιος*. We may note the fact as of possible importance; but to go further and say that the significance of *i* in both cases is the same and then to cast about for some vague and comprehensive meaning which will cover its usage as a verbal and as a nominal suffix is to open the way for the most baseless conjecture. It is plain that any two scholars might with equal probability assign different and even directly opposite significations. So long as we are dealing merely with the question of phonetic change within a word or sentence we can check our results and scientific generalisations are possible; but when we attempt to analyse a word into its component parts and assign a specific meaning to each element, we are inquiring into that which in the present state of our knowledge it cannot be given us to know. If in Comparative Syntax we find scholars at variance on so comparatively simple a question as the original meaning of the optative mood, where after all the possible meanings are very few in number, what may we expect to find in the case of formative suffixes, where the possible meanings are almost indefinite? On the whole we cannot but regret that so distinguished a scholar as Herr Müller should have wasted so much misdirected ingenuity and learning in the attempt to bring the science back again to the position that it occupied at the time of Bopp.

CHR. COOKSON.

THE ANCIENT CLASSICAL DRAMA.

The Ancient Classical Drama: A Study in Literary Evolution. By R. G. MOULTON, M.A. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d.

THIS volume contains a course of Extension Lectures delivered by Mr. Moulton in the North of England. His views on the subject of classical education may be gathered from the following extracts from his admirable preface: 'Whatever may be the intention of those who direct our higher education, I believe that our study of Latin and Greek is in practice almost exclusively a study of language: the great mass of those receiving a classical education enter upon life with no

knowledge of literature or taste for it': 'the language element of classics almost entirely swallows up the element of literature': 'thus classics to the ordinary student is a study terribly out of perspective, demanding exactness in minor points, yet admitting vagueness in all that is great.' The evil, it is to be feared, is a growing one, and a welcome should be given to any book which tends to counteract it. Mr. Moulton's book is in very many ways calculated to do so, though it must be admitted that his treatment of the subject is not always likely to foster literary interest: its defects seem due partly to the circumstances of its composi-

tion, partly to the method adopted. Clearness of exposition is no doubt necessary in addressing classes of unskilled hearers: in the present book the blackboard and the chalk, which are so helpful in the lecture-room, seem to loom before one again and again in the diagrams and tables of dramatic motives, of choral odes and the like, which constantly occur: the somewhat rhetorical paraphrases of illustrative passages, often disproportionately long, are rather of the nature of recitation than necessary literary analysis, and, though probably effective before an audience somewhat satiated with schemes and diagrams, cause a feeling of weariness in the reader. More serious defects may be traced to the method employed. Mr. Moulton seems to have been led away into the endeavour to classify and provide with formulae everything which comes within reach: to explain everything as the result either of a law or of some modifying sub-law. The imagination of genius is surely the one thing which should be exempted from the hunter of specimens and affixer of labels: the broad principles of dramatic evolution may be traced, and general laws laid down, with tolerable certainty and general edification: but when we read a tabulated list of dramatic motives, which, beginning with destiny and horror, end with subdivisions such as geography and celibacy, one is tempted to ask whether literary analysis is not being carried a little too far. At the same time much of what Mr. Moulton has to say on these topics is true and interesting enough, but would be better placed in a chapter of general observations. Again, after some admirable remarks on the chorus as the conservators of the 'unities,' and on the tendency of religious associations, by limiting the choice of subjects to well known stories, to eliminate 'surprise' from dramatic effects, Mr. Moulton gives us a long classification of plots, the practical value of which it is hard to see, culminating in a note, where we find different varieties of plots denoted by symbols such as S + S', CR. The latter is the notation of the *Philoctetes*.

(The formula for the *Phormio* is $\frac{CR}{C} = R$.)

The list of Aristophanes' varieties of wit is even more distressing. In the same way one may object to Mr. Moulton's classification of choral odes. This is five-fold, and an English reader would be apt to suppose that every ode was a single poem falling under one or other of the proposed heads. The fact that so many choral odes are composite makes such a hard and fast classifica-

tion impossible and misleading. Thus far the defects of Mr. Moulton's book seem to have arisen from a too close application of a rigid scientific system to a necessarily elastic body of material: but there is another and an important point of a different nature, on which many will disagree with Mr. Moulton. He has regarded Aeschylus Sophocles and Euripides as forming so to say a single group, and quotes indiscriminately from them, when considering the position and nature of Athenian drama. This appears inconsistent with Mr. Moulton's professed object and method. If 'choral tragedy,' to adopt Mr. Moulton's own term, is the species with which we are concerned, any development which affects the chorus is pertinent. Now the position assumed by the chorus in the earlier plays of Aeschylus differs entirely from that which is assigned to it by Euripides. These changes too were organic and of the true nature of development, which cannot be said of the modifications of the chorus found for instance in the borrowed and artificial drama of Seneca. Hence to treat the choral odes of the three dramatists as illustrating the same period of evolution is but to obscure the main lines of change. Surely it would have been better had Mr. Moulton clearly traced the gradual alteration in the character of the chorus, instead of relegating all notice of it to a section dealing with 'transition influences.' Similarly, when Mr. Moulton is treating of destiny as a dramatic motive, by quoting from the three tragedians without noticing the change of view which separates Aeschylus from Euripides, he involves an already obscure subject in greater obscurity than ever. Where however the nature of the matter admits of strict analysis, Mr. Moulton's book is admirable. He shows well the origin and development of tragedy, marking the lyric and epic elements which enter into it, while to the English reader his treatment of the Lycurgus story in illustration of the points of view of Attic tragedy is most instructive, as also is his abstract of the *Oresteia*. Many useful remarks will be found in the chapter on 'Ancient Tragedy in Transition,' where, though nothing new is brought forward, the case is well and thoughtfully stated. Mr. Moulton's somewhat mechanical method of criticism finds free range in the sections which deal with variations of metre: they would have been at any rate more interesting, had he been satisfied with laying down some general rules, with typical examples. A few illustrations like Browning's translation from

the *Herakles* (quoted by Mr. Moulton) would do far more to show the real power of metrical change than the somewhat artificial and fanciful exposition of long passages from Sophocles or Aristophanes.

In spite of the drawbacks mentioned above, Mr. Moulton's book is interesting and valuable, and is, it is to be trusted, the

precursor of others which may tend to rescue Latin and Greek from becoming a mere examination-area, and an exercise-ground for gloss-hunters and *kai*-counters.

'A life of merchandise' seems a curious expression. What is the authority for 'entre-acte' (repeated four times)?

W. S. HADLEY.

ERDMANN'S HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

Erdmann's History of Philosophy. English translation. Edited by WILLISTON H. HOUGH, Ph.M. In Three Volumes. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. New York: Macmillan & Co. £2 2s.

THE translation of Erdmann's *History of Philosophy* was a work worth doing, and the laborious task has been accomplished by Professor Hough and his coadjutors well enough for all practical purposes. We are not likely soon to have an independent history of philosophy from an English scholar, and the history of Erdmann if not the best is at any rate the best tolerably readable and continuous exposition that can be used to supplement the unreadable but indispensable Ueberweg. Erdmann has some grave defects. He is an Hegelian prepared to step in and prove to you in advance of each successive system that it has swallowed (*aufgehoben*?) and therefore surpasses its predecessors which 'did not understand themselves,' and that 'es muss so sein' because it was demanded by the *Zeitgeist*. When strongly moved he is capable of uttering oracles like that which his present *εποφήτης* interprets to this result: 'Science is, therefore, comprehended history, the Recollection and the Calvary of the absolute Spirit, to which only out of the cup of this realm of Spirits mantles its infinity.'

These dithyrambs however occur rarely outside of the chapters devoted to the successors of Kant, and the *a priori* construction of the course of philosophic evolution exercises little influence on the exposition, except in the case of the pre-Socratics who have always been regarded as legitimate themes for clever combinations. The taste of some readers will be gratified by finding prefixed to each system a prophecy after the fact in the shape of a demonstration of its world-historic necessity in its time and place. They will have a sense of profound insight

as they read that the Ionic hylozoism was to be looked for in colonies, or that 'because the times had become Roman' (had they then?) Aristotle and Plato had to be replaced by the Stoics and Epicureans. Other readers may simply omit these sections.

A more serious defect is the want of that conscientious erudition that German science boasts as her chief honour, and that gives the unphilosophical history of Zeller its unquestioned supremacy. I do not refer to Erdmann's neglect of bibliography and of what his compatriots by a notable *lucus a non* designate as the 'Literatur' of the subject. It is a waste of paper to reprint Ueberweg-Heinze with every new exposition of the subject, and I cannot admit the natural right to a notice of every dissertation- and program-writer. But a reader who is prepared to work through two thousand pages on the history of philosophy may fairly demand exact controlling references to the original sources. And when Erdmann asserts in his preface that he has found with his own eyes all that he makes the philosophers say we can only ask for example whether he found ἀφύσικοι (Vol I. p. 40) in the text of Aristotle, whether εἰσοπεποιημένον (p. 21) occurs in the text of Anaximander or in that of his interpreter, and where in the context of *Parmenides* 156 D he found the Christian conception of 'the union of rest and motion, enjoyment and labour' which Plato 'had beheld only in a passing flash.'

These defects however are made good by one great merit. It is Erdmann's habit, wherever it is possible, to expound a system by means of a clear straightforward *résumé* of the chief literary work in which it is set forth. These *résumés* are executed intelligently and in the main accurately, and thus the student instead of losing himself in a maze of abstractions relating to men and doctrines of which he knows nothing is brought face to face with the only realities

touched by the history of philosophy—the writings of the great philosophers. This method is not everywhere applicable, notably not in the sections devoted to ancient philosophy which are for the most part based on the excerpts in Ritter and Preller. But in the chapters on modern philosophy from Descartes to Kant it yields admirable results. These five hundred pages (which are well translated) might well be published separately as a text-book of modern philosophy. They would find many readers who take no interest in the scholasticism of the middle ages or of the post-Kantians, and who would desire more authentic accounts of ancient philosophy than can be found in the first volume.

The translation is in the main correct and fairly readable. 'Gruppe's attempt to vindicate Plato's far more developed astronomical conceptions' (§ 78,4) hardly represents the 'Plato viel ausgebildete astronomische Vorstellungen zu vindiciren' of the original, and Plato's *στασιῶται τοῦ ὅλου* after transference from Greek to German and German to English are hardly recognizable as the 'all-consolidators.' The philosophic terminology has been doubtless much benefited by the revision of the editor, but perfect consistency and accuracy have by no means been attained. The words *Anschauung*, *Vorstellung* and their paronyms present the chief difficulties. It is probably safer to render *Anschauung* everywhere by 'intuition,' *Vorstellung* generally by 'presentation,' and

vorstellbar by picturable or, rarely, 'thinkable.' But in the present work the Hegelian misuse of *Vorstellung* in antithesis now to *Begriff* and now *Idee* makes the translator's task very difficult. Where Greek terms which have not yet become technical, as *αἴσθησις*, *δόξα*, *νοῦς*, etc., find their way into English through translation of their supposed German equivalents, the confusion becomes hopeless. Compare page 113 where *vorstellbar* representing presumably the Platonic *δοξαστόν* is translated 'capable only of being imagined'; page 118 where *Anschaulich* is rendered 'clear to perception' but means rather 'picturable in imagination'; p. 134 where the student would certainly be misled by finding 'theoretical understanding' glossed by *τέχνη*; and page 183 where among several other confusing statements we have an identification of *ὁρθή δοξα* with *ὑπόληψις*. On page 143 we read that Aristotle calls rhetoric the complement of dialectic. *Gegenstück* here represents Aristotle's *ἀντίστροφος* and should be rendered 'counterpart.' Misprints and careless accents, though by no means wanting, are not sufficiently numerous to impair the value of the book. I note among others *ἀφθαρτόν* (p. 22), *δοφία* (p. 109), *μονογένης* (p. 116), *φύλαι* (p. 124), *τύπτωσις* for *τύπωσις* (p. 187). The chapters from Kant to Hegel are an exception to the general excellence of the translation. Vol. II. p. 361, for example, is a literary curiosity.

PAUL SHOREY.

ROHDE'S PSYCHE.

Psyche. Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen. Von ERWIN ROHDE. Erste Hälfte. Freiburg-i.-B. 1890. Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr. 7 Mk.

THIS monograph has a value for mythologists beyond its avowed intention. In his examination of the belief of the Greeks as to the future state of the soul and the ritual practices founded on it, Herr Rohde starts from the Homeric poems, but he is well aware—and this constitutes the peculiar value of his monograph—that the Homeric poems are in reality for mythology no starting-point, but a poetic break, a fault—if we may borrow the metaphor—in the regular stratification of autochthonous tradition. So long as the mythologist insists on beginning with the

poetic and ultimately orthodox Olympian system, so long will he work with the cart before the horse and any intelligible sequence be impossible. No better instance of this could be found than this question of the belief in the after state of the soul, and it is in his clear recognition of the principle of the Homeric *break*, rather than in any special novelty of either fact or theory, that Herr Rohde claims our gratitude. We have only to regret that he tells his story at such needless length and with such tedious iteration.

The gist of his contention is this. Homer (taking Homer for epic tradition generally) believes that *something* persists after death: that something is no more life, though it is called *Psyche*; rather it is the very opposite of life, it is the shadowy double of a man deprived of all the charac-

teristics of life. This something, *as soon as the body is burnt*, goes away to a place apart, remote, from which there is no possibility of return. Further, this something, once gone to Hades, has no power for good or for evil on the living. In a word the Homeric world is haunted by no ghosts—Patroklos himself, once his body burnt, can reappear no more: hence after the funeral there is no cultus of the dead, no offerings at the tomb, no oracular utterance: all is done. In this respect Homeric faith is markedly different from that of most primitive peoples. Usually the dead man's ghost haunts his tomb, is locally powerful, must be tended and appeased. Moreover, in post-Homeric times we find an elaborate cultus of the dead, hero-worship, and the whole apparatus of a faith that recognises the power of the departed soul. Whence and when did this arise? Herr Rohde contends, and we believe rightly, that this faith and this ritual existed before Homer, and that in his poems there are traces of its survival; that during the period of epic influence it slept for a time, and re-awakened to fresh power and new developments: he believes, in fact, in the epic *break* in tradition. The break he abundantly proves: the reason is harder to determine. He conjectures—but all here *is* conjecture—that the reason for this break in traditional faith is to be sought in the general tribal upheaval consequent on the Doric invasion and the movement of the displaced tribes towards the coast of Asia. In a word, when you are moving about from place to place, when conditions almost nomadic compel you to burn your dead, you tend to drop a cultus that is local and ancestral; your gods, we may add, tend to remove themselves from their tribal seats and collect into a remote Olympus equally convenient at all points and always remote; your dead, instead of hovering about their ancestral graves, go to a common Hades, and revisit you no more, uncertain where you

are. But when you settle again, rebuilding home and hearth, the old local ancestral faith and ritual revive.

To the existence of the Homeric break Hesiod gives incidental and most interesting testimony. His five ages are characterised not more by their moral standard than by their status after death. One after the other they follow in regular decadence, with but one break in their continuity, and that for the epic heroes. The golden race after death are happy daimons, guardians of men: the remotest tradition then known to Hesiod shows a belief in the *activity* and *local* presence of souls after death. The men of the silver race, disobedient to Zeus, buried in the earth, but still were powerful and worshipped after death. The iron race went down to Hades nameless. The fourth race, the heroes of Thebes and Troy, interrupt the downward sequence—a part of them 'death covered,' and they reappeared no more; a few, the exception always, Zeus kept alive, they never suffered death, but they were translated to remote regions, islands of the blessed. This is perfectly consistent with Homeric faith—if you die, you end; if you are favoured by the gods, you are translated. After this break the downward sequence goes on uninterrupted.

We have no space to note in detail the many interesting points dealt with in relation to this main contention, *e.g.* the gradual modification of the original Homeric view as seen in the later 'descent of Odysseus into Hades' and the other cyclic poems, the exceptional criminals like Sisyphos and Tantalos, hero-worship, cave oracle gods, ritual of the dead, chthonic deities, and especially the Eleusinian cults: everywhere the absence of any doctrine of moral retribution in primitive Greek faith is clearly demonstrated. The present monograph, it should be noted, is only a first part.

JANE HARRISON.

Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Ilias. Von HERMANN KLUGE. Cöthen. Schulze, 1889. Pp. viii., 200. 8vo. Mk. 4. 50.

THIS little book is an attempt to analyze the *Iliad*, and to determine the relative age of the different portions, by a study of the metre. The first part aims to discover the origin of the Homeric hexameter, and to ascertain the characteristics of its earlier forms. Previous theories are summarily set aside. In the first chapter the author endeavours to show that the original foot was the spondee. The constant increase in the percentage of dactyls in demonstrably later epic poems points to this conclusion; in the *Odyssey*

the dactyls are $2\frac{3}{4}$ as many as the spondees; in Apollonius of Rhodes the figure becomes $3\frac{3}{4}$, after a steady increase in intervening writers. The author's second contention is that the original metrical principle is the accent of recurring syllables. The lengthening of short vowels is very common, and cannot otherwise be accounted for. The shortening of long syllables (as in B 537, I 382); the insertion of particles like γ', ρ', τ', often in a succession of lines (A 671—715, Φ 489); synizesis (as in A 273) and other similar devices resorted to, for the purpose of making the verse fit the type, show—says our author—that the original type was not quantitative but accentual.

It is further claimed that the original form of the verse was either that of two tripodies, or that of three dipodies. Each of these two forms gave rise to a hexameter in different places, and from the fusion of these hexameters is descended the present form. Anacrusis and catalexis were common; hence a dactyl containing the caesura would arise in the third foot of the first type of hexameter, and in the second and fourth feet of the second type. Survivals of such an anacrusis may still be noted, as in O 18, and Φ 396. Finally, the author attempts to show that rhyme is a common feature of the older verses, and that we must therefore assume it for the original form: this rhyme is either of hexameters, of dipodies, or of tripodies, and this fact in respect to dipodies and tripodies is adduced as evidence of the two-fold origin of the hexameter. The chapters on the development of the present metre from these elements are less important.

These assumptions give rise to a few questions which Kluge has not satisfactorily answered: If rhyme were general, why should it have become as uncommon as even the author admits? Is not the periodical repetition of similar sounds more simply explained as merely rhetorical, and are we justified in finding in it, occurring so sporadically, evidence as to the original length of the verse? If the second, third and fourth feet are the ones in which on this theory the dactyl most naturally arose, how does it happen that as a fact the fifth foot is the favourite place for them? Passing by the artificial explanation of the origin of quantitative scansion, why should the spondee be assumed as the original foot rather than the dactyl? It is the characteristic of early and ruder poetry to be rhythmic without too much regard to the number of syllables; is the Greek epic alone to be an exception, and is it reasonable to ascribe to it such an artificial principle of rhythm as that here described? It would be more simple to assume that both feet, dactyl and spondee, are crystallizations from an early freer movement, in which the longer syllable naturally attracted the recurring accent. The freer, less artificial is not descended from the more artificial; precision and the regulation of liberty come with the growth of poetry. It is true that the hexameter naturally falls asunder into two or three parts, but this is no proof that these are distinct elements in origin.

The second part of the book gives the percentage of verses of the older and of the later form in each section of the *Iliad*, and endeavours to establish the relative dates of these sections on this basis: thus the oldest passages are A 521—574, M 41—85, 252—289 and, with some short passages in N O, constitute an Older Wrath. Other short sections here and there are scattered bits of older work. The wrath of Achilles is treated also in a Later Wrath, and the two lays on this subject are worked together with additions at different points, made at various periods. The author's statistics have a value independent of that of the theory based upon them; they show clearly certain metrical peculiarities in different sections of the *Iliad*, and the metrical relation of these sections to each other.

ARTHUR FAIRBANKS,
N. Y.

Homeric Grammar for Upper Forms of Schools.

By F. E. THOMPSON. Rivingtons: 1890. 2s. 6d.

If this book did not contain an advertisement of two other works 'by the same author,' the reader would set it down as by a novice in book-making. On almost every page appear marks of inexperience or of haste. The heading 'Homeric Prosody' (probably

for 'Homeric Grammar') stands on every left-hand page of the book, while the headings on the right-hand page are not systematic. The main faults of the book are negative rather than positive. It fails to distinguish sufficiently between what is important and what is exceptional, and thus our old friend, the passive-ending -μεθον appears simply as 'rare.' But the author has an entirely wrong view of the Homeric dialect and even tries to explain 'the development of Epic into Attic'! See pp. viii., 1, 126. When he says that in ἔδδειςεν 'a vowel has probably been lost,' he doubtless means that a consonant has been lost; but he may not have been clear in his mind, for he says on p. 11 that 'the group δέος [where 'δ appears to stand for δF] is more difficult of discussion.' The material is ill digested. On p. 20 the same note is given in two recensions; cf. on p. 26, 'But, N.B., in some cases the true ending appears to be -oo, and we should write 'Ιάλοο', etc., and below 'The metre often requires -oo as with 'Ιάλοο above'—as if the metre were not the only indication for the forms 'Ιάλοο and ὄο. Lack of mental digestion is seen in § 11, where 'Caesura,' 'Diaeresis,' 'Hiatus,' and 'Elision' are brought into one article. The definitions are not always happy; as, p. 15, 'Hiatus is the gap produced by non-elision,' and, p. 14, 'Apocope is the cutting off of a short final syllable.' The paragraph on 'prodelision' might have been omitted, since the only example given seems to be not Homeric. The English expression is often careless, as, p. 20, 'Diphthongs can be shortened in Homer as in Iambics before a vowel following it [sic] in the same word.' The proof-reading has been carelessly done. The author has trusted too much to the printer, who has well done his part in making a comely book, but one that will not bear inspection.

—Y.

Die Sprichwörter bei den Römischen Komikern. Von WILHELM VON WYSS, Dr. Phil. Zurich, 1889. Pp. 111. 2 Mk.

A COLLECTION of proverbs and proverbial sayings from PL. (including the fragments), from Ter. and Ribbeck's *Fragmenta*. It appears to be very complete, and the proverbs are well grouped according to their sources rather than according to their application. The headings in the Table of Contents—Mythological, historical and geographical proverbs, Proverbs from public life, Nature in proverbs, etc.—with a sufficient number of sub-classes, enable one to use the book for reference, and take the place of an index. The author has used the work of his predecessors, Schneider, Pflügl, Wortmann and especially Otto in Wölfflin's *Archiv*, iii. iv. v. and has contributed something to the subject by careful use of the collections of Greek proverbs.

But when this is said, all is said. No general principles are laid down to distinguish a proverb from a metaphor which has become idiomatic; *tragulam inire* is included (p. 32), but not *ballistam intendere, os oblinere* (p. 67), but not *dare verba*. No line is drawn between proverbs clearly taken from the Greek and those which bear merely an accidental resemblance to Greek sayings. No real help to the understanding of difficult passages is given. P. 79, there is no distinction between *vigilans dormiat* and *vigilans somniat*; p. 90, the uses of *cuculus* are given but the differences in application are unnoticed; p. 88, *Simia* so called because he was as ugly as a monkey; p. 73, *Pseud.* 1196, *quem hominem nullius coloris novi*, p. 78, *Pseud.* 318 f., etc., etc., are illustrations of difficulties passed over too lightly. Other explanations are either from editions which are in

everybody's hands (Brix, Lorenz), or are unnecessary.

The two conclusions reached are 'dass auch auf diesem Gebiete die Römer nur die Schüler und Nachahmer der Griechen waren,' and that Plautus has more proverbs than Terence, a fact which the author attributes in part to his greater originality. That these two results directly contradict one another the author does not observe; the former is incorrect and the error comes from a failure to sift the material with sufficient care.

E. P. MORRIS,
Williams College.

De Manilii qui fertur Astronomicis. Inest de imperatoribus Romanis in siderum numerum relatis disputatio. Scripsit AUGUSTUS KRAEMER, Wilinaburgiensi. Marburgi: 1890.

THIS dissertation is to some extent inspired by Birt, and is not unworthy of that eminent scholar, whose pupil its author professes himself in the *vita* appended at the end of the work. The subject shows that the interest of scholars in Manilius' poem is gradually reawaking, and the dissertation deserves to be read if only for this; but it is also good in itself, carefully considered, and nowhere exaggerated or overstated.

The writer aims to prove that all the five books of the *Astronomica* were written before the death of Augustus. This involves an examination of some of the counter-arguments of Freier (Göttingen 1880), who had tried to show that they belong to a later date, the principate of Tiberius. Krämer succeeds, I think, in establishing that some of his opponent's arguments are wire-drawn and unnatural; and that the earlier date is more consonant with the language not only of Manilius but his contemporaries. As is usual with Germans, Krämer has an exaggerated opinion of Bentley, and thinks it necessary to enter into a long discussion (of a very unconvincing kind) to prove that *modo* in l. 898 cannot well mean anything but what Scaliger explained it to mean—*non multo ante*. The pages directed to this examination are the only part of the dissertation which must be pronounced weak. It is pleasing to see that Prof. Jebb's *Life of Bentley* has been studied (in a German translation).

The discussion on the deification of Augustus during his life-time brings together a variety of passages which seem to prove the point. But whether Augustus was worshipped as the sun, whether the much-debated *proles Iulia descendit caelo caelumque replevit* can refer to the young Caesars, Gaius and Lucius, whether so very harsh a construction as results from making the sentence terminate with the word *Iulia*, and marking off the following words from *descendit* to *tangunt* 804 as a separate and quasi-parenthetical clause is at all possible—these are points on which judgment must necessarily be reserved.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

Inscriptions Antique de la Côte'-d'Or. Par PAUL LEJAY Paris: Bouillon (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études, fasc. 80), pp. 281. 8vo. 1889.

THIS pamphlet is a timely addition to our knowledge of the Roman inscriptions found in France. For one reason or another, very little has yet been done towards collecting these inscriptions. *Gallia Narbonensis* has, indeed, been exhaustively dealt with by Hirschfeld in the twelfth volume of the Berlin *Corpus*, but for the larger part of France the student has less accessible aids than for any other of the lands which formed part of the Roman Empire. Any collected edition is therefore useful, even if, like the present volume, it includes only 200 inscriptions (including

pottery), and deals with a district which was partly in Gaul, partly in upper Germany. The general idea of the district which one can get from the present collection is that its civilization was not of a particularly high order. A very large proportion of the inscriptions are funeral monuments which, to judge by the formulae used, are seldom earlier than the third century and often of very much later date. The whole number of inscriptions is small, and few, even of those found in Dijon, are important. There is, indeed, one remarkable set of tiles found at Mirebeau in the country of the Lingones, which apparently belongs to the revolt of Civilis, and which deserves more notice from editors of Tacitus' *Histories* than it has received in spite of Mommsen's article on it (in *Hermes* xix. 437 foll.). On the whole, the contrast is very strong between these inscriptions and those of (say) *Gallia Narbonensis*. One is reminded rather of the British inscriptions—only the latter include a number of important military records which are unknown in the Côte-d'Or. It remains only to say that the execution of the work is satisfactory. How far the author has exhausted the local literature of the subject I cannot pretend to judge, but the general character of his work is careful, and without suggesting originality, certainly inspires confidence. An additional value is given to the work by the fact that the author has himself collated a large number of texts, though he does not seem to have made many serious corrections. The chief fault of the book is a certain verbosity which may possibly be justified in a work of this character—as it would be in the local journals of archaeology in England—but which is very unlike the lucid brevity of the *Corpus* and of treatises written on the same lines as the *Corpus*. The book is well indexed, but maps of the district and of Dijon would be useful. It is to be hoped that the success of the present volume may induce those responsible for the series in which it appears to induce other students to collect and edit the inscriptions of other departments. We should thus obtain a survey of lapidary texts which, apart from their local interest, would fill up an awkward gap during the interval—probably a long one—required for the completion of the volumes of the *Corpus* which will deal with *Gallia Comata*.

F. HAVERFIELD.

Models and Exercises in Unseen Translation.

By H. F. FOX, M.A., and Rev. T. H. BROMLEY, M.A. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1890. 5s. 6d.

THIS is a book of over 400 pp., of which 82 pp. (Part I.) consist of prose and verse extracts from Greek and Latin classical authors, with idiomatic translations on the opposite side; and the rest of the book of similar extracts without translations. There are no notes; nor are there any references to the source of the extracts or any table of contents; the two latter might be added with advantage in a second edition. The extracts seem well selected and of the right length. Part I., containing 32 translations by such well known scholars as Jowett, Sidgwick, Myers, Bradley and others, will be found especially useful, in supplying not only models of translation but examples of differences of idiom for Greek and Latin composition; e.g. passages like these, 'The desire to become familiar with the names of the great actors in the world's drama, with their parentage and nationality' (*cum volumus nomina eorum qui quid gesserint nota nobis esse parentes patriam*), or 'The policy of expediency, the patriotic policy was so far identical with morality that it ought to have commanded the assent even of Collatinus himself' (*quod erat utile, patriae consulere, id erat ita honestum ut etiam ipsi*

Collatio placere deberet) will serve as useful helps for teachers in deducing general rules. It may be doubted however whether the compilers have made up their minds as to what amount or kind of freedom should be encouraged in translation, for the styles of many passages [cf. i. iv. and xxx., or xxiii. xxv. and xxvii] are totally different. It is hard to conceive a scholar retranslating the following 'Well may my pen have lost its cunning and my voice be unused to break silence, but even so will I assay,' etc. by Tacitus' '*non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce*,' etc. Unfortunately there is no agreement among scholars as to what should be aimed at or what principles observed in translating. Some try to show accuracy of scholarship at the expense of their English, some to show their knowledge of differences of idiom by reproducing the sense of all authors alike, however simple and unaffected, in the verbose well-rounded antithetical phraseology of the present age, often with the sacrifice of point and emphasis as well as of accuracy: others, though fewer, vary their style strictly according to their author's, and are content with sound, simple, idiomatic English even if sometimes quaint and irregular. Instances of all these three styles will be found in this book, and if carefully analyzed by the teacher to his class will be found very useful: otherwise they may prove perplexing.

J. E. NIXON.

Models and Materials for Greek Iambic Verse.

By J. G. SARGENT. (Clarendon Press.) 4s. 6d.

THIS little book will be welcomed by those who still uphold the writing of Greek Iambic verse, as a help to the more thorough appreciation of the Tragedians, and the assimilation of their thoughts and diction.

The work is divided into three parts: first, Models, *i.e.* selections from Tragic authors mostly of a sententious character, and arranged under heads, such as Honour, Morning, Shoes (this enumeration will show sufficiently the variety of the subjects); then, Materials, *i.e.* passages from English authors to be turned into Iambics, with references below to some line or sentence of similar import in Greek, and lastly an Index, on the same principles as part i., only giving references and not quotations. The first part should be not only studied, but the more congenial passages learnt by heart: the chief fault to be found in it is that the selections are inevitably more often from Euripides than from the other two great Tragedians, and are in some cases rather dry and didactic. But they form a suitable introduction to the longer and more impassioned narratives, which must become familiar to all who would enter into the full spirit of their authors, and be saturated with their style.

The materials are well selected, and may be recommended safely to those who have to cast about for suitable pieces for translation. No references are given either in 'Models' or 'Materials' to the authors from which they are taken: a saving of the printer's labour, and perhaps a useful puzzle for inquiring minds, but there are cases where one would gladly have a clue to the source from which the extract comes.

E. D. S.

Zur Gutturalfrage im Gotischen. Inaugural Dissertation. Von HELEN L. WEBSTER. Boston, U.S.A. 1889. Pp. 90.

A DISSERTATION presented for the doctorate by an American lady at the University of Zürich on a subject of Germanic philology is perhaps an earnest of much creditable work to come from the graduate

of the colleges open to women in this country. It is written in German but printed in Boston, which latter circumstance is doubtless responsible for some misprints, and perhaps for certain inconsistencies in spelling, such as the use of *v* and *w* in Anglo-Saxon words. The words containing guttural sounds in Gothic, or sounds which had their origin in guttural (including palatal) sounds, whether alone or combined with a following *w*, are carefully examined, and the attempt made to determine for each case whether a velar guttural or a palatal spirant was the source, and also what determined the presence or absence of the *w* sound, as in Gothic *gw*, *g* (= *kw*), *hw*, and sometimes *f*. The total (not given by the author) of the cases considered in the various lists given appears to be about 410, and of this number about 170—considerably over one third—are classed as of uncertain etymology, in which accordingly it is doubtful whether the original consonant was a velar guttural or a palatal spirant. The numbering of these lists is confusing; it does not appear, for instance, why those lettered *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e* are arranged as sub-lists under that numbered 2 (II. in the dissertation itself), as if they consisted simply of specially selected words containing a medial guttural, which is not the case. The difficulty is increased by the apparent omission of the word 'velar' in the heading of the first line under 2, so that it seems to be meant to include at least the lists *a* and *b* which come next in order. If the first list under 2 were lettered *a* and the lettering then continued through *f*, it would be clearer. Under 8 *b* the heading in the table of contents and the corresponding wording on p. 83 do not cover all that is said in the following paragraphs. It is true that these are not matters which necessarily indicate any lack of diligence or competence, but they interfere with a ready understanding of the author's work. In the last list, p. 85, containing words with *f* instead of *gw* (apparently for *hw*) one looks for a mention of the numerals *ainlif* and *tuallif*, even if it be only to express an opinion that their *f* does not represent an older labialized guttural.

After the examination of individual cases is concluded, the rules for the labial affection given by Kluge in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Conjugation* are criticized, and it is attempted to show that they are not proved, but that the rule for Gothic is similar to the conclusion reached by Bersu for Latin; namely, that the previously existing or pre-Germanic state of the guttural consonants, as far as labialization is concerned, has been preserved almost without change; that is, that the labial affection is not the result of specifically Germanic laws. The argument is mainly that, where Gothic shows the labial affection, it also appears in Latin, Greek or Celtic, if the corresponding word is found; and where Gothic does not show it, those languages do not; cf. Gothic *giman*, Latin *venire*, Greek *βαίνειν*, on the one hand, and Gothic *haurds*, Latin *crates*, Gothic *hups*, Latin *cubare*, Gothic *gasts*, Latin *hostis* on the other, with some other examples. Here it would have been well to give (1) the number of Gothic words showing labialization, (2) the number without labialization, (3) the number of agreements for both classes with Latin, or Greek or Celtic, (4) the number of Gothic cases whose etymological relations are uncertain. From a perhaps not quite accurate count based on the preceding list it appears that the number for (1) is 50, omitting the case of original palatal spirant + *w* and also omitting Gothic *gwo* with unoriginal *gg*, but including the words under 9, *a*, *b*, *c*; while the number for (4) is 15. In other hands the material might make the latter number larger and the former smaller, and indeed it

is not quite clear from the discussion of *afhwajjan*, p. 9, *hwiſftri*, p. 10 (cf. p. 86), and *agizi*, p. 14, why these words are not classed with those of uncertain etymology.

But it is not so important that a doctor dissertation should settle a doubtful point beyond dispute, as that it should show that its author has the ability to

discuss questions in the scientific spirit, and has a knowledge of the arguments already presented as well as of the materials available, and this appears to be the case in the present instance.

E. S. SHELDON,
Harvard University.

NOTES.

W. T. LENDRUM ON CLAUSES FOLLOWING 'EXPECTATION,' *Classical Review* for March, p. 100.

No doubt Mr. Lendrum correctly limits the prevailing Attic usage; but his canon makes too much of a purely formal distinction, which is not even absolute. Every infinitive, if only as an abstract, by definition involves a subject: the expression of this subject is only the explication of the implicit, which is formally developed only in proportion to the separable and individual importance of the two actions—that of the leading verb, and that of the infinitive: where these are closely integrated (as 'I may (to) read'), so that the former becomes a preliminary auxiliary part of the latter, the development by expression of the subject is a gratuitous intrusion and an interruption of continuity in thought. But the subject is persistent; and any formal discrimination is overborne by our abiding confidence in the real presence and the self-sufficiency of the implicit. Hence Goodwin and Monro are validated.

In these combinations, the leading verb implies *futurity* (Gil. *L. G.* § 240, 3, 515, 43, 659), and hence *futurity* expressed by the dependent verb is only emphasised by explication, invited here by the separate importance of that verb as existing first in independent thought; and since the future infinitive can in general be justified only thus, Thuc. 4, 13 (ἐλεῖν) must be oblique. (The future infinitive with μέλλω, and the occasional future participle coincident with a future—as Isoc. *Paneg.* 185, ἐθελοσποντας—are best applied as explications through assimilation of proximity.) Moreover, the infinitive as an abstract is always future and the same idea grows out of its datival origin, unless limited by the terms of development to distinct time: in this sense it may be called timeless=omnitemporal. So that the combination of a verb of *expectation* with a present or aorist infinitive, the subject of which is implied, furnishes the necessary conditions for the conveyance of the contents of the thought.

(1) That the closest integration may be analysed, is shown *M. T.* 113. (Cf. provincial 'He wants that I should go.')

(2) That the widest analysis may be integrated is shown *M. T.* 127 (Cf. colloquial 'He said to learn (=that we should learn) this lesson.')

(3) For the presence of the implicit cf. *cupio esse clemens*, *cupio me esse clementem* (A. and G. *Lat. Gr.* 271, a, N. 1: their general doctrine, as shown in 271 Note, is untenable.); *licet mihi negligentem esse* (Gil. *L. G.* § 421, 535 R. 2): Good. *Gk. Gr.* 136, 3, 138, 8.

(4) The use of ἡ μὴν implies consciousness of a subject.

(5) Of the examples now cited by Goodwin, I call attention especially to Plat. *Rep.* 573 C: Lycurg. 60: Dem. xxiii. 170.

CASKIE HARRISON,
The Brooklyn Latin School.

I VENTURE to put forward in the briefest possible form one or two suggestions on Plautus' *Menæchmi* and *Mostellaria*.

Men. 454.—For '*census capiant ilico*,' which no one has yet explained, read '*censu carcant ilico*.'

Ibid. 594—5. If these two lines keep the position they hold in the MSS., I think it necessary with Teuffel (*Studien* etc.²) to take '*praedem dedit*' in 593 in the sense 'he caved in,' rather than in the sense which Brix gives them, namely, that the client accepted a regular trial and did not avail himself of a *sponsio*. But I am disposed to think that the lines are out of place, and should follow on v. 589 before the words '*Aput aediles*, etc.' In that case the sense given by Brix to the words *praedem dedit* is probably the better.

Most. 314.—*audi*; *em*, *tibist imperatum*: not, I think, addressed to Phaniscus, as Prof. Sonnenschein supposes, but rather to an inattentive slave, and accompanied with a blow.

Ibid. 432.—*quom med amisisti a te* does not give a very good rhythm. I should either keep the MS. reading *quom me amisisti a te*, with the hiatus at the caesura, or read *quom me amisisti < ita > a te*. It is noteworthy in how many lines of Plautus we have to choose between a very possible hiatus on the one hand and a very possible correction (sometimes more than one very possible correction) on the other. It looks as if there may have been different traditional readings of such lines—one avoiding the hiatus, the other admitting it—from very early times.

Ibid. 850.—That Theopropides should be frightened at a mosaic figure of a dog on the threshold, as Prof. Sonnenschein supposes, seems rather far-fetched, and it seems strange that no allusion to so absurd a mistake should be made by the other actors. More likely it was a property-dog—a stuffed one—that stood revealed when Tranio opened the door. The thing would be a 'safe laugh,' and the notion is not too farcical for Plautus.

E. S. THOMPSON.

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NOTES ON TACITUS DIALOGUS DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS, AND ON SENECA APOCOLOGYNTOSIS.

D. 10 ad fin. *nobis satis sit privatas et nostri saeculi controversias tueri, in quibus texpressis si quando necesse sit pro periclitante amico potentiorum aures offendere, et probata sit fides et libertas excusata.*

expressit C; om. Heumann et al.; *in quibus si quando ex re sit pro* Baehrens.

Perhaps *caecercendis*, a very favourite verb with Tac. in this connexion: cf. D. 4. 5 *patrocinium ex*; H. 2. 10 *accusationes ex*; A. 6. 7 *delationes ex*; A. 13. 19 *aemulatio exercebatur*; A. 13. 19 *contentio exercebatur*.

D. 39 ad fin. *satis constat C. Cornelium et M. Scaurum et T. Milonem et L. Bestium et P. Vatinium concursu totius civitatis et accusatos et defensores, ut*

frigidissimos quoque oratores ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et incendere potuerint. itaque hercule eiusmodi libri extant, ut ipsi quoque qui tegerunt non alius magis orationibus conseantur.

egerunt corr. ex *egerint* B; *legerunt* non a. m. o. *accendantur* Andresen; *libri quoque extant ipsi qui* Bachrens.

Andresen's *accendantur* is a violent change; I believe that both *egerunt* and *conseantur* are sound, and that some word like *infelicitur* has dropped out before *egerunt*. Tac. then says that in these *causes célèbres* all the speakers were so inspired by the eager crowds of listeners that *even those who were on the losing side* won their chief laurels in these cases. This explains the *contrast* indicated by *ipsi quoque*, which must otherwise be awkwardly opposed to *reis et causis* (Doederlein and Binde). The transposition of *quoque* advocated by Bachrens seems unlikely, and does not remove the difficulty. There are many examples of words having dropped out in this Dialogue.

Apocol. c. 9. 'olim,' inquit, 'magna res erat deum fieri; iam famam nimium fecistis.'

Read *Jabac Midam* here and in Cic. *Att.* i. 16, 13. See Gronovius on Pl. *Aul.* 811. 'Servus significans non parvam rem neque levem repperisse se, negat inventum sibi nihil maius quam quod pueri clamitant se repperisse in faba, nempe vermiculum quem *Midam* vocant, cum enim pueri in fabis quaerere solebant, quique inveniebat inde exsultare et velut triumphum agere.' 'Midas,' then, was the name of the 'rex' in the game so often referred to, though I cannot find out whence Gronovius gets his information. [I find that I have been anticipated in this emendation as regards Cic. *Att.* i. 16, 13., by Mr. Brooks of Trinity College, Dublin.]

Id. c. 13. *medius erat in hac cantantium turba Mnester pantomimus, quem Claudius decoris causa minorem fecerat.*

I suggest *minum* for *minorem*. Claudius promoted the pantomime to be a mime, that he might join the singers.

W. R. INGE.

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LATIN VERSIONS OF A SAYING OF THE *Didaché*.—In the *Classical Review* for October 1888 (vol. ii. 262) the line of Piers Plowman,

Sit elemosina tua in manu tua donec studes cui des, was said to be a corruption of *Sudet elemosina tua*, &c., a Latin version of the saying of the *Διδαχή*, *ἰδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίνι δῶς.*

It is remarked in Resch's *Agrapha* p. 465 (1889) that this conjecture is confirmed by the discovery of the saying in question in the form *Desudet*, &c. in Cassiodorus and in a work of Petrus Comestor, who is cited in Piers Plowman as the 'clerke of the stories.'

But before the publication of the *Agrapha* I had learned from Dr. Westcott that a Latin version *Desudet*, &c. was extant in St. Bernard's Epist. xcv. (Migne *P.L.* tom. 182, col. 228):

Aliud est reficere ventrem esurientis, et aliud sanctam zelare paupertatem. Ibi enim servitur naturae, hic gratiae. Visitabis inquit speciem tuam, et non peccabis (Job v. 24). Ergo qui alienam carnem foveat, facit ne peccet; qui autem alienam sanctitatem honorat, fructificat sibi. Ideo ait: *Desudet elemosyna in manu tua, donec invenias* (al. *videas*) *justum cui des*. Quo fructu? Quoniam qui recipit justum in nomine justī, mercedem justī accipiet (Matth. x. 41). Solvamus proinde naturae debitum, ne peccemus:

simus gratiae coadjutores, ut et participes fieri mereamur.

St. Augustine has the saying in the form *Sudet*, &c.

For more on this subject see *Traces of a saying of the Didaché* in the current number of the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xix. 148 sqq.

C. TAYLOR

* *

ARISTOPH. *Plutus*, l. 885.—I have seen no satisfactory explanation of the grammar, or emendation of, the text of this 'locus jamdiu conclamatus.' Dawes (*Misc. Critic.* p. 211) does violence to the genitive *δήγματος* by rendering 'sed (annulus) non superabit sive non valebit contra *sycophantae morsum*.' Dobree thinks a line has fallen out, but in treating the text as it now stands takes the same view of the genitive. To supply *ἐπὶ δὴ* or *ταῖς* from the preceding *δακτύλιον* as a peg whereon to hang the perplexing *δήγματος* seems extraordinarily harsh. A different division of the letters and a very slight alteration of the text gives good sense and grammar. Instead of *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνεστὶ συκοφάντου δήγματος* I would propose to read *ἀλλ' οὐ κέν' ἐστὶ σ. δήγματα*. This would then be a word of warning, spoken half-aside by Carion, against the Sycophant's deadly power, with direct reference to the Just Man's rash utterance, 'οὐδὲν προτιμῶ σου.'

I might mention in defence of the change *δήγματος* to *δήγματα* that the two preceding lines end with 'σ,' which may easily have caught the eye of the copyist who from his mis-reading of the previous words did not understand the passage, and have produced the generally received reading.

B. WYNNE-WILLSON.

NOTE.—If the change to *δήγματα* seems too violent, I would suggest as a variant *ἀλλ' οὐ κενόν τι* (or *κενόν ἐστὶ*) *σ. δήγμά τοι*.

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THE SHARK AND THE SAW-FISH.—In the May number of this *Review*, p. 234, I argued that the *pristis* is not 'a large fish, probably of the whale kind,' but unmistakably some kind of a shark; and that the name is not to be explained as the *spouter*, but as the *biter*. In the July number, p. 320, Mr. Thompson agrees that the *pristis* is not a whale or a *spouter*, but asserts that it is a saw-fish and a *sawyer*. The epigram which I cited from Leonidas of Tarentum conclusively disproves this assertion. The *pristis* there tore off (*ἀπεκλάσας*) and swallowed (*ἀπέβρωξεν*) the lower half of a sailor who was being hauled up into his ship after a dive. This is precisely what a shark often does, and what a saw-fish could not possibly do. Mr Thompson says:—'Tradition unflatteringly identifies the *pristis* as the saw-fish (*pristis antiquorum*, L.), which is not rare in the Mediterranean, and the name of course simply means the *sawyer*.' It is not by any means a matter of course that the name means the *sawyer*. The meaning of the verb *πλῶ* is just as often to *bite* as to *saw*. No evidence is adduced for the existence of this tradition beyond the fact that Linnaeus called the saw-fish the *pristis antiquorum*. Linnaeus may have been misled by the apparent identity of these ancient and modern names.

CECIL TORR.

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

The 22nd annual meeting was held at Norwich, Conn., on July 8-10, President Chas. R. Lanman (Harvard) in the chair.

The following is a summary of the papers presented:

1. Dr. A. Gudeman (Johns Hopkins Univ.): 'On the knowledge of Roman literature and language among Greek prose writers.'

2. A. W. Nicholson (Harvard): 'On the modes of hair-cutting among the Greeks' (chiefly after Pollux).

3. A. W. V. Jackson Ph.D. (Columbia): 'On the Genitives in the Avesta.'

4. Prof. H. M. Reynolds (Yale): 'Aristophanes' criticism of Euripides.'

The writer collected and analysed the criticism of Aristophanes with the purpose of determining more accurately than has been done the scope, pertinency and animus of the comic poet; especially how far the criticisms are true as well of Aeschylus and Sophocles. It was shown that the criticism is as remarkable for what it omits as for what it contains.

5. Dr. R. F. Leighton, Gloucester, Mass.: 'The Medicean MSS. of Cicero's Letters.'

This elaborate paper was confined chiefly to an account of the origin and history of the two MSS. that were copied from the archetypes, found respectively at Verona and Vercelli. The lecturer then presented a brief review of the history of Italian MSS. of Cicero's letters and attempted to controvert the views of Haupt, Hofmann and others, who ascribed the transcription of these MSS. to Petrarch. They were copied, according to the writer's view, for Coluccio Salutato in Milan and sent to Florence about 1392. The pith of the paper, however, was the identification of the two MSS. sent to Salutato with the MSS. ascribed to Petrarch. This identification was proved by an examination of the inscriptions on the MSS. and also from the notes, summaries, glosses etc. in the margin. A gloss in the codex Poggianus was quoted in confirmation of the view presented. The paper concluded with the discussion of passages from the codices which seem to prove beyond question that these copies could never have been made by Petrarch but by scribes ignorant of Latin.

6. Prof. John C. Rolfe (Michigan Univ.): 'An inscribed Kotylos from Boeotia.'

The inscription was found by the writers in Thisbe in Boeotia. It is written in Boeotian characters and not later than 360 B.C., probably much earlier. It reads as follows:—

ΓΟΡΓΙΝΙΟΣ ΕΜΙΟΚ

ΤΥΛΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ΚΑ

Γοργινίος ἐμὶ ὁ κότυλος καλὸς καλῶ,

and is chiefly remarkable for the interesting and perhaps unique use of a proper adjective to designate the owner of the vase, instead of the usual genitive.

7. Prof. W. A. Merrill, Miami Univ. (Oxford, Ohio): 'Sancti Minerva and early Spanish Philology.'

The speaker showed first, that there was no national school of philology in Spain and that Sanchez was the greatest of the few scholars produced by that country. Many of his doctrines are, however, very quaint, antiquated and even ridiculous. Nevertheless the influence of Minerva is still predominant in Spain and even in France.

8. Prof. T. D. Goodell (Yale): 'On the Order of Words in Greek.'

The speaker first criticized the treatment of the subject by others (Kühner, Short, Weil) and then

set forth his own views, reducing the principles which govern the order of words in Greek to three groups, syntactic, rhetorical and euphonic, that is, the necessity of making the syntax clear, the effort to give each element of thought its proper importance, and the desire for an agreeable flow of sound. Each group was taken up in detail with illustrations.

9. George B. Hussey Ph.D. (Princeton): 'On Continued Metaphor in Plato.'

A comparison or metaphor carried along at intervals through part of a dialogue is a striking characteristic of Plato's greatest works. The force and brilliancy of these continued metaphors can be estimated by counting the number of metaphorical words they contain. According to the elaborate statistical table presented by Mr. H., the use of continued metaphor rises gradually from the Cratylus through the Gorgias, Phaedo, Symposium up to the Phaedrus and then in similar gradations ebbs away in the Theaetetus, Sophist, Philebus to the Laws, the work of Plato's old age.

10. L. H. Elwell (Amherst): 'The Thief in Herodotus (II. 121).'

A study of comparative folklore.

11. Dr. S. Sachs (New York): 'The so-called Medusa Ludovisi.'

A very striking relief has been designated by Brunn and Dilthey as the last and most beautiful development of the Medusa type; others deny its character as the terror-inspiring Gorgoneion—in fact they do not consider it a relief at all, but a fragment of a heroic stature. The author of the paper accepts this latter view and considers that the fragmentary head was hurriedly attached to a marble disk to save it from further destruction. None of the European scholars have assigned a definite name to the head, but a comparison of its most striking features with a celebrated Penthesilea statue at Vienna offers many points of analogy and makes it probable that in the so-called Medusa there is really represented an ideal head of the famous Amazonian queen, executed in the noblest style of Hellenic art.

12. Dr. I. Goebel (New York): 'A Mythological Relic in our Funeral Rites.'

13. W. I. Hunt (Yale): 'On Homeric Wit and Humour.'

14. Prof. F. A. March (Lafayette): 'Studies in the Vocabulary of English Poetry (Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson).'

15. Prof. B. I. Wheeler (Cornell): 'The origin of Greek Names in -eus.'

16. I. P. Deane (Cornell): 'Deliberative Questions Indicative and Subjunctive in Terence.'

17. Dr. A. Gudeman (Johns Hopkins): 'An emendation to Plut. Cic. 29.' (διὰ Τύλλου τινὸς <Ταραντίνου cod. Mat. >)

The writer first shows that the codex Matritensis discovered by Chas. Grann is absolutely untrustworthy with regard to proper names, whatever value some of its other readings may possess. Although this fact would be in itself sufficient to condemn the *Ταραντίνου*, strong internal proof of the spuriousness of the addition is not wanting. But as the reading of our MSS. has never given complete satisfaction the writer proposes to read διὰ Καρύλλου for διὰ Τύλλου, the corruption being due to a dittography of the *α* thus: διακαρύλλου—διακατύλλου—διατύλλου. Aside from the palaeographical simplicity of the emendation, the conjecture derives weighty confirmation from the context and from chronological considerations. Catullus being completely unknown to Plutarch and throughout the middle ages, the *τινὸς* will furnish no objection either. If the conjecture be accepted as true, the question as to the identity of Lesbia and

Clodia will be settled, once for all, in favour of the affirmative.

18. W. I. Hunt (Yale) gave a graphic account of Dörpfeld's famous theory of the Construction of the Greek Theatre.

19. Prof. W. A. Merrill: 'Remarks on the Preliminary Report of the Committee of the American Ass. for the Advancement of Science on the Spelling and Pronunciation of Chemical Terms.'

This report was distributed and criticism invited. The most radical proposition was the dropping of the final *c* in hydride, chlorine and similar words.

20. Otto Dietrich Ph.D. (Milwaukee): 'The German prefix 'ent.'

21. The Negro Element in Fiction by Prof. W. S. Scarborough (Wilberforce Ohio): Read by title.

22. Prof. Thos. D. Seymour (Yale): 'The Logical Value of the Homeric *Caesura*.'

23. Prof. F. D. Allen (Harvard): 'Gaius Remnius of Brundisium.'

On the evening of the first day Prof. Chas. R. Lanman delivered the President's address, taking for his subject 'Early Hindoo Pantheism.'

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Dr. S. Sachs (New York); Vice-Presidents: Prof. Wm. G. Hale (Cornell) and Prof. S. Hart (Trinity); Secretary, Curator and Treasurer: Prof. H. W. Smyth (Bryn Mawr); Executive Committee: the officers named above with Prof. O. M. Fernald (Williams), Prof. B. L. Gildersleeve (Johns Hopkins), Prof. W. W. Goodwin (Harvard), Prof. F. A. March (Lafayette), Prof. W. D. Whitney (Yale). The next meeting of the Association will be held at Princeton, July 7, 1891.

A. GUDEMAN.

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A CORRECTION.—May I ask that the following corrections should be made in my note in the July number (p. 317)? The heading should be 2 Cor. vi. 14 (not vi. 2); 'verbal bull' at the end of col. 2, §§ 3 should be 'verbal lure'; I should also wish to recall the remark in the 5th §§, ('Romans is strangely spoken of as a late letter'), which I see now is not justified by anything in Mr. Chase's note.

R. WHITELAW.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ACQUISITIONS OF BRITISH MUSEUM.

1. A krater with red figures, very late rough style; *obv.* banquet scene, *rev.* draped figures. From Rhodes.

2. Fragment of green glazed ware, part of a vase with figure of Herakles in relief. Found in the baths of Caracalla at Rome.

3. Two Roman seal cases in bronze.

4. A pleasure intaglio, bird; and four bronze dice.

5. Fragment of mould for a bowl, with relief representing a Satyr pouring wine from a skin into a vase. From Arezzo.

6. A porcelain horse's head, a small lead vase, and a lamp of black ware. From Tell Basta.

7. A series of late Greek imprecations, *dirae*, on lead and talc: the formulae are much the same as those employed on magical papyri. Some of them are of considerable length, and still retain the nails which were used for attaching them. From Cyprus.

8. A three-handled vase of Mycenaean fabric (form *Myk. Vasen* no. 32), height $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. diam. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., painted with designs in black varnish colour on the yellowish clay. These represent three naturalistic representations of a nautilus, amid seaweeds &c. which seem to be growing from the upper and lower borders of the design and from the handles. On the base is a geometric arrangement of curved lines forming across within a lozenge.

9. The Museum has now completed the purchase of the collection of gems belonging to the Earl of Carlisle (Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles* p. 332).

C. S.

Athenische Mittheilungen. 1890, part 2. Athens.

1. Judeich: Iasos. A description of the ruins of the ancient town, visited by Winter and himself in 1887: recognizes the remains of an old and a new town; the destruction of the old town probably took place about B.C. 405. Publishes four inscriptions from New-Iasos: plan and seven cuts. 2. Mordtmann: (i) an inscription from Poemanenun published *Rev. Arch.* 1877, p. 106: (ii) on the occurrence in Phrygia of the form *ειστροπή*: compares similar forms. 3. Meier: publishes (in text) a curious inscribed gladiatorial relief now in the Trieste Museum; the defeated retiarius stands on a platform asking for the missio; the secu-

tor advances up the steps to kill him. 4. Dörpfeld: metrological notes. V. The Aeginetic-Attic system of measurement; 'the Erechtheion is built on a scale of which the foot measures about 0.33 m.; since in the inscription this foot is termed merely $\delta \rho\acute{o}\delta\varsigma$, it follows that this was the usual length of the Attic foot of that time.' From a comparison of examples, we find that it lay between 0.326 and 0.328. VI. The Greek Stadion; discusses the dimensions of the various stadia in use and mentioned by writers. 5. Wolters: the statue of a warrior from Delos (Reinach in *Bull. de Corr.* 1884, p. 178; 1889, p. 113). Compares it with the style of the Pergamene altar rather than with that of the Borghese warrior. It probably does not belong to the vase inscribed with the name Agasias, but to a group referred to in the inscription *Mon. Grecs.* I. 8, p. 44; it represents a Gaul overthrown by a mounted warrior; cut in text. 6. Heberdey: a series of sepulchral reliefs from Thessaly, noted in a journey, principally at Tyrnavo; with remarks on the characteristics of this local style: four plates, three cuts. 7. Schliemann: six inscriptions from Ilion. 8. Wilhelm: psephismata in honour of the comic poet Amphis. 9. Thumb: inscription from Megaris. 10. Wolters: archaic Attic grave-stone.

Bibliography. Notes on discoveries at Troja, Lykosura, Megalopolis, Mantinea, Tegea, Mykenae [W.D.]: at Nauplia, Patras, Marathon [P. W.].

Archäologisches Jahrbuch. 1890, part 1. Berlin.

1. A letter written by W. Studemund shortly before his death, on the mosaic of Monnus at Trèves published *Antike Denkm.* I. pll. 47-49, dealing especially with the nomenclature of the Muses therein represented. 2. Michaelis: history of the court of statues in the Vatican Belvedere; with three 'Anhangen' viz. (i) Aldrovandi Boissart and Sandrart. Schott. Gamucci. (ii) The Vatican statues sent away by Pius the Fifth. (iii) Abbildungen and Nachbildungen of the Belvedere antiquities; nine cuts. 3. Schöne: the Nauplius legend related by Hyginus (*Fab.* cxvi.) compares the same story as told (after Philo of Byzantium) in a work by Hero about automata.

Anzeiger. Gymnasialunterricht und archaeology:

arrangement for a meeting of archaeologists. Report of acquisitions—Karlsruhe, Brunswick, Bonn, Breslau, Erlangen, Göttingen, Marburg-Würzburg, Siegburg. Meeting of the Institute at Berlin. News of the Institute. Notes on publications of the Institute. Aphrodite on the goat (*Jahrb.* iv. 208) by Bethé: two cuts. On the chariot group in the East Pediment at Olympia, by Engelmann. Bibliography.

Archaeologische-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn. 1890, part 1.

1. Klement: sculptures of Dalmatia; a supplementary note on Schneider's *ante* ix. 58, Spalato and Salona. 2. Riegl: late Roman personification of the months; points out how the Trier mosaic confirms his views already expressed on this point. 3. Kalinka and Swoboda: notes of a tour in the districts of the Drave and Save; with publication of sculptures, Roman inscriptions, &c.; plate. 4. Ziehen: Roman sculptures in the national museum at Pesth: including an interesting group of Medeia with her children, two statuettes of Ikaros, reliefs with Perseus and Medusa, the flight of Iphigeneia, Apollo and Marsyas, &c.; twenty-three cuts. 5. Heberdey: notes suggested by the new publication of the François vase (*Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1888, ii-iv.): plate. 6. Schön: Mithraic relief and votive altar from Winzendorf. 7. Münsterburg: identifies the subject on a vase in the British Museum as the meeting of Paris and Helena and compares this Helena with the type on the Gjölbaschi relief. 8. Kubitschek: the Sullanic era in Proconsular Asia. 9. D.R.: Greek inscription from Tomi. 10. Hula: epigraphical notes from Spalato. 11. Bormann: Roman inscriptions recovered and discovered. 12. Kubitschek: the notation and the beginning of the year in Roman Macedonia; and note on his previous article. 13. Rizzi: inscriptions from Pola. 14. Drexler: the god Kakasbos occurs on a Gnostic gem of the Cassel Museum. 15. Reisch: addendum to his 'Griechische Weihgeschenke.

The Same. 1890, part 2.

1. v. Domaszewski: studies in the history of the Danube provinces; (i) the limits of Moesia superior and the Illyrian frontier toll: with map. 2. v. Premerestein: epigraphical notes from Kärnten; (a) new inscriptions, (b) revised inscriptions. 3. Löhr: Achilles' departure from Skyros (*Mon. d. Inst.* xi. 33, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* D. viii. 2). The Skyros legend received marked attention in the fifth century when Kimon brought the bones of Theseus thence; identifies this subject on the *Mon.* vase and other vase-paintings: later representations. 4. Weisshäupl: Roman Hermes bust inscribed: two cuts. 5. Szanto: Inscriptions from Naxos. 6. Noldeke: on the Latin-Palmyrene inscription of Karānsebes. 7. Kubitschek: a diary of the Abbate Alberto Fortis, who travelled in Dalmatia in the last century: the diary is now in the Hofbibliothek at Vienna; Greek and Roman inscriptions from it. 8. Heberdey: the raid of the Kostoboki into Greece; this is one of the few contemporary events mentioned by Pausanias (x. 34. 5): the book must therefore have been written after the year 175-6: proposes dating for all the books. 9. Téglás and Király: new inscriptions from Dacia. 10. Téglás: the site of Blandiana. 11. Kubitschek: in the era of Pompeius in Syria. 12. D.R.: inscriptions from Setajevo.

Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique. Jan.—Feb. 1890.

E. Hucher. 'Trésor de Plourhan' (continued). Description of the coins.—A. de Belfort. 'Recherche des monnaies impériales romaines non décrites dans l'ouvrage de H. Cohen' (continued). Fausta—Magnentius.

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Mar.—April 1890.

A. de Belfort. 'Recherche &c.' (continued). De-centius—Procopius.

May—June 1890.

A. de Belfort. 'Recherche &c.' (continued). Gratian—Romulus Augustulus.—W. Froehner. 'Variétés numismatiques.' Roman denarii; a large coin of Maximianus representing the evil eye, &c.

W. W.

Revue numismatique.

Premier trimestre, 1890.—A. Vercoutre, 'Explication de l'aureus frappé par P. Clodius à l'effigie de Marc Antoine.'—Earle Fox, 'Note sur quelques monnaies antiques rares et inédites.'—R. Mowat, 'Pavonius, nom de famille de l'empereur Victorin; Pius, surnom mobile des Tétricus.'—*Review.* Muret's 'Catalogue des monnaies gauloises.' By A. de Barthélemy.

Deuxième trimestre, 1890.—Th. Reinach, 'Sur l'époque et le nombre des néocors de Cyzique.' Shows that the supposed *third* neocory is based on a mistaken reading.—*Chronique.* R. Mowat on the name Pavonius.—List of Greek coins acquired for the Cabinet des médailles at the Photiades sale.—*Reviews.* Wroth's *Pontus, Paphlagonia &c.*, by E. Babelon; Imhoof and Keller, *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder*; Soutzo's *Introduction à l'étude des monnaies de l'Italie antique.*

W. W.

Numismatic Chronicle. 1890, parts I and II.

W. Greenwell. 'On a find of archaic Greek coins in Egypt.' Twenty-four coins (probably part of a larger hoard) found about three years ago in the Delta. They are all archaic and for the most part not later than B.C. 500. 'On account of the places to which they principally belong (Thasos, Corinth, Miletus, Cos, Cyprus, Tyre, Cyrene &c.) it is not improbable that they are the result of a trading voyage made along the coasts of the Aegean and neighbouring seas which ended in Egypt.'—W. Greenwell. 'On a find of archaic Greek coins, principally of the islands of the Aegean sea.' The composition of the hoard resembles that of the Santorin hoard of 1821, but includes some unpublished types.—W. Greenwell. 'On some rare Greek coins.' Describes specimens in Mr. Greenwell's collection especially some splendid staters of Cyzicus and Lampsacus.—H. Howarth. 'The initial coinage of Parthia.' On the coins of Andragoras, who, it is maintained, is identical with Phrataphernes, the Persian noble nominated satrap of Parthia by Alexander the Great.—*Reviews* (by B. V. Head) of Wroth's *Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia &c.*; Soutzo's *Introduction à l'étude des monnaies de l'Italie antique*; Buechner's *De Neocoria.*

W. W.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik (Berlin). Band xvii. Heft 2 (1890).

O Seeck, 'Die Münzpolitik Diocletians und seiner Nachfolger' (concluded).—A. Löbbecke, 'Münzfund bei Avola.' Description of a hoard of Greek coins discovered in the neighbourhood of Avola, S.W. of Syracuse. The hoard was contained in two jars, in one of which were 33 gold, and in the other about 150 silver coins. The hoard may have been deposited about B.C. 320, but most of the coins belong to the earlier part of the fourth century B.C. The gold specimens consist of four Darics, one stater of Abydos, fourteen staters of Lampsacus, and fourteen gold of Syracuse. The silver pieces are chiefly Corinthian. The stater of Abydos and five of the Lampsacens are unpublished.—B. Pick. 'Ueber einige Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit.'—*Miscellaneous.* W. Drexler on a gold coin of Allectus not in Cohen.

WARWICK WROTH.

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SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Athenaeum: 1890.—29 March, review of Verrall's *Agamemnon* and of Tucker's *Supplices*.—5 April, notice of Resch's *Agrapha* and Werner's *der Paulinismus des Irenaeus*: 19 Apr. review of Tozer's *Islands of the Aegean*; notice of Reynolds' *Athanasius* and W. H. Simcox' *The Language of the N. T.*—17 May, a Greek version of *Crossing the Bar* by E. L. Lushington.—24 May, notice of Macaulay's *Herodotus* and Dakyns' *Xenophon*.—31 May, notice of Cook Wilson's *On the Interpretation of the Timaeus*.—7 June, De Mirmont's *Ausonius*; notice of Dr. Schmitz.—28 June, notice of Westcott's *Hebrews*.—5 July, notice of Sloman's *St. Matthew* and Bendley's *Tertullian's Apology*.—26 July, review of Haigh's *Attic Theatre* and Dumon's *Le Théâtre de Polyclète*.—2 Aug. review of J. E. Harrison's *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*; letter from E. Gardner on *The Stage in the Greek Theatre*.—9 Aug. review of Owen's *Tristia*.—16 Aug. review of Thackeray's *Prudentius*.—23 Aug. review of Morrison's *The Jews under Roman Rule*, notice of King and Cookson's *Introd. to Comp. Grammar of Greek and Latin*.—6 Sept. review of Rutherford's *Thucydides* iv.

Academy: 1890.—22 March, review by F. Haverfield of Cagnat's *Cours d'Épigraphie latine* and *L'Année épigraphique* 1888, notices of a number of schoolbooks.—12 April, review by Rob. Ellis of Schepss' *Conrad of Hirschan's Dialogus super auctores*.—26 Apr. notices of Merry's *Birds*, Headlam's *Iphig. at Aulis*, Cowan's *Pliny's Letters i and ii*, Godley's *Histories of Tacitus* iii.—v., Inge's *Valerius Maximus*, Jeyes' *Aristotle's Ethics*, Schöne's *Tacitus' Agricola*, Schubert's *Oedipus Rex*.—3 May, review by F. T. Richards of Dakyns' *Xenophon* and Macaulay's *Herodotus*.—10 May, review by J. P. Mahaffy of Tozer's *Islands of the Aegean*.—17 May, review by C. Oman of Wroth's *B. M. Catalogue of Greek Coins*; *Pontus, Bithynia and Bosphorus*.—24 May, review by A. S. Wilkins of Ribbeck's *History of Roman Poetry in the Augustan Age*.—31 May, review by F. Haverfield of Wharton's *Ætyma Latina*.—7 June, review by F. T. Richards of Welzhofer's *Geschichte des griechischen Volkes bis zur Zeit Solons*, by J. P. Postgate of Goodwin's *Syntax* 2nd edit.—14 June, notices of Oman's *History of Greece*, F. E. Thompson's *Homeric Grammar* etc.—21 June, notices of Neue's *Formenlehre*, Reisig's *Vorlesungen*, Georges' *Lexikon d. lateinischen Wortformen*, etc.; review by Talfourd Ely of J. E. Harrison's *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*.—28 June, notices of Sandys' *Dem. Leptines*, Adam's *Euthyphro*, Stephenson's *Livy* iv. Shuckburgh's *Herodotus* v., Abbott and Mattheson's *Dem. Phil.* vol. ii., P. Cauer's *Iliad* etc., review by A. S. Wilkins of Schrader's *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan peoples* (tr. by Jevons).—5 July, review by E. A. Sonnenschein of Studemund's *Apographon of Plautus*.—19 July, review by H. T. Wharton of Luniak's *Quaestiones Sapphicæ*.—2 Aug. review by Rob. Ellis of Thackeray's *Prudentius*.—9 Aug. review by W. Sanday of Hoskier's *Collation of Cod. Ev.* 604, by I. Taylor of Prou's *Manuel de Paléographie*; notice of W. Christ's *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*.—23 Aug. H. C. Hoskier on above review.—30 Aug. review by A. H. Sayce of Taylor's *Origin of the Aryans*.—6 Sept. notice of Stock's *Cic. p. Roscio*, W. F. Allen's *Tacitus Ann.* i.—iv. and A. T. Christ's *Plato's Gorgias*; Messrs. Sayce and Mahaffy announce the discovery by Mr. Flinders Petrie in Egypt of certain Greek papyri of the third

century B.C. containing fragments of the *Phædo*, of the *Antiope* of Euripides, etc.

Deutsche Literaturzeitung.

No. 10. Koetschau, *Die Textüberlieferung der Bücher des Origenes gegen Celsus*. Prolegomena to a new edition of *Orig. c. C.* 'The MSS. all go back to Vat. 386 and Par. Suppl. Gr. 616; the archetype of both will form the basis of the new edition. Important for supplementing and controlling is the *Philokalia*, containing the seventh part of *Orig. c. C.* There are three families represented by (a) Ven. 47 and cod. Patmus, s. x, (b) Ven. 122 and Par. Suppl. Gr. 615, (c) Ven. 48 and Par. 456.' In the main, K. agrees with Robinson (*Jour. of Phil.* 1889, p. 66 ff.), but leads Par. 940 directly back to archetype.—Rossbach u. Westphal, *Theorie der musischen Künste der Hellenen*. III. 2. Specielle griechische Metrik. This new edition is almost entirely rewritten. In no branch of philology does one book stand so distinctly in front of all others as does R. and W.'s in Greek metrics.—Matzat, *Römische Zeitrechnung für die Jahre 219-1 v. Chr.* Chronological tables according to the principles laid down in M.'s *Römische Chronologie*. M. has modified his views somewhat (*Hermes* xxiv. 570 ff.); tries here to bring the statements of historians into harmony with his tables, attributing most differences to the carelessness of the former.—Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke*. A very clear and instructive essay, containing many new and happy suggestions.

No. 11. Landgraf, *Untersuchungen zu Caesar und seinen Fortsetzern insbesondere über die Autorschaft und Composition des Bellum Alexandr. u. B. Afric.* L. shows convincingly that the *B. Afric.* of which the text has suffered many corruptions, was written by a highly educated man, but his assertion that Pollio was the author seems to be merely a probable hypothesis. L.'s comparison of phrases of the *B. Afric.* and Pollio's letters need a thorough sifting. In the *B. Alex.* L. distinguishes Caesarian, Pollianian, and Hirtian parts on similar weak grounds.—Schmalz, *Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio*, 2nd ed. The second edition of this careful essay needs no words of praise.

No. 12. *Catalogus codd. Graecorum qui in bibliotheca urtica Vratislaviensi adservantur ed. philologi Vratislavienses*. A good catalogue. Very few MSS. remain uncollected.—*Sophoclis tragoediae* rec. expl. Wunderus ed. V^{ta} cur. Wecklein. Improved. Contains about sixty new, mostly convincing, emendations.—Reckzey, *Ueber grammatische und rhetorische Stellung des Adjectivums bei den Annalisten, Cato und Sallust*. Highly instructive.

No. 13. Meister, *Die griechischen Dialekte*. II. Eleisch, Arkadisch, Cypriisch. The arrangement causes some inconveniences (repetitions, etc.). The account of the literature ought to be more complete. For the Arcadian and Cyprian new inscriptional material and some suggestive monographs have appeared since the publication of this work.—Smythe, *The Arcado-Cyprian Dialect* (Trans. Am. Ph. As. xviii.). Convenient and practical collection of the inscriptional material. The glosses have been entirely neglected. Contains nothing new.—*T. Livi ab urbe condita lib.* ed. Luchs. IV. [xxvi.—xxx.]. The critical apparatus is more condensed than in L.'s larger edition of the same books in 1879. Much has been added. The text improved in about 114 places.—*Karten von Attika*.....hrsg. v. Curtius u. Kaupert.

V., VI. Erleuternder Text zu III. u. IV. v. Milchhofer. The maps are excellent. M.'s text, although sometimes unclear and incomplete, is indispensable.

No. 14. *Euripides' Heracles*, erkl. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. I. (Einleitung in die attische Tragödie). II. (Text u. Commentar). Chap. 2 answers the question, 'What is an Attic tragedy?' and rejects Aristotle's misconception of the same. Ch. 3 gives the history of the text. In ch. 4 'Ways and aims of modern criticism.' W. draws a rather pessimistic picture, and he certainly goes too far in his condemnation of the modern mania of textual changes. Ch. 5 gives an excellent synopsis of the Heracles myth. Ch. 6 deals with the Euripidean Heracles, which W. assumes to have been performed between 423 and 416. W.'s textual criticism is exceedingly brilliant; the commentary is rich with an almost inexhaustible source of information.—Mommson, *Römisches Staatsrecht*. I.—III. Sets forth the results of a life's work. It lays the foundation, and is at the same time definitive for the present.

No. 15. *Ausonii Burdigalensis opuscula* rec. Peiper (1886). A good var. lect. enables the reader everywhere to form an independent judgment. Some of P.'s conjectures, in which he is more sparing than Schenkl, are very happy: Parent. 9, 6 'moribus atque;' Caes. Tetrast. 2, 4 'prodidit;' Ep. 12, 57 'mellae.' His views about the tradition are very questionable and partly already refuted.—*Ausonii Mosella*, Édition critique... par H. de la Ville de Mirmont. Extremely careful history of the text, but (450) 'Augusti, pater et natus,' and the refutation of Böcking's explanation of 409 seem to be the only lasting results.

No. 16. *Platon's Phaedon*, philosophisch erklärt... von S. Baumann. B. examines the different proofs for the immortality of the soul, from Plato down to our time, and finding their essence already in the *Phaedo*, he discusses those (and Mendelssohn's amplification of them). The philosophical examination added to each paragraph is clear, and will be welcome to every reader of the dialogue.—Groeger, *De Argonauticarum fabularum historia quæst.* sell. Absurd, but scattered here and there are some good observations.—Soltan, *Die römischen Amtsjahre auf ihren natürlichen Zeitwert reducirt*.—Soltan, *Römische Chronologie*. These works give a good synopsis of the attempts made during the last few years for the solution of this problem. As a manual they are of small value. Many errors of S.'s predecessors are repeated; other theories are built on misunderstood passages of ancient authors, etc.

No. 17. *Jahresberichte über das höhere Schulwesen*, hrsgb. v. Rethwisch, III. Jhrg. A good survey of the literature of 1888. R. is in favour of a reform of the higher schools, but against the 'Einheitsschule.' Ziemer (Latin) advocates Horne-man's Einheitsschule. Bamberg (Greek) gives valuable contributions towards the simplification of Greek school-grammars.—Blass, *Ueber die Aussprache des Griechischen*. Third edition, with such corrections and additions as recent investigations have made necessary. On fundamental questions there can be no longer any controversy among unprejudiced men.—Zacher, *Die Aussprache des Griechischen*. To be read by a wider circle. Based on Blass without following him slavishly. *Μονοειδὲς φθόγγον* (*Empir. adv. math.* p. 625 Bk.) Z. takes rightly (against Blass) as 'simple vowels written with two letters.' ζ he considers = dz (Blass zd).—*Plauti comoediæ rec.*... *Ritscheli*. III. 5. (Menæchmi). The united labours of Löwe and Schöll give a full collation of cod. Ambrosian. In a number of places Schöll has

not followed Ritch's audacious conjectures. With great tact he avoids both hypercriticism and excessive faith in the tradition.

No. 18. Rohde, *Psyche, Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*. I. Of uncommon importance and interest. R. regards Homer as representing not the most ancient religious belief of the Greeks, but an advanced, rationalistic stage. Remnants of old ancestor-worship linger on in Homer; and also in the myth of the five ages. A successful attempt to lay a firm basis for mythological researches on Greek soil, after the failure of Kuhn-Müller's method of comparative mythology.—*Commentationes in honorem Studemund.... scrips. discipuli*. Prehn, Statistical account of adjectives in -undus. Blase, Contributions to syntax of Latin conditional sentences. Cramer, Infinitives in Manilius. Haenssen, Origin of cases, gender, and formation of abstract nouns. Voltz, *Περὶ παθῶν τοῦ ἡρωικοῦ μέτρου*. Schoemann, Diogenian as a source of the Etymol. Mag. Consruck, Traces the treatise *περὶ κωμῳδίας* back to its sources, Aristoteles and Krates. Kuhn, Time of Eustathios' commentaries (1170–1185). Egenolff finishes his edition of Anonymi Epitome Dionysii Thracis. Zarncke, Catalogue of the library of a Murbach monastery. Grupe, The authors of the Institutions Justinian. Goldstaub, Who held the sovereignty at Rome and Athens? Geil, On Plato's doctrine of μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς. Back, On Plat. Phaidr. 246 B. Stern tries to show that Diodorus I.–XX. used Theopompus. Haellingk, On the titles of Cicero's *De inventione*. Habel, the worship of the Syrian Sol invictus at Rome. Hoffman brings further proofs that the Apollo Belvidere had a bow, not the aegis, in his hand.—Haeberlin, *Studien zur Aphrodite von Melos*. 'The disputed fragments belong to the statue. The lower arm, from wrist to elbow, was almost vertical, forming an obtuse angle with the upper arm.' Hardly satisfactory.

Litterarisches Centralblatt.

No. 11. *Catalogus codicum Graecorum qui in bibliotheca urtica Vratislaviensi adsercantur ed. philologi Vratislavienses*. Very satisfactory description of the MSS.—Marcelli, *De medicamentis lib.* ed. Helmreich. This careful and exact edition deserves warm praise.

No. 12. Gutschmidt's *Kleine Schriften*, hrsg. v. Rühl. I. Schriften zur Aegyptologie u. zur Geschichte der griechischen Chronologie. Indispensable for any philologist.—Schmitt, *Ueber den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen* (Schanz's Beiträge, III. 2). An interesting discussion of relative clauses introduced by ὃ, ὅτι, ὅτ', ὅτε, etc. 'ὃ and ὅτι are accusatives of inner object, e.g. ὁρῶ ὃ νοσεῖ = 'I know with what thou art sick.' ὅτ' = ὅτε (accus.) is older than ὃ and ὅτι.' The second chapter deals with the changes of persons, tenses, and modes.—Hölzer, *Beiträge zu einer Theorie der lateinischen Semasiologie* (Berliner Stud. VI. 3). Often unclear, without scientific worth, and of doubtful practical usefulness.—Schuchardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen.... im Lichte der heutigen Wissenschaft dargestellt*. Taking into account the results of the latest researches, Schuchardt gives a good picture of the culture of the heroic age.

No. 13. Grasserie, *Études de grammaire comparée*. On the conception and origin of cases. The Indo-European part is very weak.—Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 2nd ed. Contains six new chapters. The whole is greatly improved. Of special interest is the chapter on family and state.—Caland, *Ueber Tottenverehrung bei einigen der indogermanischen Völker*. A valuable treatise, dealing

especially with Indian customs, Greeks p. 69-73; Romans 74-77.

No. 14. *Δάμπος, Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους ἑλληνικῶν κodicῶν Α', α'.* The difficult task has been done with great care. The present volume catalogues the MSS. of the libraries τοῦ Πρωτάτου, St. Annae, and of the monasteries Pauli, Chilianteri, Zographi, Konstantoniti, Gregorii and Xenophontis. It is to be hoped that A. may find the necessary support for further publications.

No. 15. Soltan, *Zur Erklärung... der Reden des... Hanno im 5ten Akt des Poenulus* (Berl. Stud.). Worthless.—*Plutarchi Chaeronensis moralia*, rec. Bernardakis. II. The text is greatly improved. For π. τῆς Ῥωμαίων τύχης and π. τῆς Ἀλεξ. τύχ. ἡ ἀρετ. a cod. Palat. 153 gives a number of readings preferable to those chosen by B. The conjectures of modern scholars ought to have been stated more fully.

No. 16. Heyden, *Die Tracht der Culturvölker Europas vom Zeitalter Homers bis zum XIX. Jh.* Excellent, concise, based on the study of many years.—*Orosii historiarum adversum Paganos*, libb. vii. rec. Zangemeister. The apparatus critics of the ed. maior has been omitted. Few changes have been made in the text.

No. 17. *Philonis libellus de officio mundi* ed. Cohn. Specimen of a complete edition of Philo. Well deserves the prize of the Berlin Academy.—*Taciti de vita et moribus Agricolae* ed. Schoene. Contains over 100 conjectures, some of them happy ('mai' 18, 'ac rudi aeri' = 'ac ludere,' MS. 19), others unnecessary and very bold. Noteworthy is the great number of parallel passages in the commentary.—*Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur*, hrsg. v. Bruckmann (14-19). Excellent, like the former instalments.

No. 18. Boutkouski Glinka, *Petit Mionet de Poche*. Careful collection and description of Greek coins, geographically arranged. A handy manual for travellers.—Schöffer, *De Deli insulae rebus*. Based on a careful collection of all the inscriptional material thus far accessible. The chapters on 'Delian Government' and 'Administration of Temples' are especially good.—Graul, *Die antiken Porträtgemälde aus den Grabstätten des Faiyum*. (Illustr.). Enlarged reprint of an essay published in *Liützow's Z. f. bild. Kunst*. The two arguments which led G. to assign a late date to the pictures have since been shown to be inconclusive.

No. 19. Matzat, *Römische Zeitrechnung für 219—1 v. Chr.* Deserves careful study, although it is in many points open to criticism.—Gurlitt, *Über Pausanias*. Places the Pausanias criticism on a sound basis. Separates sharply λόγοι and θεωρήματα. Emphasizes autopsy, which G. proves for Piræus, Athens, Olympia. Attacks the Polemon-hypothesis.—*Valerii Maximi factorum et dictorum memorab.* libb. ix. ed. Kempf. Lays foundation for text and further investigations. For the former, cod. A (Bernensis) and L (aurentianus) have been collated.

No. 20. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* by Richardson. Supplement to the American ed. Contains a bibliographical index, which is very noteworthy both for completeness and for accuracy.—Soltan, *Die römischen Amtsjahre*. Prolegomena for a Roman Chronology. Proves convincingly the correctness of the Polybian synchronism for the battle of the Allia.—*Asini Polionis de Bello Africo* comment. ed. Wölflin et Miodonski. Gives the readings of cod. Ashburnham, saec. x., oldest of all MSS. The cod. Leidensis yielded also valuable material. The notes contain a vast mass of learning.—Opitz, *Schauspiel und*

Theaterwesen der Griechen und Römer (Culturbilder a. d. class. Alterth. V.). Popular, but resting on good scientific basis.

No. 21. (a) *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386—1662* hrsg. v. Toepke. (b) *Ältere Universitätsmatrikeln I. Frankfurt a. O.* hrsg. v. Friedländer, vol. II. (1649—1811) [= *Publikationen aus d. kgl. preussischen Staatsarchiven* vol. xxxvi.] (c) *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock I.* (1419—1499). Give valuable historical material.—Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke*. I. 'The votive offerings have their origin in the anthropomorphic conception of the gods.' They are divided into (a) images of the gods and their deeds, (b) images of men and their deeds, (c) human implements. II. Discusses the agonistic votive offerings (especially the Icarion relief), III. the prize tripods of the phylai-choruses, IV. the votive offerings of the scenic choregi. (The relief of Koropi published here for the first time is of special interest.)—Soutzo, *Introduction à l'étude des monnaies de l'Italie antique*. v. II. Application of the author's hypothesis (cf. *Lit. C. Bl.* 1888 No. 52) about money values in ancient Italy.

No. 22 Soltan, *Römische Chronologie*. The first part gives a very satisfactory sketch of the outlines of Roman Chronology. In the second part S. discusses the controversies of to-day and offers his own system. But it may be doubted, whether this will meet with greater approval than those of his predecessors.

No. 23. Regnaud, *Esquisse du véritable système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes*. 'Worthless.'—Goerres, *Studien zur griechischen Mythologie I.* (*Berliner stud.* x. 2). Full of strange views. As G. refers to a yet unpublished larger work, where the proofs for them will be given, it is not yet time to criticise. G. is greatly influenced by H. D. Müller. He seems to lack familiarity with recent works in his field.—*Monumenti antichi pubbl. per cura della reale Accademia dei Lincei*, I. 1. Intended to be a supplement to the *Notizie degli scavi dell' antichità*. Contains Halbherr's report on the excavations of the temple of the Pythian Apollo at Gortyna, with interesting inscriptions (Illustr.). New fragments of archaic inscriptions published by Comperetti. Report of Pigonni on excavations in the province of Parma and an essay by Gamurrini on the weight of the Etruscan pound.

No. 24. Delbrück, *Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen*. Of great interest and a model in method.—*Ciceronis ad Quintum fratrem epistola prima avec un commentaire critique et explicatif* par Antoine. Contains nothing new.

Leipziger Studien, vol. xi. Suppl. (1889). A valuable essay on Strabo's *ιστορικά ὑπομνήματα* by Paul Meyer. It contains (1) an account of the work and its character: (2) the text of the fragments with a short commentary: (3) *Quaestiones Strabonianae*, discussing the relations between Strabo and Josephus, Aprian, and Plutarch.

Dictionnaire Latin-Français, par L. Quicherat et A. Daveluy. New edition, revised and corrected by Emil Chatelain. Paris: Hachette, 1889.

In a very sensible preface, which shows that he is fully aware of the difficulties which beset modern Latin lexicography, M. Chatelain informs us that the revision of Quicherat's lexicon has occupied his leisure time during seven years. The book is a great improvement on previous editions, and embodies many of the results of recent research. But in seven years little can be done by one man in this almost limitless field, and much traditional error therefore remains uncorrected. Without a well organized system of co-operation, our current Latin lexicons

must, in large parts, remain for some time in an unreformed condition.

H. I. De Dompierre de Charfepié, De Titulo I. R. N. 4312 ad Iuvenalem Poetam Perperam Relato. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1889. The author endeavours to show that the inscription at Aquinum, which the majority of scholars have supposed to refer to the poet Juvenal, must refer to some one else of the same name. The argument is that the inscription, with its catalogue of military and municipal posts held by the writer, could only have been put up by a man of wealth and position. But if anything may be certainly inferred from the *Satires* of Juvenal with regard to their author's social position, it is that he must have been a poor man, obliged to take up declamation for his profession, and soured by the failure of his efforts to rise. M. de Charfepié supports his reasoning mainly on the evidence of other inscriptions similar to that of Aquinum, and makes out, we think, a very good case. If we might assume that the Juvenalis of the inscription was the father of the poet, the rich freedman of the biographies, many difficulties would disappear.

Emil Stephani, De Martiale Verborum Novatore. Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen, vol. iv. part 2. Breslau: Koebner, 1889.

A careful and valuable dissertation enumerating the words which Martial has apparently used either alone among Latin writers, or first among Latin writers, or first among Latin poets. The lists suggest that many of these words were probably con-

versational or slang expressions. The essay will be useful, not only to lexicographers, but to students of Martial's life and social position. H. N.

Rivista di Filologia. Edd. Comparetti, Müller and Flechia. Torino. 1889—90.

Fasc. 4—6 contain (1) Ch. Rossetti *Il drama satirico greco*, an essay without novelty. (2) E. Ferrero *Un Gentilizio Latino* etc. In *C.I.L.* V. 6766 the proposed reading *Kaninianus* is actually on the monument. A Turin inscription has the name P. *Lonticinus*, a hitherto unknown gentile description. (3) A Pais *Degli epicedii Latini*, an essay similar to (1). (4) C. Pascal *Quaestiones Vergilianae*, dealing with Ecl. IV. (5) L. Cerrato *Luoghi controversi nelle Pitiche Pindoriche*, a large collection of notes, followed by a collation of the Ashburnham MS. now in Florence. (6) A. Mazzolini *Il 'trans pondera' di Oratio Epp. I. 6, 51*, following Dillenburger. (7) F. Ramorino *Il Cesare Riccardiano 541*, a collation of this MS. which is assigned to the beginning of the xiith century.

Fasc. 7—9 contains (1) D. Passi *Aiace Telamonio*, the first part of a long article on the Ajax-myth. (2) L. Valmaggia *Il Virgilianismo nella letteratura romana*. (3) L. Valmaggia *Virgilio anomalo*, on the alleged insensibility of Vergil to love. (4) C. O. Zuretti *Scolii al Pluto ed alle Rane d'Aristofane* from cod. Venetus 472, and cod. Cremonensis 12229 L, 6, 28.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

FOREIGN BOOKS.

Aequa (dall') G. A. Sopra i Poemi Omerici. Studi. 8vo. 109 pp. Venezia, Visentini.

Arc (P. L. d') Histoire de la Propriété prétorienne à Rome. 8vo. 103 pp. Paris, Rousseau.

Berger (E.) Stylistique latine. Traduite de l'allemand par F. Gache et S. Piquet, et remaniée par M. Bonnet. Nouvelle édition; corrigée et considérablement augmentée. 12mo. xxiii, 386 pp. Paris, Klincksieck.

Bieske (F.) Elementarbuch der lateinischen Sprache. Teil III. Quarta. De viris illustribus. Lateinisches Lesebuch nach Nepos, Livius, Curtius. Bearbeitet von H. Müller. 8vo. xi, 128 pp. Hannover, C. Meyer. 1 Mk. 60.

Birt (T.) De Catulli ad Mallium Epistula. 8vo. xx pp. Marburg, Elwert. 1 Mk.

Bladé (J. F.) Epigraphie antique de Gascogne. 8vo. xv, 225 pp. Bordeaux, Chollet. (1885).

Boetticher (E.) Hissarlik, wie es ist. Fünftes Sendschreiben über Schliemann's Troja. Auf Grund der Untersuchungen vom 1^{sten} bis 6^{ten} Dezember 1889 und im Frühjahr und Sommer 1890. 14 plans and illustrations. 8vo. iii, 115 pp. Berlin, Trautwein. 3 Mk.

Bruening (A.) De M. Juniani Justinii codicibus commentatio philologica. 8vo. 54 pp. Münster. 1 Mk. 20.

Buchner's Sammlung lateinischer Uebungsbücher. Teil 1—3. 8vo. Bamberg, Buchner's Verlag. Bound. 8 Mk. 50.

[Contents: I. Lateinisches Elementarbuch für

die 1^{ste} Klasse der Lateinschule von S. Lauzinger. viii, 181 pp. Bound. 2 Mk. 20.—II. Lateinisches Uebungsbuch für die 2^{te} Klasse der Lateinschule von S. Röckl. vii, 210 pp. Bound. 2 Mk. 10.—III. Lateinisches Uebungsbuch für die 3^{te} Klasse der Lateinschule von H. Hellmuth und F. Gerhard. viii, 319 pp. Bound. 3 Mk. 20.

Bugge (S.) Etruskisch und Armenisch. Sprachvergleichende Forschungen. Reihe I. 8vo. xviii, 171 pp. Christiania, Aschehoug & Co. 3 Mk.

Busch (H.) Lateinisches Uebungsbuch. Teil III. Für Quarta. 4^{te} verbesserte Auflage bearbeitet von W. Fries. 8vo. viii, 148 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. Bound. 1 Mk. 80.

Busch und Fries. Lateinisches Uebungsbuch. Teil IV. Abteilung I. 8vo. Berlin, Weidmann. Bound. 1 Mk. 80.

Contents: Lateinisches Uebungsbuch für Tertia im Anschluss an Caesar Bellum Gallicum nebst Phrasensammlung und Memorierstoff von W. Fries. Abteilung I. Für Tertia. 2^{te} verbesserte Auflage. 8vo. viii, 80 pp.

Cabrol (E.) Voyage en Grèce, 1889. Notes et impressions. 4to. 163 pp. Plates and plans. Paris, Librairie des Bibliophiles.

Cicero. De Oratore. Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von Dr. K. W. Piderit. 6^{te} Auflage besorgt von O. Harnacker. Buch III. Mit den erklärenden Indices und einem Register zu den Anmerkungen. 8vo. 397—616 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 1 Mk. 50.

—— Plaidoyer pour Milon. Expliqué littérale-

- ment annoté et revu pour la traduction française par C. Sommer. 12mo. 200 pp. Paris, Hachette & Co. 1 fr. 50.
- Cicero's* (M. Tullii.) Cato Major, seu de Senectute dialogus. Texte latin publié avec sommaires et notes en français par J. B. Lechatellier. 2^{ème} édition. 18mo. iv, 68 pp. Paris, Poussielgue.
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The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1890.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF PROPERTIUS.

THE controversy about the birth-place of Propertius, which seemed to have been settled definitely in favour of Assisi, has been recently revived by the publication of Sr. Giulio Urbini's book entitled *La Patria di Propertio*. Although it can make no difference in our enjoyment of the poetry of Propertius to know whether he was born at Spello or Assisi, yet an attempt to solve the question by a comparison of the sites of these towns with the three passages in which the poet describes or alludes to his birth-place will bring us into the presence of scenes of natural beauty and places of historic interest, which were familiar to the poet in his childhood and were re-visited by him in later life, and may thus help us to realise some of the influences which acted on his imagination.

The three well-known passages in which the riddle is proposed are: (1) the short epilogue subjoined to the book by which Propertius first introduced himself to the world; and (2 and 3) two passages from the long introductory poem to the fourth book, in the first of which (iv. 1, 65—66), in his own name, he describes, in two lines, the characteristic features of his native town, in the second of which (iv. 1, 121—6), by the voice of the astrologer Horon, he repeats, with a slight alteration, that description, and adds two lines introducing two familiar landmarks visible from or in the immediate neighbourhood of the town.

The first passage which professes to be an answer to the enquiries of his friend or patron Tullus, to whom the book is dedicated, determines the locality only by its neighbourhood to Perusia, a town only too well known

as associated with the most tragic events of the Civil Wars. The lines

Proxima supposito contingens Umbria
campo
Me genuit, terris fertilis uberibus

define the 'patria' of Propertius, as a town the territory of which lay beneath it, and extended to the border of the territory of Perusia. This passage, if taken alone, might suggest the inference that he was born in a country-house situated in the rich plain, extending from the foot of the mountain-range, on two spurs of which Assisi and Spello are built, to the Tiber, forming the boundary between Umbria and Etruria. If Assisi possessed any territory at all, it is difficult to conceive where it could have been, if it was not part of this plain extending in the direction of Perusia, till it met the river.

The second passage (iv. 1, 63—66)—

Ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Umbria
libris,
Umbria Romani patria Callimachi,
Scandentes quisquis cernit de vallibus
arces,
Ingenio muros aestimet ille meo—

associates his poetic fame more definitely with a town of Umbria, situated on a steep height. There are two ambiguities of expression in line 65. Are we to translate 'arces' 'heights' or 'battlements'? and are we to take 'de vallibus' after 'cernit' or after 'scandentes'? Is the whole passage to be translated 'Whoever

marks the battlements (or heights) climbing up steeply from the valleys,' or is it 'Whoever from the valleys beneath marks the battlements (or heights) towering upwards'? The position of the words does not determine which interpretation is right. Reasons will be given later for holding that the latter is required by the only locality to which the words can apply.

In the next passage the town is still more definitely marked by its neighbourhood to two places, one of which at least is perfectly well known—

Umbria te notis antiqua Penatibus edit.

Mentior? an patriae tangitur ora tuae,
Qua nebulosa cavo rorat Mevania campo,

Et lacus aestivis intepet UMBER aquis,
Scandentisque Asis (arcis?) consurgit vertice murus,

Murus ab ingenio notior ille tuo?

In this passage there are more serious uncertainties both of interpretation and reading.

Do the words *noti Penates* apply to the family residence of Propertius or to his native town? It is argued that they cannot apply to the former because Propertius tells us that he was neither of noble birth, nor of a particularly rich family (*non ita dives*). But '*noti*' does not mean either '*rich*' or '*noble*,' but '*respectable*'; and that is exactly what the parentage of Propertius was. He was not of knightly birth like Tibullus and Ovid, but he was a member of a good provincial family possessing a considerable estate—

Nam tua cum multi versarent rura
iuvenci,

Abstulit exultas pertica tristis opes.

Penates might be used of his native town, but not necessarily or even naturally. When Catullus writes to Verannius

Venistine domum ad tuos Penates?

we do not naturally think of Rome or any town of Italy, which may have been the home of Verannius. This point is of some importance, as one of the chief arguments urged in favour of Spello was that Hispellum was, or became after it was turned into a military colony, a much more important place than Assisium. But even if we were constrained to regard *Penates* as indicative of the town, though Hispellum may have been more famous, Assisium may yet have enjoyed a

certain repute, which would justify the use of the word *noti*. Had he meant to imply any greater distinction the poet would probably have used some such word as *clari* or *insignes*.

What, next, is the meaning of '*patriae tangitur ora tuae*'? Does Propertius mean to define the exact boundaries of the territory attached to his native town, as being Mevania on the one side and the '*lacus UMBER*' on the other? Or is it sufficient to regard these two places, the '*Umbrian lake*' and Mevania in its low-lying plain, with the mists from the Clitumnus rising over it, as conspicuous land-marks in the neighbourhood? This question becomes of great importance if the ordinary interpretation of the words '*lacus UMBER*' is accepted. The territory lying between Bevagna and the sources of the Clitumnus may have formed part of the territory of Spello, but it could not possibly have been that of Assisi, nor could it in any sense be described as the part of Umbria nearest to Perugia. But Sr. Urbini raises here an important question, his answer to which really *seems* to tell against his own contention in favour of Spello. Is the interpretation of '*lacus UMBER*' as '*the broad pool formed by the sources of the Clitumnus*' really right? It is said that a scholiast on Vergil (*Georgics* ii. 147) applies the word *lacus* to the Clitumnus, and Pliny, in the well known passage of his *Letters* in which he gives an account of his visit to its sources, describes the pool of running water in which these various sources meet as '*gurgitem qui lato gremio patescit*.' But does not the word '*gurgis*' almost exclude the notion of a lake in the natural sense of the word, and still more of a lake to which the words '*aestivis intepet aquis*' are applied? But the characteristic of the water at and near these sources to which Pliny and other ancient writers draw emphatic attention is their extreme coldness, and the truth of their statement may be verified by any one who visits them in the present day.¹ If this '*gurgis*' ever extended to the dimensions of a lake, it has now shrunk to the dimensions of a moderately sized pool, overgrown with weeds, through which however the '*divini fontes*' still flow in a clear stream, '*splendidior vitro*.' It is impossible to conceive a description less applicable in every way than the line '*Et lacus aestivis intepet UMBER aquis*' to the clear-flowing cold stream of the Clitumnus, of which the charm was so great in

¹ The waters were found to be pleasantly cold both to the taste and touch in a hot day of May in the present year.

the eyes of those accustomed to the muddy streams of central Italy, as to be deemed worthy of a temple to mark the sanctity attached to it. How then is the line to be explained? The words point to a sheet of water of considerable size, which would be a conspicuous object from the town, whether it was Hispellum or Assisium. But no such lake is visible in the neighbourhood of Perugia, Assisi, or Spello, nor indeed anywhere in what was the ancient territory of Umbria. It seems to follow that either the text is corrupt—and that has been suggested, though on no sufficient grounds—or that what was once a lake has disappeared and become part of the rich flat plain which stretches between the Tiber and the hill on which Assisi is built. Sr. Urbini states that in a medieval document the modern Bastia, which is the first station after crossing the Tiber on the railway between Perugia and Assisi, is spoken of as an island,¹ and its inhabitants are called 'Isolani.'² Bastia is situated at the confluence of two considerable streams, the Chiascio and the Tescio, which flow into the Popino, of which the Clitumnus also is an affluent: and their united waters empty themselves into the Tiber about fifteen miles from Perugia. The flat plain above and below Bastia looks as if it might have been at no very distant date covered by the waters of a shallow lake, to which the two streams mentioned above may have contributed their waters. From its vicinity to the frontier it might naturally receive the general name of the 'Umbrian lake,' not being of sufficient size or importance to receive a distinctive name, like the Thrasimene lake, the lake Vadimon, or the lake Velinus. The disappearance of a shallow sheet of water, by natural causes or by drainage, in a well-cultivated territory, is not an unusual occurrence. Thus, for instance, the waters of the 'Nor loch,' familiar to readers of the *Fortunes of Nigel*, have been replaced within recent memory by the Princes Street Gardens that separate the old and new town of Edinburgh. The existence of such a lake in the neighbourhood of Bastia can, of course, only be a matter of more or less probable conjecture, based partly on the fact that the land on which it stands was at one time known as 'the

island' and its inhabitants as 'the islanders,' and partly on the appearance of the district. There is certainly no such difficulty in admitting such a conjecture as there is in supposing that Propertius, or any other poet or any person of sane judgment, should have selected the 'steaming warmth of its summer waves' as the special characteristic of the pool of clear, cold, running water, in which the sources of the Clitumnus meet, a few feet below the spot where they issue 'ab Umbro tramite.'³

It remains to ask which of the two walls or walled towns described as 'climbing up a steep height' answers best to the description given in

³ Propert. iii. 22, 23-4.

Hic Anio Tiburne fluis, Clitumnus ab Umbro
Tramite.

Compare i. 18, 27-28.

Pro quo divini fontes et frigida rupes
Et datur inculto tramite dura quies.

The use of the word *tramite* in both these passages suggests that the 'divini fontes' are the sources of the Clitumnus, and that the 'deserta loca et taciturna querenti,' to which Propertius retired in his despair, is the same scene as that which he describes in a happier mood in ii. 19, where he proposes joining Cynthia in a few days, and enjoying such field sports as he was capable of

Qua formosa suo Clitumnus flumina luo
Integit, et niveos abluit unda boves.

The lines

Sola eris et solos spectabis Cynthia montes
Et pecus et fines pauperis agricolae

will at once occur to any reader of Propertius as he looks towards the amphitheatre of hills immediately to the south of the sources. But what is the exact meaning of *tramite* in these two passages and in iii. 13, 43-44

'Et leporem, quicumque venis, venaberis hospes,
Et si forte meo tramite quaeris avem?

Hartberg points out that these last two lines are a translation of two Greek lines of Leonidas of Tarentum:—

Εὐάγρει, λαγοθήρα, καὶ εἰ πεπενηνὰ διώκων
Ἰξευτὴς ἤκει τοῦθ' ὑπὸ δισσὸν ὕρος—

Propertius seems thus to use *trames* in the same sense as the Greek ὕρος. Can we translate in i. 1, 18, 'inculto tramite' 'wild hill-side' like 'the cold hill-side' in Keats' 'La belle dame Sans Merci,' a poem expressive of a mood not remote from that of this, one of the grandest of all the Elegies of Propertius? In Vergil's

Ecce supercilio clivosi *tramitis* (Georg. i. 108) the word must be used in the same sense as in Propertius. Dr. Kennedy translates it 'from the brow of a cross-lying slope,' and in all these passages something much nearer the notion of a 'hill' than a 'channel' or 'cross-way' is wanted. The bare range or hill-side at the foot of which, close to the road, the Clitumnus rises, runs across and forms one boundary of the plain, through which the stream flows in a northerly direction.

¹ He quotes from a document of the 12th century: 'Una petia de terra cum vinea quae posita est infra comitatum Assisinatum in loco qui dicitur de insula Romanesca.'

² 'Nel 1053, ch'è, per quanto si sappia, la più antica data sotto cui se ne faccia ricordo, gli abitanti erano chiamati, per la natura del luogo, *isolani*, semplicemente.'

Scandentes quisquis cernit de vallibus arces,
and

Scandentisque Asis (arcis?) consurgit vertice
murus.

Assisi and Spello are situated on two spurs, which jut out into the plain at each extremity of the long range of Subasio, a bare mountain running in a direction from north to south, and rising to a height of about 3600 feet. These spurs are about six miles from one another. Assisi is on the northern, that nearest to Perugia. The height on which Spello is built is considerably smaller and lower than that occupied by Assisi. The modern town of Spello rises at once out of the plain and climbs up the face and two sides of a kind of promontory, sufficiently detached to have the appearance of a separate hill, though connected with the main range by a narrow ridge. Assisi, on the other hand, does not rise out of the plain, but begins about half-way up the height, and the town does not rise on any side to the top of this height. It is to be noted that in both the passages Propertius fixes our attention not on the towns themselves but on their walls:—

Ingenio muros aestimet ille meo.—

Murus ab ingenio notior ille tuo.—

Sr. Urbini remarks that as the wall of Assisi does not begin to rise out of the plain, while that of Spello does, the description can only apply to the latter. But can 'de vallibus' possibly mean the same thing as 'de campo'? There are no valleys or no single valley lying below the height on which Spello is built; unless those words can be intended to denote the whole of the broad plain lying between the Monte Subasio—the name given to the whole range rising above both Assisi and Spello—and the low range which separates the waters of the Clitumnus and the Popino from the valley of the Tiber. Professor Ramsay decides that the town meant cannot be Assisi, because it is situated not on the top (vertice) but on the side of the height. To any one looking at Assisi in front, from the 'campo supposito,' or walking through the town itself, there is nothing within sight to correspond with either the 'valleys' or with 'the wall rising on the summit of the height.' The first impression of any one looking at the two places will be that on the whole Spello deviates less from the actual description given. But if he climbs up to what was the old citadel and returns by the back of the hill, on which there are no houses

built, the two conspicuous objects which fix his attention, as he makes his way to the town gate, are the turns and windings of the deep valley of the Tescio below him, and the great ancient wall which climbs up from that part of the hill on which the church of St. Francis is built, past the gate which rises above and to the right of the church, till it reaches the citadel and then continues to run along the summit of the ridge, by which the Monte Subasio joins the outlying spur on which the town is built. The wall, though not so ancient as that running up the height on which Cortona stands, has all the appearance of the workmanship of the old Roman times. If then we translate the first passage 'whoever from the valleys below observes the battlements rising one above the other,' and the second 'and a wall rises up along the summit of the steep height, or 'the steep Asis' we shall find no difficulty in identifying the description with what any one may see who goes out of the gate, above and to the right of the famous church, and walks along the hill at the back of the town till he reaches the old citadel. The distinct statement of Propertius that his native district was that part of Umbria nearest to Perugia is thus confirmed by his description of striking characteristics of the site of the town to which that territory was attached. The number of inscriptions of the Propertii found at or near Assisi afford confirmation of this. If 'Asis' is the reading in line 125, it is difficult to see how it can apply to Spello. Sr. Urbini supposes that this was the name for the whole range of Monte Subasio. But in that case he is obliged to translate 'vertice' not 'the summit,' but 'a height,' certainly an unusual use of the word. If the 'lacus Umber' is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Bastia, it was within a short distance of Assisi, and may have formed one boundary of its territory. The neighbourhood of Mevania may have formed its southern extremity. In any case the town of Mevania, which was a much more considerable place in ancient than in modern times¹—as is testified by the remains of an amphitheatre—and the mists rising over it from the valley of the Clitumnus, would be conspicuous objects from the heights on which Assisi is built. In the opposite direction the most conspicuous objects were the hill and town of Perugia, so fraught with tragic memories for Propertius.

W. Y. SELLAR.

¹ Mentioned in Tacitus *Histories* iii. 59 as evidently a place of importance: 'Ut terrorem Italiae possessa Mevania ac velut renatum ex integro bellum intulerat.'

SOPHOCLES, *AJAX* 651.

IN a useful notice of the *Intermediate Greek Lexicon*, in the last number of this *Review* (p. 371), Professor Tarbell condemns the view which is taken of the lines

ἐγὼ γὰρ ὃς τὰ δαί' ἐκαρτέρουν τότε
βαφή σιδηρος ὡς ἐθελύνθην στόμα
πρὸς τῇσδε τῆς γυναικός,

and says that Sophocles 'is thinking of the immersion of iron in hot oil, a process still in use for softening the metal.' I believe that the *Lexicon* is perfectly right, and that Professor Tarbell's view is untenable, for more than one reason. Dr. Blümner in an excellent discussion of ancient iron-working (*Technologie*, vol. i. pp. 340-347) describes the process of hardening steel (στόμωσις) by immersion in water, and gives a full list of passages from Greek and Latin writers bearing upon it, and of other passages which speak of the treatment by oil. As regards the latter process, one passage from Hippocrates (*Coac. Prae.* 384) was apparently first noticed in this connexion by Lobeck, and is cited by most subsequent commentators on the *Ajax*. I cannot but think that it has been cited without much examination. Hippocrates is merely describing a pimple on the tongue as 'livid, like iron dipped in oil'—no more—there is nothing to show that he is speaking of a process in working iron or steel, and it is quite possible that the colour may have been suggested by one of his own surgical instruments dipped in oil. While one is appalled by the wide learning which enabled Lobeck to unearth this passage for an illustration of Sophocles, one may be permitted to doubt whether it really does illustrate. If we reject this single reference, it will be seen that there is no allusion to this treatment by oil earlier than Pliny and Plutarch: further, that the alleged object is not *weakening* (which might suit Professor Tarbell's view) but *toughening*: further still, that the process is said to be used only for small articles, such as brooch-pins, according to Plutarch—a limitation which Dr. Blümner seems to think likely. Pliny's words are noticeable: 'tenuiora ferramenta oleo restingui mos est, ne aqua in fragilitatem durentur.' It may be said that the flexibility derived, or supposed to be derived, from oil would give the proposed meaning: but to this it must be answered that the word θήλυσ should be opposed to ἀνδρείος, and should mean soft and weak

rather than flexible and tough. Again, it may be said that the argument against the existence of this industrial process in the time of Sophocles is purely negative: but we may surely regard as positive testimony the fact that the single word βαφή has passed into a term for the hardening of the character, as in Aristotle *Pol.* vii. 14 τὴν βαφὴν ἀφιάσιν, ὥσπερ ὁ σιδηρος, εἰρήνην ἄγοντες, where the στόμωσις or *steeling* must certainly be understood. It is inconceivable that the metaphorical and ethical use of the single word without any qualification should convey exactly opposite ideas in Sophocles and in Aristotle. I think it will be found that the invariable contrast in Greek writers speaking of iron (or steel) is between the softening by fire and the hardening by water. The ἐκ πυρὸς in *Antigone* 475 refers, I believe, to the condition in which steel is found *after* the heating, as in Lucretius's 'umor aquae porro ferrum condurat ab igni.' It seems to me that a correct (perhaps intentional?) commentary on these lines of the *Ajax* may be found in the sentence of Plutarch (*An. rat. uti* 16, p. 968 D), ἀνδρείας οἶον βαφή τις ὁ θυμός ἐστι καὶ στόμωμα, where the word στόμωμα leaves no doubt as to what the βαφή was, and the ἀνδρεία explains the idea of our ἐθελύνθην. Applying this to our passage, and making the stop at ὡς, as the *Lexicon* does, the full idea is: 'I whose character was then hard or ἀνδρεῖον, as steel is hardened by the βαφή, am now made θήλυσ by Tecmessa's words.' And this will allow us to translate as the *Lexicon*, following Professor Campbell, appears to have done. The tenses, which Professor Tarbell seems to regard as an objection, are quite regular. The imperfect ἐκαρτέρουν expresses the character which *Ajax* had hitherto maintained: the aorist ἐθελύνθην conveys the (alleged) present effect of Tecmessa's words, according to the ordinary Greek idiom of referring back to the time of the speech the emotion which was caused by it.

It should be added that Dr. Blümner in a note on page 348 of the work above alluded to takes an entirely different and, as it seems to me, improbable view—that *Ajax* represents himself as still further *strengthened* by his wife's speech; and he therefore reads ἐθηγάνθην, an alteration which is surely not only unnecessary but opposed to all the pretence of concession which *Ajax* is making. The word ἐθηγάνω is itself not beyond question.

Lastly, as regards the *present use* of oil which Professor Tarbell adduces, oil is, if I am not mistaken, used exactly like water, for *hardening* heated steel by a sudden cooling, whereas slow cooling would soften it. This may suggest that Pliny's distinction of the uses is not entirely correct, and that oil was reserved for the small articles merely because it was less plentiful than water: if so, it was regarded as a rather

more expensive improvement, and was very likely (as has been argued above) introduced long after the time of Sophocles. The whole question is made more difficult by the absence of any distinction in Latin and Greek terminology between iron and steel; but it is a difficulty which often arises in our own language at the present day.

G. E. MARINDIN.

THE LATIN AORIST SUBJUNCTIVE.

MR. KIRKPATRICK'S paper in the last number of the *Classical Review* suggests one or two remarks.

(1) Whether in a sentence like *novi quidnam causae fuerit* the subjunctive is a primary or a secondary tense is a delicate point, as to which it is very difficult to pronounce definitely. A good deal may be said for Mr. Kirkpatrick's view that it is secondary; if the sentence proceeds, the subjunctive subordinate to *fuerit* must be secondary, e.g. *nescio quidnam causae fuerit cur nullas ad me litteras dares*: on the other hand how is it that usage seems to have excluded *nescio quidnam causae esset*? Mr. Kirkpatrick asks whether this would not be Latin in the sense 'I do not know what he was doing.' If he thinks so, I wish he would quote some instances from classical authors. Professor Hale in his 'Sequence of Tenses' quotes only St. Augustine. If Mr. Kirkpatrick is right in recognising an aorist subjunctive, the ordinary rule of sequence ought to be amended; in my remarks (*C. R.* III. p. 9), to which Mr. Kirkpatrick refers, I specially guarded myself from saying more than that there is *some* rule of sequence, a primary tense requiring the subordinate subjunctive to be either present or a form in *-erim*, *-eris*, *-erit*. If *nescio quidnam esset* is Latin the whole doctrine of sequence is doomed.

(2) Mr. Kirkpatrick says 'sequence can no more apply to dependent questions than to dependent statements; both are practically quoted sentences.' If so, how does he explain *Georg.* iv. 118-120 and similar instances: *forsitan et pingues hortos quae cura colendi ornaret canerem...quoque modo potis gauderent intuba rivi*? The tense in dependent questions is certainly sometimes independent of the point of view of the principal clause (e.g. *Hic quantum in bello fortuna possit cognosci potuit*): but would it be possible to write *nesciebat quot bis bina sint* (for

essent)? In English we might say either 'He did not know how much twice two *is*' or '*was*.'

(3) May I venture to suggest an amended form of the Rule of Sequence, which it seems to me would obviate some difficulties? Firstly draw a sharp line of demarcation between cases in which the tense of the subordinate clause is adjusted to the point of view of the principal clause (e.g. Final Clauses) and cases in which the tense of the subordinate clause is not so adjusted (e.g. Consecutive Clauses); in the latter cases there is no 'sequence' at all. Then give the rule for sequence in adjusted clauses as follows:—'*Avoid* the Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive in dependence on a Present, Future or Future Perfect: *avoid* the Present and Perfect Subjunctive in dependence on an Imperfect, Perfect, Past (= Aorist) or Pluperfect.' This I have introduced into the last edition of my Grammar (§ 522). The advantage of the negative form of statement is that it leads the pupil to ask in the first place what is the natural tense to use, instead of proceeding mechanically, and recognises the point on which Prof. Hale laid stress—that the tenses of the subjunctive are not timeless, but have their own significance: after this line of thought has been followed, the pupil is told to *eliminate* certain tenses as not in accordance with usage, however logically correct they may seem. My rule takes account of the classical usage in regard to such sentences as *dixi ut scires* 'I have spoken that you *may* know'; *hodie expertus sum quam caduca felicitas esset* 'how transitory luck *is*.' The pupil must however be told that when the Perfect is precisely equivalent to a Present (i.e. where emphasis is laid on the *present state*) primary sequence takes place, e.g. *novisti* (*meministi*, *oblitus es*) *quid initio dixerim* (§ 519, 520). If Mr. Kirkpatrick is right in recognizing an Aorist

Subjunctive, the second half of the rule would have to be further amended so as to explicitly include that tense: but as it

stands the first half does not exclude the 'Aorist Subj.' in dependence on a primary tense.

E. A. SONNENSCHIN.

MR. GLADSTONE'S APPENDIX.

MR. GLADSTONE concludes his new book on Homer with an 'Essay on the points of contact between the Assyrian tablets and the Homeric text.' The title of the essay is somewhat misleading. By 'Assyrian tablets' he means Mesopotamian records of all sorts: not necessarily Assyrian, or on tablets. By 'Homeric text' he means the contents of the Homeric poems. And he does not suggest any points of contact between the two. The Greeks borrowed many notions from the Phoenicians, and the Phoenicians had many notions in common with the peoples of Mesopotamia: so the same notions sometimes appear in the Mesopotamian records and in the Homeric poems. The records and the poems are both in contact with Phoenician literature, but not in contact with each other.

Mr. Gladstone's arguments throughout this essay seem fanciful and inconclusive, and sometimes quite untenable. His first argument is this:—

'The great encircling river Okeanos is the parent of the gods themselves (*Il.* xiv. 201, 302) and of their entire number (*ibid.* 245); or, in other words, water is the origin of all things . . . and, alike from the evidence of the monument and from the records of later times, we learn how the conception of a water origin of things prevailed in the Babylonian system.'

The statement in the *Iliad*, that the Ocean brought forth the gods, cannot possibly imply the Babylonian theory, that water is the origin of all things: for, according to that theory, the gods stood outside the universe of things which had its origin in water. And this 'water' is not terrestrial water, but a protoplasmic fluid. The following lines, quoted by Mr. Gladstone from a translation in the *Expositor*, misrepresent the original.

'The august ocean was their generator: the surging deep was she that bare them all.'

The terms here rendered as the 'ocean' and the 'deep' in the ordinary sense, really represent the 'waters' and the 'void' in the sense intended in the first verses of Genesis: cf. Delitzsch, *Chaldäische Genesis*, pp. 294 ff. The birth here described is the birth of the universe, not of the gods.

Mr. Gladstone then dwells on the correspondence between the Greek sea-god Poseidon and the Babylonian sea-god Ea, whom he assigns to Eridu on the Persian Gulf.

'One of the most characteristic notes of the Homeric Poseidon is his complexion, as the dark or black Poseidon. This is not only indicated by epithet: the word *Kuanochaites* or dark-haired (*Il.* xx. 144) stands substantively to describe him, without any other name or epithet. With this we have to compare the Hymn which treats Ea as the creator of the black race, meaning the old non-Semitic population belonging to Eridu.'

The 'black-headed' race (not the 'black' race) does not mean any particular population. It means the whole of mankind; fair-haired races being unknown. This meaning is clearly established by the passages collected and discussed by Delitzsch, *l.c.*, pp. 301 ff., and Pognon, *L'Inscription de Bavian*, pp. 27, 28. The word *Kuanochaites* does not imply that Poseidon was dark or black in his complexion; nor can it well signify 'dark-haired' when applied to him, for the allusion is obviously to the deep blue of the Mediterranean.

'We have yet another connecting link between Ea, the offspring of the Persian Gulf, and Poseidon. Evidently, in Homer's eyes, the Persian Gulf was part of the Ocean-stream, coiled around the world. For in *Il.* i. 423 he places his Aithiopes upon the Ocean verge. True, they are visited, in that passage, not by Poseidon only but by the whole body of the gods. But the visit paid to these same Aithiopes in *Od.* i. 22-25, was paid by Poseidon alone . . . The Eremboi [*in Od.* iv. 84] are doubtless the Arabs, and it thus seems that these Aithiopes can hardly be other than their neighbours the Babylonian Assyrians. Through their medium then, and through the location assigned to them on the River Ocean, we seem to have Poseidon placed once more in apparent derivation from the Babylonian Ea, who came from Eridu on the Persian Gulf.'

If the Eremboi are the Arabs, these Aithiopes are presumably their neighbours in Ethiopia: and that country touches the Ocean-stream in the Red Sea. Although Babylonians and Assyrians are known to history, 'Babylonian Assyrians' are unknown.

Then Mr. Gladstone proceeds to the correspondence between the Greek love-

goddess Aphrodite and the Mesopotamian love-goddess Ishtar. As for Aphrodite, there is not a single trace of a moral element in her character: while the doings of Ishtar impose reserve, as their details are not suited for general reading. But quite unwittingly he subsequently touches on some of these doings of Ishtar.

‘A fourth case of possible suggestion is offered by the curious representation of the effect produced on earth by the descent of Ishtar to Hades. It was a general disorganisation, caused by the absence of a ruling deity from her proper sphere. “The master ceases from commanding, the slave from obeying.” Does it not seem possible that some form of this legend may have suggested to the Poet the bold threat of Helios in *Od.* xii. 381, that unless due respect is paid to his demands for redress, he will not rise next morning as usual upon gods and men, but will shine in the Underworld?’

The disorganization on earth would doubtless be general, if the sun refused to rise. But this disorganization, caused by Ishtar’s descent, was strictly limited to venereal matters. It was solely in these matters that the master ceased from commanding, and his (female) slave from obeying. The interpretation of the words is placed beyond doubt by the context about the bull and the cow, the ass and the she-ass: cf. Schrader, *Höllenfahrt der Istar*, p. 44.

This descent of Ishtar supplies Mr. Gladstone with another argument.

‘Another remarkable though limited correspondence with the Babylonian system is to be found in one of the epithets applied by the Homeric text to Aidoneus. He is called by Homer *πυλάρης*, the gate-faster . . . Now, in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* there is a representation of a gate, that is to say of folding doors, but, so far as I have learned, they stand open, and cannot possibly have suggested the epithet we are examining . . . But, according to the Assyrian tablets, the gates of the Underworld are an elaborate and principal part of its equipment. We derive our knowledge of the particulars from the descent made into it by Ishtar.’

The folding doors in cap. 17 of the *Book of the Dead* are open in some papyri: but in the papyrus of Ani, to which Mr. Gladstone refers in a note, they happen to be shut. In cap. 144 the seven gates are duly described: and they correspond exactly to the seven gates in the legend of Ishtar. In both cases the guardians of the gates are mere subordinates, whereas Aidoneus guards the gate himself.

Two more of Mr. Gladstone’s arguments will be enough.

‘I will hazard another conjecture with respect to the singularly bold conceptions which Homer formed of works of fine art . . . In this highest branch of industry Homer distinctly assigns to the divine artist the faculty of giving actual life to its metallic products . . . He could hardly have been led in this direction by Egyptian art, which is successful in representing rest but ineffective in dealing with motion. This idea is, I conceive, far more congenial to the art of Assyria.’

Egyptian and Assyrian art could only have been known to the poet through Phoenician works of art which found their way to Greece. The strength of Phoenician art, which had no subjects of its own, lay in harmonizing the subjects it borrowed from Egypt and Assyria: and it invariably made the Egyptian subjects as lifelike as the Assyrian. In the silver bowls, for example, in Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l’Art*, vol. iii. fgs. 543—553, the Egyptian figures are full of life.

‘Heptaism, or the systematic and significant use of the number seven, while it may be traced elsewhere, is eminently and peculiarly Chaldaean . . . The only very marked use of the number seven in Homer is as to the city of Thebes . . .’

Thebes in Egypt was called *aptet*: and this name readily yields the Greek word *hepta*, seven.

There is a suggestive misprint on p. 151: Arcadian for Accadian.

CECIL TORR.

APPARATUS CRITICUS AD CICERONIS LIBROS DE NATURA DEORUM.

Z = ABCFM.

LIB. I.

M. T. Ciceronis (Ciceroni A) de deorum natura incipit liber primus (liber I A) ABF
M. T. Ciceronis de deorum natura liber primus incipit C Marcii (post. i eras.) Tullii Ciceronis de deorum natura liber I incipit M. B singulis paginis a rubricatore superscriptum habet de natura deorum.

§ 1, 1 Quum A¹B¹ || 2 tum] lion C¹ non C² || perosecura C || 3 que et A, sed e et ut multa in hac prima pagina m. 3 redintegrata || ad agnitionem] A²CM³ agnitionem, om. ad, A¹M¹ ad cognitionem BFM²(?)K || 4 tam om. B¹ || 5 sint AB¹C¹ || ut id magno] magno AB¹C ut magno B²FMK || 6 esse debeat—dinumerare sententias (§ 2, 1) om. AC (quae in C manu saec. XV—XVI in mg. suppleta

1. *sunt, hic negleguntur*) || argumento se debeat B^1 || causa (causa et B^2) principium philosophiae ad hoc (? h *superscripto puncto*, hanc B^2) scientiam B (*corr. manus a consueto correctore diversa*) causa principium philosophiae scientiam F c. pr. philosophiae scientia K causam id est principium philosophie (-ae 2) esse scientiam M || 7 achademi * B^1 achademia B^2 achademici F achademicos M || conbuisse B^1 conhib. B^2 || s turpius] forcius BF fortius M || § 2, 12 omnes sese duce BFM^1 || 13 nullus B^1 || 14 dissensione] sensione B^1 || 1 molestum] tum B^1 || innumerare B^1 || nam om. BF || 2 et de actione BF || is $A^1B^1C^2$ his A^2C^1M om. F || 3 philophorum A^1 (filos. BF) || artatur B^1 || 4 continet est utrum M || moliuntur A^1 || omni] an ab omni B^2FM || 5 abuis (1) B^1 ab his M || et apprincipio A * a*princ. (et abprinc. ? 1) B || 6 atque moueantur om. B^1 || 7 in primis quae AB^1 in primisque B^2CFM || eaequa B^1 || diiudicetur B^2 || 8 ignorantiae F^1 ignorantia F^2M uel ignoratione F^2 in *mg.* || § 3, 9 philophi B^1 || 12 enim om. B^1 || litterae -ste tri- *pergamena fenestrata exciderunt in B, ut v. 13* -is et si est a- 14 neque p- || numinita B^1 || 13 iis] his CM hiis A^4 (A^1 obs. ; de B *vd. ad v. 12*) || hominum om. B^1 humano B^2 , sed u ex o *corr.* || 14 possint A^4 (A^1 videtur habuisse possunt) || inter uolunt et nec *razuram duarum versus partium habet A* || 15 agamus, pr. a *supra ras. 4*, A || ab his BFM || 16 permanere A^1B^1K || ullus F^1 || 17 adhibemus C^3 || 18 item, m in *ras. 2*, B || poterunt in loco *evan. A^4*, sed A^1 idem habuisse *vid.* || § 4, 20 haut A aut B^1 || 21 sublatae, 1 in *ras. et ae ex a corr. 2*, A || et * una (a 1) B || excellentissima B^1 || 22 et hi ZK || 23 nobilis B^1 || mentem...omne C^1 || oratione A oratione* (m 1) B^1 || 24 uerum B^1 || 25 hisdem AC^1M iisdem B^2C^2F || 26 quae *corr. ex qua B* || tempestas ut *vid.* A^1C^1 tempestatem C^3 || 27 quibus, bus in *ras. 2*, B || matur., u *corr. 2* ex o 1, A || pubescant *corr. 1* ex -cat BC || a dis] ab his B^1 (a diis AC) || 29 ei ipsi B^2F || dei] de B^1 (dii C) || § 5, 32 tantopere ZK || 33 sed etiam docti et tam om. B^1 || tumque B^1 || 34 dissidentes A^1 || alterum] A (? *evan.*) CF^2MK aliorum B^1 alitrum B^2 alia*rum F^1 || prof. potest, potest *corr. 2*, B potest profecto *add. transpon. signis C* || ut earum] B^2CFK et earum A uetearum B^1 || 1 alterum, alte in *ras. 2*, B || uera om. A^1 || 2 beniuolos ZK || placere A^1K || 3 dedicisse AB^1 || se om. B^1 || 4 inimici A^1 || § 6, 5 fluxisse *corr. ex -usse ? A* || compluris] M cumpluris ABF cumplures C || 6-7 *propter laes. perg. deficiunt in B* -re edi-nde hoc phil., quaque || 6 sermone C || ** admir. (ad *bis script.*) B (ammir. C) || partem A^1 partum C^1 || 7 philosophando A^1 || 10 eripiet C^1 || rebus om. B^1 || discipline copinatum medio-crem a primo tempore aetatis etiam B^1 dis-

ciplinæ etiam *mediis deletis* B^2 || 11 susceptum, sus *supra ras.*, B || 12 a om. B (*cf. ad v. 10*) F || 13 eo, e in *ras. 2*, A || studii C || 14 philosophamur F^1 || 15 philophorum A || 16 familiaritate B^1 familiatates F^1 || illi* (ii ?) C || 17 philo] $BCFM$ pililo A uel pililo (phililo F^1) B^2F in *mg.* || possidonius B^2CF possidomus B^1 possedonius M || § 7, 22 possumus B^1 || his AC || esse $A^1B^1C^1$ || 23 eum A^2 || iura ut *vid.* B^1 || 24 causam B^1C^1 || 25 inter, esse om. FM || 26 grauis, i m. 2 *superscr. et postea in e mut.*, A || § 8, 27 minus A^1 || 28 descendisset B^1 descendi sed F^1 || 29 eruditi, ti *superscr.*, C || ea] et B^1 || 32 quidam A^1 || § 9, 32 ortata BF || 35 hunc C || potissimum] -um deficit cum *pergamena ut postea* -m si m- B || 37 omnis AB^1C || 38 membra tum] membro- rum ut *vid.* B^1 || facillume] A^1F^2 facillime A^2CMK faciillume (*alt. 1 spscr. 2*) B facullume F^1 || cum] tum B^1 || § 10, 41 queque C || 1 auctore A^1 auctores A^2CM auctoritatis BF (auctoris K) || 3 is F^1 his M hiis A^2 || discere, pr. e *spscr.*, B || 6 pithagores A^1 bithagoreis B^1 pith. A^2B^2CFM || fuerunt B^1 || 7 iis A hiis C || § 11, 10 hanc, ne in *ras.*, B || disciplina C^1F^1 || 12 interitum B^1 || 13 auctoris, u in *ras. 2*, A || 14 disserendi* B || nullumque C^1 || iudicanti A^1 || 15 ercesilia AC erches. M^1 arch. M^2 arcessilia BF || 16 qua C^1 || 19 maius] magis $BFMK$ || omnes ACM || is B^1 his AB^2CFMK || propositum] op defioit propter laes. *perg. ut postea philos.-B* || 20 omnes ZK || § 12, 21 me non —secutum esse om. C || 22 me praefero C^3 (pre me fero BF) || 23 philosophentur A || philosophentur—omnino om. F^1 , quae *verba integrum versum efficiunt in B* || hi $ABCF^2M$ || 25 quidem B^1 || hi ZK || 26 uideantur F^1 || hii A^2C hi $BFMK$ || 27 his $ACFM$ || 28 existit ACM^2K existit BF (extitit M^1) || illud] et illud $BFMK$ || 30 his ZK || § 13, 31 iam ut om. F^1 || liberarem B^1 || 33 qui quae] quaequ* (*extr. litt. incerta*) B^1 quaeque C^2 || 34 au erit B^1 || 35 quicquid B^1 || ut in synefebis A ut in sinefebis B^2FM , ut *vid.*, et C ut terentius in efebis B^2FM || 37 popularum F^1 || alterum omnium om. Z || adulescentium, s in *ras. ampliore 2*, B || 1 leuissuma C || 3 non uult Z || § 14, 4 cognoscant] cognos A^1 || 6 sollempnibus $ACFM$ solemnibus B || 7 enim *spscr. B* || s certe C || 9 at dubitare AB^1F || maxima AC || § 15, 10 cum] com ut *vid.* A^1 || animaduertim B^1 || 11 C.] g. Z || cot- tam] quot tam C^1 || sane om. B^1 || 12 est] B^1 sit AB^2CFM || feris A^1 || 13 rogatu, u in *ras. 2-3*, C || 14 c. BFM g. AC || uellelo ACM^1 *it. v. 18* || epicuri Z || et nostri C || 15 quintus Z || lucius C lucillius F || baldus (?) F^1 || 16 ut in *ras. C^3* || 17 comparetur C (comparar. A) || cotta, cot. in *ras. 3*, C || per*oportune B (peroport. etiam ceteri) || 18 cui] qui B^1 || 19 alunum A^1 || interisse C^1 || § 16, 19 atque C (adqui A) || 21 M . enim] m.n. $ABFM$ gn. C ||

6 nullus BF || 22 earum] A , sed a *spscr.* 1 (?) qui earum, sed qui *del.*, B || qua C^1 || honorem B^1 || tunc BF || 23 balbum *corr.* 1 ex balbam B balbim F^1 || 26 ego, om. ne, A^1 || 27 primus A^1 || interesse om. C || 29 disiungerent B^2FM || 30 com A || comodis C || eam F^1 || 31 different B^1 || § 17, 33 *cotta (*vid. fuisse* q) A || ut, t in *ras.* 2, A || mei B^1 || 35 uidetur B^1 || sciscitabor A^1 suscitabar F || 36 sententia C^1 || uelei A^1 || 37 quae] quod M || 1 dedicistis A^1 || 2 dedicimus B^1 || quotta A^1 || uideret (uidere i) A^1 || nolo me existimes adiut. B (*sed me spscr.* 1) et F || 3 auditorem] adiutorem B^1C || aequum] B^2F aequum AB^1 cum M fretum C || 4 necessitate A^1 || 5 nolim A^2 in *ras.* unius *litt.* || quaedam* tuenda A quatuendam B^1 || § 18, 7 uidetur C || s epicuri, ri in *ras.* 2, A || internuntiis (-ciis M) B^2FM intermundus C || descendis sed A descendens. Sed C || 9 futclis A fuit tilis B^1 futtilis B^2F || aedificaremque A^1 || 10 pronoeam Z || 13 diserentum C || § 19, 14 oculis animi ZK || portuit B^1 || 15 deos B^1 || mulitio A^1 *molitio B || 16 muneris *corr.* 1 ex -ri B || 17 et pare om. B^1 || 19 efficiendum (-undum M) ZK || § 20, 21 illa palmaris Z || non mondo F || 23 foro ut *vid.* A^1 || primus B^1 || 24 idem est A || 25 coamentatio AB^1CM coaugmentatio B^2FK || 26 cuius] cui $BFMK$ || 27 pronoea uero si uestra est lucili eadem requiro Z || 1 ministras M || dissignationem ABF || § 21, 5 nunc enim C || 6 qua A^1 || 7 nam] non A^1C^1 nan A^1 || sine] si A^1 || s quidam B^1 (qued. C) || 9 non om. Z || 10 cogitatione F^1K || § 22, 12 pronoea Z || attingit C || 13 nomini B^1 || 14 concupiscerat B^1 || 15 aedilis *corr.* 3 ex aedibis vel aedilus C (edilis F) || 16 tenebris, sed eb 2 in *ras.* quattuor *litter.*, A tebris B^1 || 17 uarietatemne M || § 23, 19 An] nam B^1 || 20 dicis F || 21 agitur B^1 || 23 dubuo A || miserimi B^1 || 24 meserius F^1 || 26 leniant, ni in *ras.* 2, A || possunt M^1 || praesentia ferre M (f. pres. BF) || 27 ipsum et que om. M^1 || 28 natura intelligentes (intellig. A) AB^1 natura intelligentis A^2 naturam intelligentis C naturam intelligentes M naturam intellegenter B^2FK || 29 possit C || quodicam, o *corr.* et dicam in *ras.* 2, B || § 24, 29 aut A^1 || 30 tarditate A || animatum mundum, sed mundum *del.*, M || 31 rudum B^1 (rutund. A^1) || 32 pyramides AB^1 (pyramidis C) || 33 nempe, pe in *ras.* 2, B || 34 cogitare $A^1BF^1M^1K$ || 35 ubinam] C ubi non A^1B^1 ubinam A^2 ubi B^2FMK || 37 habeatur, h *spscr.* 1 ?, B || molestum cur in A^1 || 38 est *post.* om. M^1 || maximas $ACMK$ || 2 obruit C || 3 quae] quo, sed o in *ras.* 2, C || 4 ducenda $ABFMK$ || § 25, 5 uero alia sint] B^2FM (in B prius *corr.* uero sint, postea ab alio correctore sed eodem antiquo alia. *add.*) uero est AB^1C || 6 milesuis F || primis B^1 || s sic dei Z || possunt, os in *ras.* 2, B || et mente (mentem B^1) cur aquae (cura quae A) AB^1 et

ut *vid.* F^1 et mente curaue B^2CF^2M || 9 adiunxit AB om. C || menti—adiunxit om. Z || sicuti ipsa C || 12 mundos, o *corr.* ex u, C || § 26, 14 in mortu ut *vid.* A^1 || aut om. M || 16 mortalis A^1 || 18 discrepationem C || motum] K modum Z || 19 uiae ratione (rationem M^1) dissignari $ABFMK$ || 20 sensui] B^2FM sensu AC sensus, extr. s fort. ead. m. *del.*, B^1 || uinctum B^1FK (C ambig.) || et incontinentem ZK || in infinito C infinito $ABFMK$ || 23 anima nominetur AC || § 27, 24 placeat M || 25 qua] quae ZK || 26 notationem C || allemaeo A^1 (alcmeo CM) || 28 animum esse] *incipit* P .

$Z = ABCFMP$

29 omnium CM^1 || § 28, 24 deus esset si C || 1 omnem B^1 || 2 noluit C || item] non M^1 || reprehenditur] B^2F repraeh. M repraehenderetur AC reprehenderetur B^1 (*Pevanid.*) || 4 conuenticium Z || 5 corone A et, *corr.* ead. m. ex coronas, B^1 || similem $ABCFM^1$ similitudinem P || stephane A^1C stephanen A^2P istefanen B^1 et stefanen (steph. M) B^2FM || continentem ardorem (ardorum B^1) $ABCFM$ (P prors. *evan.*) || 6 cingit Z || s modi om. $ABCFM$ (P *evan.*) || euditatem F^1 || 9 reuocat $ABCFM$ (P *evan.*) || 10 de sider.] sideribus FM^2 esideribus M || 11 alio * iam B || iam om. M^1 || omitantur AB^2 committantur B^1 || § 29, 11 empedocles A empedocles C^1 (P *evan.*) || 12 turpissime A^2C || 13 quas nasci extingui C^1 qu. n. extinguique $C^{2,3}$ || 15 habere om. ACP || liqueat A || 16 uideatur B^1 || 17 tum *corr.* 2 ex cum (?) B || eorumque (-quae B^1) Z || 19 sententiam Z || intelleganciamque B^1 (intelligent. A) || 20 negat B^1 || 22 diogenis $ABCM^1P$ et, *corr.* ead. m. ex-es, F || apolloniates AC apollonates M || § 30, 25 inquiri M^2 || 26 non] nos C || 27 asomaton $ABCFM$ auxosomaton P || 28 etiam] tam B^1 || 29 item A^1 || 31 malorum A^1BCFM^1P || § 31, 33 in his Z || 34 retulit $BCFM$ || quere F^1 (queri BC) || 35 supra oportere *ras.* 8 *litterar.* A || deum om. A^1 || 36 iisdem B^1F || 1 dicimus $ABCM^1P$ (sine dubio etiam F , de quo nihil adnotavi) || § 32, 1 antisthenis ACP (anthisthenes BF) || 3 natura F^1 ut *vid.* || 5 ammalem B^1 || § 33, 6 aristoteles, *del.* que, C^3 (-quae B^1) || magistro uno platone (platone uno M) dissentiens Z || 9 proficit B^1 (pref. B^2F) || partes ACM || 11 mundi caelum B^1 || 13 tot om. P || 14 omni, i in *ras.* 2, C || 15 modo mundus moueri (modo *spscr.* B^1) Z || 16 se om. P || § 34, 16 eius om. C || 17 xenocrates B^1 || prudentior est] A^2C prudentior* A^1 prudentior, om. est, $BFMP$ || cytus in B^1 in cuius P || 18 sunt in natura ACP || 20 sint $ABCM^1P$ (de F nihil notavi) || quasi] qua A^1B^1 || 21 *septimum, s 2, A || 22 possunt A et F , sed in hoc *corr.* ead. m. || intelli A^1 intelligi A^2 || 23 poticiis F^1 poticus P || eracl. BCF || et tamen modo mundum Z || 24 tu mentem A^1 || etiam om. A^1 || § 35, 27 theofracti C (theo-

35. frasti *ABFMP* || 28 autem *om.* *B¹* || que caelestibus *om.* *BF* (que cel. *AM*) || 29 eius || *om.* *M¹* est *M²* || is] *AB²FMP* his *B¹C¹* del. *C²* || 31 munuendi *B¹* || sensu] et sensu *BFM* || § 36, 32 ut iam] utinam *P* || 34 intelligere *B¹* (intellig. *A*) || 1 loquo *P* || 3 in *ante* optatis *om.* *F* || 4 quandam rationem *C* || omnium *Z* || pertingentem *C* || 5 ut diuina *AB¹CP* ut diuinam *B²FM* || 6 theogoniam (theogen. *B²M*) id est originem deorum *Z* || 9 appelletur *AMP* apelletur *B* (*de F nihil notavi*) || 10 quamdam *A* || § 37, 11 nominus *P* || sententia est qui] *A²M²P* sententias qui] *A¹BFM¹* sentias qui] *C* || 13 quii *A¹* || 14 ipsum deum mundum dicit *Z* || 15 honomen *B¹* || 16 tumultum *B¹* || 16 extremum atque omnia *M¹* || 17 qui ether *radendo corr.* ex quia ether *A* quia aether *C* quiaether *P* || 18 his *Z* || quos] quas *B¹* || 19 scripsit, scrip *in ras.* *B*, *A* || uoluptatem] *A³* uoluntatem *A¹BCFMP* || 20 diuinitatem, diu *in ras.* 2-3, *A* || 21 fit *** || ut *A* || 22 natione *P* || § 38, 23 dicit *om.* *Z* || 24 habitatos *B¹* || a quibus aliqua magna *BFM* || esse *C¹* || 25 utiles *in ras.* 1 ? *A* || nuncupataes *B¹* || 26 quo* *C* || 27 aut res] aures *M¹* || deformes *ACMP* || 28 afficeret *C* (afficere *M*) || 29 futuris *A* || § 39, 29 chrysipus *A* chryssippus *B* chrisippus *C* || 30 uaferrimus *BC²F* || cogregat *A¹* || ignoratorum *B* ignorum *F¹* || 31 ne (nae *M¹*) coniectura *MP* nec coniect. *ABCF* || 32 mens *om.* *C* || uidetur *B¹* || 33 dininam *A* || et uniu., *om.* in, *C* || uniuerse *B¹* uniuerse *F¹* || 34 ipsum quem *B¹* || 35 infusione[m] *B²FM* || uniuismam *B¹* || 36 communeque *C* || uniuersitatemque] uniuersam atque *Z* || 1 fatalem (*corr.* 1 ex fatelem *P*) umbram *Z* || 3 fuerent adque *A¹* || manerent *C¹F¹* || solem et lunam *BF* et solem lunam *M* || § 40, 7 maneret *C* || eam] eamque *A¹* || quae ceres *corr.* 2 ex qua caeres (?) *A* quae caeres *M* || 9 leges *A¹B¹M¹* || § 41, 12 in *ante* primo *om.* *B¹* || 14 accomm. *C* accommod. *F* || 15 dixerat *M¹* || 16 sint *Z* || babulonijs *AP* babilon. (*alt.* 1 del. 1) *B* babilon. *CF* || 17 libro *om.* *B¹* || partu iouis ortuque *ACP* (partum i. ortumquae *B¹*) || § 42, 21 lubidine *BF* || furentes *C* || 23 querellas] *AP* quaerelas (quer. *CF²M²*) *BCFM* || 24 libidine *M²* || 25 mortalesque *A²M* || et immortalis (s *del.*) procreator *C* ex inmortali precreatos *P* || § 43, 28 constantia *C¹* instantia *F* || uersantur, n *spscr.* 1, *A* uersamur *C* || 29 ea qui* *B* || 30 haberi *B²F* || 32 notationem *M¹* || inpresisset *BF* (inpraess. *M* impraess. *C*) || 34 prolemsin *AM* prolemsin *BF* proplebsin *C¹P* proplebsin *C²* || ante caeptam *C* || 35 infirmationem *M¹* || nec intellegi quicquam *om.* *C* || quicquam, quicq *in ras.* 2, *A* || 36 potest nec disputari *M* || quous *AB¹P* || caelestia epic. *B* caelestiaepic. *F* || § 44, 1 quoniam, m. 2 aliqu. *corr.*, *B* || 2 id *om.* *B¹* || esse igitur deos *ZK* (esse *in ed. errore om.*) || 3 fere] fieri *ACP* || omnes *ACMP* || 4 fateamur]

B²FMK fateamur *AB¹CP* || 5 anticipationem... praenotionem, *sed utraque m del.*, *C* || 7 proplebsin *AC¹P* proplebsin *C²* proplebsin *B¹* proplebsin *B²F¹* proplebsin *F²* prolembsin *M* || quem *BFM¹* || nemo eo] nemo *A¹* nemo *M* || s hanc, c *spscr.*, *A* || immontales *B¹* (immort. *C*) || § 45, 9 natura nobis *M* || deorum ipsorum *transpon.* *signis erasis C* || insculpsit *A¹* insculpsit *F* insculpsit, *sed rec. m. in ras.*, *M* || 11 sit *in ras.* *A²* (est ? *A¹*) || 12 ne exhibere *C* || 13 talia sint *M et, corr.* 1 ex t sunt, *F* || 14 quaereremus (quer. *M*) *B²FM* quaererimus *B¹* quaerimus (quer. *A*) *ACP* || 16 coleretur, t *in ras. ampl.* 2, *B* || 17 a *in ras.* *C²* || 18 pulsus, us *corr.* 2 ut *vid.*, *B* depulsus *FM* || 19 nullus a superios *C* superis *corr.* 1 ex superos *P* || impedere *A¹* impedere *B¹* impedere *B²CF* impedire *A²* || 20 inquirat *M²P²* || formam] formam et animam *A¹* || 21 uitam et actionem mentis atque agitationem *Z* || § 46, 22 partem...partem *A¹B¹P* || 24 qua *C* || § 47, 26 praestantissimam (prest. *M*) *AB²CMP* praestantis summam *B¹* || 28 compositio membrorum *CMP et, corr.* 1 vel 2 ex compositionembr., *B* compositione membr. *F* || 29 confirmatio *AMP* formatio *C* || potestatesse, at *del.* 1 ut *vid.*, *A* || 33 describere *BF* || § 48, 33 si *om.* *B¹* || 34 ea, e *in ras.* 2, *C* || 35 pulcherrima est] *B¹* pulch. sit *AB²CFMP* || 36 beatus autem sine uirtute nemo potest esse *P* || 37 in *om.* *ACP* || nis figura, *om.* homi, *A¹* add. *in mg.* *A²* || § 49, 1 inuentasint *B²F* || subtilitatis *B¹* || 2 intelligentiae uestrae *A* (intelligentia uestra *P*) || 4 nomodo *A¹* || uiderit] *C* uiderat *AMP* uideat *BF* || tractat *M²* || doceat *Z* || 5 sensu *corr.* 1 ex sensus *B* || cernantur, *post.* n *del.* 2 ut *vid.*, *B* || 6 illa *B¹* || 7 steremnia *Z*, *sed.* *B* *rad. corr.* ex steremnia || transitit ne ut *vid.* *A¹* || 8 cum (eum *P*) infinita *ZK*, *sed.* c *in ras.* 2 *A* || simillim. *ACMPK* || ex] et *C* || innuberal. *B¹* (*it.* 50, 16) || 9 adeos *AB²CFMP* adeos *B¹* || tum maximum*** (*is ?) *B¹* || 11 et beata sit *M* || § 50, 11 summo *B¹* || 12 magna et diligenti *B¹* magna diligentia *C* || 13 paribus *om.* *B¹* || 14 Hanc] hant *A* || isonomiam *Z* || tribulationem *B¹* || 15 effecitur *B¹* || 16 sunt *C et ut vid.* *B¹* || etiam *C et in ras.* *A³* (*A¹ obse.*) etiam *B¹P* tam *M* tum *B²FK* || 18 quaeque] quae *B¹* || ab his *ACMP* || degatur aetas, ur aetas *in ras.* 2, *B* || § 51, 19 beatus *B¹* || affluentibus *B¹* || 20 nihil enim—implicatus *om.* *B¹* nihil (nich. *C*)—impl. *B²CF* || 21 fore *om.* *C* || cum] tum *C²* || § 52, 24 pugno *B¹* || 25 circum] cum *B¹* || 26 siue] si uero *C om.* *M¹* || 27 gubernat *B¹M¹* || austrorum *B¹* || 29 tuetur *B¹* || nec ille *B¹FM* || est] est beatus *M²* || 30 operiosis *C* || § 53, 31 uocatione *A¹CL¹* || ponimus *A¹* || 33 facile *AP* || negetis *Z* || 34 innumerabiles *Z* || effligit *B¹* || 36 poaete cum *corr.* 1 ex p. tum *B* poetae *om.* *FM* || § 54, 1 desideratis *A¹* desideraretis *corr.* 1 ex. *dised.* *B* || 2 omnes *A* || 6 quae *in ras.* *A²* || interlecto

4. B^1F^1 || 7 inter] in P || aliae alias, ae a corr. 2, A (alie alias F^1) || s ea F^1 heae C^3 || 10 dies ac noctes BF || 12 putant tem A^1 || § 55, 12 hic A^1 || 13 extitit, titit in ras. 2, A || himarmanem AM^1P marmamem BF himarmamem C himarmaenem M^2 || quitquid A || 14 accidat] acc deest propter laes. perg. B || aeterna in ras. et ueritate spscr. A^2 || 15 dicatis. Qu in ras. A^2 || est] BF sit $ACMP$ || 16 et his $ABCFM$ || mantice Z || 17 latina BF || § 56, 20 metuimus] B^2FM metuemus B^1CP et, corr. ead. m. ex metuimus, A || 23 tantam, sed tam in ras. 2, C || incoatam A || 24 habendi C || § 57, 26 tum in ras. A^3 || atque $A^1(?)B^1CMP$ || 27 nihilquidem ex me quidem M^1 || 29 audire C || 30 natura C^1 || ducam, ucam et sequ. n in ras. 2, A dicam B^1 || 31 respondeam, eam in ras. 2, A || quaeras corr. 1 ex quaeres B (quaeras A^1C) || putem talem A || 32 adgraediar corr. 1 ex egraed. B^1 (adgred. B . aggr. C) || 33 disputa A^1 || sentiam corr. 1 ex sententiam B || § 58, 34 de] ACP de lucio crasso (gr. B^1) BFM || illo familiari BF familiari illo M || rogatis C || 35 et om. Z || tecum] tunc M^1 || 36 mirifici F^1 || didiligi B^1 || beniuol. Z || 1 difficilia A^1B^1P || delulicida A delucide B^1P || 2 cupiose B^1 || § 59, 3 zenomen B^1 || que F^1 || filio A^1B^1 filo A^2B^2CFMP || 4 esse A^1 esset, A^2 || 5 auctoro B^1 credo om. M^1 || 9 acciderat ACP || § 60, 11 nunc** (pr. n in ras. 2) A || 13 qui sit C^1 || 14 tyrannus C || 15 unum postulaero. Cum P || 16 putauit B^1 || 17 requaereret P || 18 res] spes ZK || 19 ceteroque $ABFP$ caeteroque C caeteroque M || 21 uerissim A^1 uerissimus B^1 || § 61, 22 mallo AB^1P || 23 medriori B^1 || prudenti B^1 || 25 sintne] sint nec B^1 || contentione P || 26 et in consensu Z || 27 sanctissima B^1 || 28 is] iis B^2F his C || 32 attingam B^1 (adting. ACM) || § 62, 34 a te] ante, n eras., A || 36 leue, u in ras. 3, A || 39 deorum sit] sit, om. deorum, B^1 sit deorum F || § 63, 39 atheos Z || 1 posteaque theodorus, sed que t in ras. 2, A postea quaetheod. B^1 postea quid (qui F^1) theod. B^2FM || nonne a parte AC non ea parte B^1 || 2 abderides quedem B^1 || sofiste P (sofistes AB^1) || 3 maximis B^1 || 4 diuvis, sed s eras., A || athensium C^1 || 5 adque B^1 om. M^1 || libri**que (s ?) C || contentione B^1 || 6 tardioris A^1B^1CP || 7 quidam A || s effurere A^1 || Quid] sed quid B^2FM || periuris quid A^1 || 9 Tub.] si tubulus A^3 tubolus M || 10 lupus ut carbo C || aut neptuni Z || 11 impurus, in spscr. 1 ?, B (imp. C) || fuisse] B fol. 10^b v. 10; § 64, 12 non est igitur *continuantur fol 171^b v. 19 (in lacuna libri de Fato post § 4) usque ad I 91, 5. Priore loco interponitur Divin. I 127 deus si quidem—150 nihil potest. Quae hic desunt, B² in margine supplere conatus postquam transposita esse intellexit, erasis quae adscripserat et signo apposito adnotauit: Quod hic sequitur, in libro thimei (sic) repperies assignatum.* || § 64, 14

emitam C || uestram A^1 || § 65, 16 deos esse M || doce] P doces $ABCFM$ || 16 qualis P || 17 desiderio P || 19 quae in ras. A^3 || enim est C || 20 obsid. omnis locus M (omn. opsid. 1. B^1) || § 66, 22 oracla $BCFP$ et fort. A^1 || ueri simile tamen similia $A^1B^1M^1$ ueri simili t. similia B^2FMP ueri simile t. similia C || 24 rutunda] P rutundia A rotundia B^1C^1 rotunda B^2C^2FM || 25 hamata] framata A et P , sed in hoc corr. firmata; foramata C curuata BFM || his] M iis $ABCFP$ || 27 uelei A^1 || perducti B^1 || priusque, que spscr. 1, B || 28 uitae, ae in ras. 3, A || deicerit A^1B^1 corr. A^3B^2 || 30 aut] ad C || § 67, 31 merear C || epicurus BFM || 1 quam tu] quantu C || 2 planer A^1 || otio] $A^2C^2F^2M$ ocio C^1 optio BF^1P (A^1 obs., sed non fuit optio) || languat B^1 languet B^2F^1 || 3 punctis] cunctis ACP || 4 in om. $BCFM$ || 5 nullo C^1 || 7 deorum enim enim A^1 deorum * enim B || § 68, s externi, x eras., C || 9 quod] quia Z || atomis id] A^2C atomi sit A^1B^1 atomis sit B^2FM atomis re, re in ras. 1, P || est] sit $ACFMP$ et B^2 in ras. || 10 nati om. C^1 || tu in ras. A^3 || 11 uestrum A^1 || 13 dumeeta AP dumenta F^1 || conreptis] $A^1(?)BCF$ conreptis A^2P corripitis M^1 correp. M^2 || § 69, 16 uellitis A^1P^1 || omnino, no in ras. 2, B || 17 ratiis C || id ipsum M || 18 imprudenter M^1 (impud. CM^2) || uelut] uel id P || cum] si M^1 || 19 ferentur B^1C^1 || 20 uestra M^1 || eorum M^1 || 22 deorum C || § 70, 23 dicere turpius] B^2C^2 diceretur plus $A^2B^1(?)F^1M$ diceretur pius P^1 d. prius P^2 || uul A^1 uul B^1 || 25 deiunctionibus AB^2FM^1P deuinct. B^1C disiunct. M^2 || in quibus om. A^1 || alterutrum F^2M || 26 esset uerum Z || 27 epicurus alterutrum, s in ras., alteru *superscr. et sequ. t corr.* 2, A || fieri Z || 29 putuit A^1 potest M || arecessilas A^2BF archesilas MP^2 || 30 nonnulla C || 32 null. e. uerum] nullum esset falsum nullum esset uerum C || omnes Z || dixit esset C || 33 nisi ualde $ABFMP$ nisi callide C || § 71, 35 consequantur M || 35 quod] F^2M quam $ABCF^1P$ || uos om. M^1 || 2 corpus aut quid sit quasi BFM om. ACP || uelei A^1 || § 72, 5 aluncinatus P (aluc. BC^1FM) || 6 habuisse magistrum M || ei] et Z || praecanti P (predic. M) || 7 facile quidem Z || crederem] A^2B^2FM credem A^1B^1 credemus C credam P || domo P || s olet BFM floret ACP || nihil ne (om. ex Lycio nihil) A^1 nihil (nich. C) ne ex leucio (leutio A^2F lecio B^1) nihil ne A^2BCFMP || 9 purilibus F || 11 pamphilum AM pamphilum BF pamphilum C || ait ei se C ait se FM || 13 neocle P || agrepeta A^1 || 14 aleret, aler corr. 2, B || § 73, 14 platoni B^1 || 16 democrite M^1 || 17 audisse P || 20 inanes $ABFMP$ incines C || infinitatem A^1 || § 74, 25 uellet ius AB^1 || Cotta non] quottan A^1 quotta non A^3 || 26 sanguis A (post. loco) || 28 consulta Z || 29 liqueat Z || § 75, 30 pugnare te] deficit P usque ad II. 16, 30.

(Continuabitur).

P. SCHWENKE.

MORRIS'S FIRST BOOK OF THUCYDIDES.

Thucydides Book I. Edited on the basis of Classen's Edition by CHARLES D. MORRIS, [late] Professor in the Johns Hopkins University. Ginn and Co. 1888. \$ 1.65.

It is almost superfluous to say that a thoroughly good school edition of Thucydides may be made out of Classen's great work. Every one who has had occasion to examine the brilliant scholar's edition knows that his positive errors are but few, and that the only demerit which extends throughout his notes is a tendency to excessive subtlety. From an adapter all that is required is that he should correct mistakes and add the results of recent research. These requirements were on the whole well met by Professor Morris, who, himself possessing those linguistic gifts which are the common birth-right of German and American scholars, made many valuable additions to the commentary. The critical notes are, according to the American system, placed in an appendix: but there is little chance that they will be read there by young students, and we hold that the right arrangement for an author whose text is full of corruption would be to place the text with critical foot-notes in one volume and the explanatory notes in another. This ideal will scarcely be attained in this country by the time that Greek disappears from the curriculum of schools; but in future centuries, when the second Revival of Learning takes place, and the truth of the Dutch views is recognized, we trust that it may be realized.

The references to other books of Thucydides are given here according to the lines of Classen's edition and not according to sections. This is irritating to the reader and is likely to render the references valueless to a schoolboy. And we are confident that the editors of this series will take in good part a suggestion that some parts of the commentary should receive reconsideration in a future edition of the work. For instance, in c. 5 § 2 ὡς οὔτε ὧν πυνθάνονται ἀπαξιούντων τὸ ἔργον, οἷς τ' ἐπιμελὲς εἶη εἰδέναι οὐκ ὀνειδιζόντων, Prof. Morris was probably misled by Classen's subtlety. 'The indic. πυνθάνονται implies that the question was as a matter of form always asked; the opt. εἶη that there might or might not be persons who would care to know.' Several passages are quoted to support this statement, but in all the indic. verb is in the imperf., not in the pres.

Here ὧν πυνθάνονται might have been ὧν πυνθάνοντο and εἶη is simply iterative, the meaning being 'any who cared to know' (see Kieser, *Thucydidea*, p. 13). An inferential force is in many cases ascribed to τέ where the existence of such a meaning is open to question. In c. 11 ῥαδίως ἂν μάχη κρατοῦντες εἶλον, οἳ γε οὐκ ἀθρόοι...ἀντίχον, πολιορκία δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι...εἶλον, Classen's explanation is rightly rejected. The note runs, 'The two clauses state the two natural stages of the expedition.' Most certainly they do. 'To answer πολιορκία δέ we might have expected ῥαδίως μὲν.' We should not have expected that at all; but we suspect that Thucydides wrote μάχη μὲν. The first εἶλον, the editor continues, 'may be explained with Herbst with ellipse of τοῦ Τρωῆας.' But (1) κρατοῦντες already gives the sense thus obtained from εἶλον and (2) whether Thucydides wrote μάχη or μάχη μὲν, it is clear that both μάχη and πολιορκία belong to the second εἶλον, and that only one verb can go with κρατοῦντες and προσκαθεζόμενοι. On this passage, see F. Stein, *De figurarum apud Thuc. usu*, p. 19. At c. 12 we read, over a distinguished name, that ἔσχον is the only second aor. which appears to be used ingressively. But we submit with deference that ἔγνω, ἡσθόμεν and ἐφάνην have a similar use; and in c. 69 γνόντες is rendered by Prof. Morris 'when they have come to the conclusion.' In c. 21 ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων τοιαῦτα ἂν τις νομίζων...οὐχ ἁμαρτάνοι, καὶ οὔτε...πιστεύων, οὔτε...ἡγησάμενος, where Classen's explanation required μήτε for οὔτε, we are told to take νομίζων as 'conditional, πιστεύων and ἡγησάμενος as causal. But this requires that καὶ should be cut out of the text, since καὶ joins πιστεύων to νομίζων. If καὶ is genuine, all three participles must be part of the apodosis, and the protasis is implied in ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων. In c. 29 ἐπλήρουν, which represents continued action, is rendered 'began to man.' We can mention but one passage more. In c. 69 μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἔχθρα τὸ πλεόν ἢ αἰτία νομίσει τάδε λέγεσθαι αἰτία μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἁμαρτανόντων, κατηγορία δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἀδικησάντων, Classen's note overlooks the fact that κατηγορία is not in place of an elucidation of ἔχθρα, but is quite properly an elucidation of the idea contained in τὸ ἐπ' ἔχθρα λέγεσθαι.

The notes on the text are full of interest, but contain none of the recent results with regard to Thucydides' employment of Ionic

words and constructions. We set down at random a few words which call for a note in this connection: τὰ πολέμια (for τὰ πολεμικά) c. 18, ἐξαπίνης (for ἐξαίφνης) c. 21, λογάδες (for ἐπιλεκτοί) c. 62, κατεβόων with gen. c. 67, ἐκάς (for πόρρω) c. 69, δικαιοῦν c. 140 (here Classen is wrong). There are several others.

In the list of critics who reject the Ullrichian hypothesis M. Jules Girard is omitted. We conclude our notice of this good school book by stating our conviction that in ii. 2 μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ μάχην μὴν ἔκτω must be

bracketed with Steup. It is rightly remarked that we cannot discover the date of the battle at Potidaea from i. 24—62: to get at the date we have to work back from ii. 2, and, as often, we find that the number, ἔκτω, is wrong. But these words in ii. 2 assume that the date of the battle is known. Also Thucydides would not have referred to the battle, which is outside the period within which he wishes to make his chronology exact, but to the resolution at Sparta to go to war.

E. C. MARCHANT.

ZACHER'S SCHOLIA OF ARISTOPHANES.

Die Handschriften und Classen der Aristophanesscholien—Mittheilungen und Untersuchungen von KONRAD ZACHER. Besonderer Abdruck aus dem sechszehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie (pp. 503—746). Leipzig. Teubner, 1888. 6 Mk.

THIS is a book of a very different type from the new edition of the Scholia of Sophocles which I lately reviewed in this *Review*. It is by a man whose work in different directions is known and appreciated as both painstaking and fruitful, and is itself a model of what such discussions ought to be.

The investigation is vitiated, as I believe I shall be able to show, by several serious omissions and misconceptions, but these do not prevent the book from serving the two chief purposes of all books—the conveying of knowledge accurately and lucidly and the stimulating of the minds of those who read them. In the first half of the book the various manuscripts of Aristophanes containing 'scholia' are described in the most thorough-going way. Great sagacity and common-sense are shown in grasping and explaining the indications which the several manuscript books supply of the relations between them and their originals. It is delightful and entertaining as well as instructive reading. We are carried back in imagination to the cloister in which the scribes performed their task; we learn in the clearest way their manner of working; we are made to see how in this case or in that they had only one manuscript to copy from, how such and such a scribe preferred to write 'scholia' and text simultaneously as he went along, and another liked better to write in the 'scholia' after the text was copied. Zacher can tell us also a great deal

about the manuscripts used to copy from, how the Venetus, for example, reproduces the codex from which it was copied not only in the number of the gatherings and the number of the lines of text contained in each gathering, but also in the number of lines to a page and in general appearance. He can prove that both the Venetus and the Ravennas were copied in the most mechanical way. Indeed every page is full of admirable inferences of this description. He has even been able to trace one more surprising history of a manuscript. If this is not so intensely interesting as the story of the Ravennas (it is given by Martin pp. 5 ff.), yet the identification of a Leiden codex of the *Lysistrata* with the missing portion of a Laurentian codex has still the same sort of fascination for every scholar.

Nor is this exact scrutiny of authorities confined to the best-known codices or to such as contain only pre-Tzetzesian notes. It is pursued also for manuscripts of a much later date and of less value and even for the editio princeps itself. The pages upon the editions of Tzetzes, Triclinius, and Thomas Magister are in a high degree instructive. Indeed of all this first part of the investigation a critic can have little to say but unqualified praise.

But Zacher at once enters upon more debatable ground when he comes to discuss the mutual relations of 'scholia'-carrying manuscripts and the bearing of such relations upon the question of manuscript 'scholia' tradition. I must own here to considerable disappointment. The sentence with which the book opens, perhaps I should say the first sentence of the preface, seems clearly to promise that the subsequent discussion will supply some clue to guide us through the labyrinth of 'scholia,' some

test to enable us to separate the ancient and valuable from the less ancient and gradually deteriorating notes, some manuscript help towards dissolving and crystallizing out into separate notes the crude mass of mechanically and purposely confused 'scholia' and comments of every sort. But it cannot be said that the result of the discussion fulfils the hopes thus raised. Up to a certain point Zacher sees the extent to which our knowledge of the 'scholia' of Aristophanes has suffered from the perverse way in which the corpus is now presented to us. 'Die ausbeutung der reichen und kostbaren schätze alter gelehrsamkeit, welche in den Aristophanesscholien aufgespeichert sind, wird bekanntlich sehr beeinträchtigt und erschwert durch den zustand in welchem uns diese scholien in den ausgaben vorliegen. Den grundstock haben von anfang an die scholien der Aldina gebildet, diese sind in den folgenden ausgaben mit ziemlich zufälligen oder willkürlichen zusätzen aus handschriften vermehrt worden, dann hat Dindorf die scholien der beiden ältesten handschriften, des Ravennas und Venetus, mit denen der Aldina zusammen verarbeitet und noch einiges aus anderen handschriften hinzusetzt, und Dübner endlich hat wider zahlreiches handschriftliches material hinzugefügt.' But he has not seen the most vital point of all, that this confusion was made worse confounded by Dindorf's arbitrary action is altering the sequence of the plays in the body of 'scholia' to suit his own pedantical preference for a so-called chronological order. In this as in so many other ways Dindorf's influence on Greek learning has been nothing short of calamitous. He has thus concealed a fact the significance of which for all work on the 'scholia' of Aristophanes is of the very first importance, namely, that the greater part of the 'scholia' as we now have them still form an ordered commentary on the extant plays. Under any circumstances there is bound to be some reason for the fact that the Ravennas, the Venetus, and the editio princeps all lead off with the plays in the order of *Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae*. But what censure can be too strong for Dindorf's blindness when it can be seen at a glance that for its length the *Plutus* has an overwhelming burden of notes; when further even a cursory examination of the corpus of 'scholia' makes it plain that when a difficult word, construction, or allusion occurs in the *Plutus*, and also in another play of the series, it is generally in the *Plutus* only that we find it commented upon? So deeply indeed does this principle pene-

trate into the 'scholia,' that it constantly happens that a note which is meaningless where it stands at once becomes an excellent comment when transferred to a passage in another play later in the series or even to a later line of the same play. But more than this, there is not wanting evidence in the 'scholia' themselves that from a very early period in the history of Aristophanic criticism an ordered commentary (or its equivalent, a system of critical marks in a certain seriation, explained by *ὑπομνήματα* of various kinds) did exist upon the text of Aristophanes even when that text embraced plays now lost.

Yet primary though this fact is, it has escaped Zacher's notice, and he has been content to base his attempt to get back a century or so in manuscript tradition upon a discussion of the evidence supplied by the 'scholia' upon fifty lines of the *Nubes* and upon a few passages of the *Ranae* and the *Pax*. This, it seems to me, furnishes far too slight and frail a foundation for the superstructure imposed upon it. His arguments and inferences are still, as in the earlier half of the book, both sagacious and ingenious but they are no longer convincing. And even if they did not admit of dispute, they would not carry us much further in the knowledge of the 'scholia.' What does it matter whether we get back or no with any certainty to an hypothetical 'ur-handschrift' of the tenth century or even of the ninth? For we can as a matter of fact get much further back than that. Even with such a manuscript actually before us, we could not solve more easily than we can now the more important questions at issue. We might perhaps be able to set down as certainly recent a few pre-Tzetzesian comments which we now feel to be recent, but we would not get any appreciable help toward reconstituting the great body of true ancient scholia concealed in the untranslatable sentences of the 'scholia' as we have them. The corruption of these had been almost completed centuries before the existence of any 'ur-handschrift' that we shall ever be able to theorize about with any regard to facts. Means there are by which the ancient scholia may in some measure be rehabilitated, and one of these Zacher would have furnished us with if he had edited—and no man could do the work better—each in a separate shape the 'scholia' of the Venetus,¹ and of the other manuscripts which he so ably describes. This

¹ Perfect collations of the Ravennas already exist both by Martin and Holzinger, but of the Venetus as far as I know only partial collations.

must be the first desideratum for all students of the scholia, and in meeting it he would put 'the brethren of the guild'—to use his

own phrase—under a still greater obligation than he has already done by means of this most able and instructive work.

W. GUNION RUTHERFORD.

STERNBACH'S ANTHOLOGY OF PLANUDES.

Anthologiae Planudeae Appendix Barberino-Vaticana Recensuit LEO STERNBACH. Leipzig, Teubner : 1890. Pp. xviii. + 149. 14 Mk.

This is a critical edition of fifty-two amatory epigrams from the Anthology of Cephalas, which, together with two others not in the Palatine MS., are found in two MSS. at Rome—one in the Barberini, the other in the Vatican Library. The former (called M by the editor) is a 14th century MS. of the Planudean Anthology which belonged to Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600). At the end of the MS. Orsini added in his own hand this appendix of fifty-four epigrams. The other MS. (called V) includes the same body of epigrams among other miscellaneous contents. It is of the sixteenth century, but in an unknown hand.

To the well-known sentence at the end of the table of contents prefixed by Planudes to the seventh or amatory section of his Anthology, τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα (ἄσμενα καὶ αἰσχροῖα) πολλὰ ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ ὄντα παρελιπόντων, Orsini added a note in his copy, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἐν παλαιῷ εἰσι παρ' Ἀγγέλου τοῦ Κολωτίου. The epigrams now under our consideration were no doubt transcribed from Colloti's MS., and must have been originally transcribed before Colloti's death in 1549. From a careful comparison of the texts of M and V which has been made by the editor, it appears that neither is a copy of the other, but both are copied from a single archetype, either Colloti's MS. itself or an earlier copy of extracts made from it. The inference was long ago drawn by Jacobs that Colloti's lost MS. was a copy of the Anthology of Cephalas. All the indications which can be drawn from the body of epigrams before us go to support this view, and also, as I think, to show that it was an independent copy of the autograph of Cephalas, and therefore of co-ordinate authority with the Palatine MS. It may even have been the copy made directly from that autograph by Michael Magister, Keeper of the Records, which we know from notes made by the corrector of the Palatine MS. (on *Anth. Pal.* vi. 269, vii.

432, and the epigram (= vii. 450) written at the bottom of p. 257 of the MS.) had differences both in order and contents from the Palatine MS. If this were so, the value of the lost MS. might be immense. From Orsini's words, if we rely on their literal meaning, it appears certain that it was not one of those which were destroyed in the dispersion of Colloti's library at the sack of Rome in 1529: but there is no proof or indication that it was among those bought by Orsini after his master's death, and thenceforward it has wholly disappeared. It is not beyond hope that it may still exist.

The collection before us consists of thirty-three epigrams from the fifth and sixteen from the twelfth section of the Palatine Anthology, and five other epigrams, two of them being *δημρόκεντρα* from the ninth, and one an epigram from the eleventh section. The remaining two are not taken from the Palatine Anthology as we possess it. One (Ep. xlv.), attributed to Numenius, is the same, with a significant verbal change, such as was often made by Christian copyists or editors (cf. e.g. *Anth. Pal.* xi. 19 in Pal. and Plan.), as an epigram of Meleager's, *Anth. Pal.* xii. 60. The other (Ep. vii.) is a cento chiefly from Quintus Smyrnaeus, of which there is no trace in the Palatine MS. Ep. xii. (*Anth. Pal.* v. 82) is accidentally omitted in V, which gives the heading of it only. Ep. xv. (*Anth. Pal.* v. 41) is in the Planudean Anthology, and is therefore rightly omitted in M. V also prefixes to the matter common to both MSS. seven epigrams on statues of Priapus (*App. Plan.* 236–9, 241–3) which are not in the Palatine MS. If these, like the rest, were transcribed from a copy of the Anthology of Cephalas, that copy must have included the lost section on works of art. I am not able to trace any principle of arrangement in the order of the epigrams as they stand.

The editor has done his work very thoroughly, having made a fresh personal collation of the Palatine MS. and of the Codex Marcianus of Planudes, besides consulting six other MSS. of Plan. and also MSS. in various libraries which contain

amatory collections and give independent authority for seven of the epigrams. The text of M and V is on the whole not so good as that of the Palatine MS. They seem to have been copied either carelessly or, which is perhaps more probable, from a MS. which was in parts imperfect or illegible; no less than twelve of the epigrams are incomplete, sometimes as much as six or seven lines being wanting. Three or four of the best known epigrams may be taken as specimens:

Ep. v. (*Anth. Pal.* xii. 2, *Μὴ ξῆται δέλτοιςιν ἐμαῖς Πριάμων*, under name of Strato): no author's name in M or V, but the epigram is run on to the end of the preceding one, *Anth. Pal.* xii. 1, which is headed *Στράτωνος*; l. 2, M and V read *μήτε* for *μηδέ*; l. 4, M and V read *οἱ πρότερον* for *οἱ πρότεροι* (*πρότεροι* had been written at first in V) in which they are probably right.

Ep. ix. (*Anth. Pal.* v. 172, *Ὅρθρε τί μοι δυσέραστε ταχὺς περὶ κόνιν ἐπέστης*, under name of Meleager). Headed *ἄδελον* in M and V, which do not differ from MS. Pal. in the text except in one or two accents. The editor has a long note on *ἐπ' Ἀλκμήνην* in l. 5, which he sufficiently defends against the *ἐπ' Ἀλκμήνην* first suggested apparently by Salmasius, approved though not printed by Jacobs, and adopted by Reiske and Dübner.

Ep. xvi. (*Anth. Pal.* v. 135, *Στρογγύλη εὐτόρνεντε*). This is an epigram of six lines: only the last couplet is given in M and V, and here they carelessly and unmetrically have *ῥαν* instead of *όπταν* in l. 5.

Ep. xxxiv. (*Anth. Pal.* xii. 59, *Ἀβρούς, ναὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα, τρέφει Τύρος· ἀλλὰ Μνίσκος*). Here M and V (as also in Ep. iii., *Anth. Pal.* xii. 65) read *Μενίσκος*. About a dozen epigrams by Meleager in the Musa Stratonis are on Myiscus, which the editor seems to regard as conclusive. But his repertory may have included a Myiscus and a Meniscus, just as it did a Timo and a Demo (*Anth. Pal.* v. 197). On *ναὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα* (in which M and V agree with MS. Pal.) the editor has a good note showing how the form *νή* has crept into Meleager's epigrams from the ordinary text of Planudes, even where not warranted by the reading of the Codex Marcianus.

But while M and V do not add much towards determining the text of the Anthology, the headings of the epigrams given in them are of great interest and importance, and appear to make it quite certain that they go back to a source independent of the Palatine MS. Six epigrams which are *ἀδέσποτα* in the Palatine MS. are assigned to

authors by one or both of our MSS., as follows:

Ep. xii. (*Anth. Pal.* v. 82, attributed to Meleager in Plan., omitted in V) is headed in M *Διονύσου*; the author meant being probably Dionysius Sophista, the author of the preceding epigram, v. 81, in *Anth. Pal.* From the evidence of style Plan. is right; and the heading in M appears to be simply a mistake, but one which shows that the archetype of M had here the same order of contents as the Palatine MS.

Ep. xviii. (*Anth. Pal.* v. 99, *Ἡθελον, ᾧ καθαρωδέ, παραστὰς ὡς καθαρίζεις*) is headed *Μελεάγρον* in M and V. This is metrically almost impossible (cf. the editor's note on Meleager's hexameter p. 2). The epigram appears to be imitated by Eratosthenes Scholasticus, *Anth. Pal.* v. 242, but looks like one of the later Roman period. It seems impossible to say whether the heading of M and V represents any authentic tradition.

Ep. xxxv. (*Anth. Pal.* xii. 79, *Ἀντίπατρος μ' ἐφίλησ' ἥδη λήγοντος ἔρωτος*) is headed *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* (i. e. Meleager) in M and V. This is plainly right; no one could have imitated Meleager's most characteristic style so well.

Ep. xlii. (*Anth. Pal.* v. 305, *Κοῦρη τίς με φίλησεν*; without any title in Plan.) is headed *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* (i. e. Agathias) in M and V. The editor argues with much probability that the lines, as also *Anth. Pal.* v. 77, ix. 498, are an extract from the *Daphniaca*.

Ep. xliv. (*Anth. Pal.* xii. 17) is headed *Ἀσκληπιδίου ἢ Ποσειδῖππου* in M and V. Jacobs had already remarked that this was an epigram of the best style, and compared Posidippus in *Anth. Pal.* v. 211. The heading no doubt is an authentic tradition. From the way in which epigrams by these two poets alternate or, as here, are referred uncertainly to one or the other, it might almost be concluded that Meleager used a joint edition of their poems for his Anthology.

Ep. xlix. (*Anth. Pal.* v. 50, *Καὶ πενή καὶ ἔρως δύο μοι κακὰ*) is headed *Πουφίνου* in M and V. If we accept this title, its importance is considerable towards determining the date of Rufinus, as to which we are still quite in the dark, though on the whole the common theory which places him under the reign of Justinian has most to recommend it. But this epigram is apparently translated by Claudian, *Carm. Min.* 16. The imitation of Rufinus' epigram, *Anth. Pal.* v. 88, by Ausonius, *Epigr.* 83, which the editor adduces in confirmation, is not at all certain.

Other headings of importance in M and V are those of Ep. viii., *Anth. Pal.* xii. 237, attributed to Numenius (Strato, in MS. Pal.;

cf. Ep. xlv. and notes); Ep. x., *Anth. Pal.* v. 31, to Cillactor (Antipater of Thessalonica, in MS. Pal.), an authorship which I think deserves more consideration than the editor gives it; Epp. xxxvi., xxi., xxxviii., *Anth. Pal.* v. 243, 244, 246, to Eratosthenes (the first under the name of Macedonius, the other two under the name of Paulus Silentiarius in MS. Pal.). The distinction in style or versification among all the poets of this group is almost intangible.

The editor has taken occasion to incorporate by way of digression several fuller discussions of points suggested in the course of his annotation. On Ep. i. he gives a

metrical analysis of the hexameter as used by Meleager, from which he concludes that *Anth. Pal.* xi. 223 is wrongly attributed to him, and assigns it to Antipater of Thessalonica. On Ep. xv. he discusses the spelling of γίγνομαι and γινώσκω with and without the second γ at different periods. On Epp. xxi., xxii., and xxiv. is a discussion of the metrical rules of Paulus Silentiarius and Agathias as founded on those of Nonnus, which is more fully developed in a long appendix at the end. He has also done his readers the kindness to supply his book with an excellent index.

J. W. MACKAIL.

BENOIST AND THOMAS'S EDITION OF CATULLUS.

Les Poésies de Catulle. Texte revu d'après les travaux les plus récents de la Philologie, avec un Commentaire critique et explicatif, par E. BENOIST et ÉMILE THOMAS. Tome II. Paris, 1890.

ON the death of the lamented E. Benoist, it was determined to entrust the completion of his critical and exegetical commentary on Catullus to M. Émile Thomas, Professor at Lille, a scholar already favourably known by his editions of two sections of the *Verrine Orations*. The choice was most judicious: the main outlines of Benoist's work are retained unaltered, yet with sufficient distinctness in the style and details to please the reader by variety.

The second volume contains lxiv.—cxvi., the most difficult but also the less interesting half of Catullus' poems. Three of these indeed, lxvi.—lxviii., are so full of obscurity that it can have been no small labour to the editor merely to absorb and condense the large quantity of discussion upon them which has accumulated during the last thirty years, and which, to judge by recent publications, is steadily on the increase still. As might be expected therefore, and as M. Thomas explicitly states in his preface, the character of this volume is distinctly eclectic. His aim is rather to weigh the diverse opinions which the poems have elicited than to speak as a critic who has made a life-long or at least a prolonged study of them. It is therefore only occasionally that the 'effort personnel' can be said to make itself perceptible.

For one point M. Thomas's volume claims

special attention, though it is far indeed from being, as he too modestly calls it, his *sole* claim to originality. He has made a completely new collation of the Germanensis. Indeed many pages of the critical notes were written with the MS. before him. The reader therefore may accept this as the most exact probably of all the collations of *G* yet published. I could wish that the Bodleian MS., Canonici Latin. 30, had been equally available; but M. Thomas was perhaps deterred from seeking permission to examine it by the unhappy discussions which have lately ended in confining all books to the Bodleian and making the loan of MSS. abroad a matter of difficulty.

Benoist followed Bährens in taking these two MSS. as his sole guides for settling the text. M. Thomas has of course followed him, as consistency obliged him: but he has so far deviated from his predecessor as to introduce occasionally the readings of a paper MS. at Venice (*M*), of which Schulze has recently given a full account in *Hermes*. Nor must it be imagined that the new editor is in any way a tame or submissive follower of Bährens. It is quite clear from the tone of the remarks on the MSS. in the *Epilogomena* (pp. 821-829) that neither the arbitrariness of the sign *V* to express a problematically restored archetype, nor the palpable falsity of Bährens's view that *G* is the source of all the later MSS., escapes his sagacity. On the other hand he does not admit the importance of the *Datanus*, in this point agreeing with Munro and Bährens, and controverting the belief of Lachmann, Fröhner, Pleitner, and myself.

It is not without satisfaction that I find M. Thomas has arrived, by calculations based on the omitted and transposed verses of our MSS., at an archetype in which each page contained 32 lines. It may be worth while to mention that very different results have been obtained by others. Lachmann fixed the number at 30, Pleitner at 46, recently F. Hermes at 17, R. Fisch at 21. There was no part of the question of Catullus' MSS. which occupied me longer than this; and M. Thomas's conclusion, which was formed quite independently, is a most important confirmation of the general probability of my own.

It is to be regretted that the literary aspects of Catullus's poetry already discussed by Benoist, as well as by Rostand (whose French version, with the Latin text facing, constitutes Tome I. of the entire work), hardly come within the scope of this latter section of the commentary. I signalize however one most interesting remark (p. 739): 'Dans notre littérature j'en rapprocherais volontiers maint chapitre de notre Rabelais (par exemple iii. 9, 26 et 28; iv. 53, &c.). On sait que Rabelais cite plus d'une fois (iii. 35 à la fin; iv. 45 et 46 fin, 52; dans l'épître du Limosin, &c.) Catulle, et tout en tenant compte de la différence de leur génie et des sujets qu'ils ont traités, ne relèverait-on pas facilement entre le poète et le prosateur bien des traits communs; entre l'extrême liberté de langage, le même amour de l'allitération, l'emploi heureux des proverbes et des expressions populaires, et surtout, aux meilleurs endroits, la même saveur de style?'

In a commentary so varied as this it is not easy to specialize single notes. I have however marked as particularly instructive the note (p. 602) on the interchange so frequent in Catullus of *ego nos meus noster* &c.; on the position of *nam namque sed at atque cum et* &c. as second word in a sentence, and the reference to Butler's American *étude* (p. 631); on *auscultare* (p. 638) and the illustration of *xvi. 5, 6 non tanto dolorist quantum gaudet* from *Luc. i. 259 quantum rura silent Tanta quies*.

In some cases the conflicting theories of different critics have left our editor undetermined after all. Thus, after mentioning three views of the famous difficulty *lxvi. 52-54 cum se Memnonis Aethiopsis Unigena... Obtulit Arsinoes Locridos ales equos*, he sums up with the words: 'N'est-ce pas avouer implicitement que l'énigme reste pour nous insoluble?' And the long critical note on *lxvi. 77, 78, Qui cum ego dum uirgo* &c.

seems equally irresolute. But will *any* one ever solve these verses?

On the following points I fail to grasp the reason which has determined the editor's decision. *lxiv. 81*, why is *angusta* proleptic? Surely it is *because* Athens was a small city that the loss of its youths and maidens year by year was so distressing. *lxiv. 376, iamdudum* is constructed with *cupido* on grounds of *symmetry*. But, so far as this ought to count as a ground at all, the arrangement of the previous line *Accipiat coniunx felici foedere diuam* points to constructing *iamdudum* with *nupta*, which is impossible. It is true that the verbs in each line *Accipiat... dedatur* become more symmetrical if each stands alone; but there is a rhythmical awkwardness in thus associating *cupido iamdudum*, which seems to counterbalance this gain. *xcix. 5, uestrae saevitiae*, it is suggested, may mean you and all who sided with you on the occasion: this explanation implies that the act, which was so severely punished, was either committed in the presence of others or immediately complained of: the poem, as a whole, gives no trace of this. I am also surprised to find M. Thomas agreeing here with Bährens in considering *xcix. the last or one of the last of the Juventian series*. The whole tone of the poem, *dum ludis* in *v. 1*, and the childish simplicity of the last verse, *Numquam iam posthac basia surripiam*, point to an early period. Again I cannot see why *scriptorum* should be considered neuter in *lxviii. 33*, masculine in *7*. Certainly *copia* might as well apply to authors as to books or single poems.

Look again at the fact, so remarkable in *lxviii*, that five whole verses occur twice—how is this treated by our editor? This is his conclusion: 'Si dans tous les temps les poètes n'ont pas craint de faire des emprunts à leurs œuvres antérieures, on n'en a jamais vu se répéter, littéralement et sans but, dans une seule et même œuvre. La répétition est incontestable; c'est donc l'unité de l'œuvre qui ici n'existe pas.'

I am not disposed to admit, without far more examination, that a poet never repeats himself word for word in several lines in the course of the same poem. Why should he not? He may have a particular purpose in doing so: for instance, he may wish to recall some special phase of emotion, and to recall it exactly as it moved him before. Catullus at the time he began his *Elegiac Epistle* was completely possessed by the single thought of his brother's death. He throws his *Epistle* aside for a time and resumes it later. But he is still haunted by

the same grief and cannot but work it up again into the subsequent tissue of his poem. I can see nothing improbable in this ; it does not prove poverty of invention, because from its very peculiarity it must be rare ; all we can say against it is that, as an artifice, it is not (at least in the case before us) a very happy one. It marks in my judgment, *the very reverse* of M. Thomas's conclusion. The recurrence of the five lines is *intentional*. It is *meant* to be a link which connects the two parts of one whole ; yet at the same time in such a manner as to suggest that the two parts were not contemporaneous. It is far from impossible that Catullus has directly

imitated some Alexandrian model now lost in this much-discussed repetition.

The above view is expressed more clearly in the new edition of my Commentary. I had hoped to make my point of view on this vexed question more conclusive to Catullian critics generally, and to M. Thomas in particular.

I must not conclude without expressing my deep-felt gratitude for the more than eulogistic manner in which my Catullus has been treated by both editors of a work crowned by the Académie Française.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

VON PONOR'S *FESTUS*.

Sexti Pompei Festi De Verborum Significatu Quae Supersunt, Cum Pauli Epitome.
Edidit AEMILIUS THEWREWK DE PONOR.
Pars I. Buda-Pesth, 1889. 7 Mk. 50.

THIS volume is the first instalment of an edition of *Festus* and *Paulus*, on which its author has been working for some years. It contains the bare text, with no *apparatus criticus*, and nothing in the preface to guide the reader as to the character and mutual relations of the manuscripts of Paulus newly collated, or collated for the first time.

For this information the reader must go to an essay by the editor entitled *Festus Studien*, published in the second number of the *Ungarische Revue* for 1882, and a paper in the *Mélanges Graux* (Paris, 1884), p. 659-669, containing an account of the French manuscripts of Paulus. The present writer carefully studied the first of these papers at the time of its appearance.

The editor bases his text of Paulus on eight manuscripts, one at least of which (Vienna 142) was never collated before. The other seven have been thoroughly examined, either by the editor himself or by his friends. They are (1) Munich Clm 14734 : (2) Wolfenbüttel 10 3 : (3) Troyes 2291 : (4) Leyden L, or Vossianus 116 : (5) Leyden T, or Vossianus 37 : (6) Leyden R, or Vossianus 135 : (7) Escorial o III. 31.

For the text of the fragments of *Festus* the Farnese MS. has been collated anew by Abel, who has found attached to Vat. Lat. 3369 the signature of Fulvius Ursinus. Abel has also collated the Vatican MSS. 1549 and 2731 : Vossianus G has been collated by

the editor himself ; and a hitherto unknown copy of the Farnesianus, in the National Library at Paris, has been put into his hands by M. Omont.

All the manuscripts of Paulus are, in Von Ponor's opinion, derived from the same copy of Paulus's original book. The good manuscripts he divides into two classes, no one of the representatives of which was copied from any of the others. The principles upon which he has acted in using them, and the relations of the Paulus manuscripts to the Farnese Festus, are clearly expounded in his *Festus Studien*, pp. 10 and 11. His views will justify themselves to any careful student of the text before us.

As might be expected, Von Ponor's text shows a considerable advance upon Müller's of 1839. Interpolations have been expunged : the relative position of a number of glosses has been rectified ; many readings rejected by Müller have been restored ; the orthography has in many instances been corrected ; new readings have been introduced from the MSS. A large number of the emendations of Bugge and Mercklin, published at the end of Simmel's reprint of Müller (1880), have been adopted, and other modern work has been laid under contribution.

The following instances of new readings and improved spellings will give a fair idea of the character of the new text. P. 10, 1 (Müller), *accerris* for *acieris* ; compare *Glossae Latino-Graecae* p. 13, 9, Goetz, *acceres* ἀξίην ἱεροφάντρον ; 10, 6, *agonos* (= montes) for *agones* ; 12, 1, *ammenta* for *amenta* ; 14, 7, *avillus* for *avillas* ; 16, 5, *tuto manent* for *tuta* ; 17, 3, *Teotonos* for *Teutonos* ; 17, 8,

Amptermi for *Amtermi*; 23, 19, *Iulum* for *Iulium*; 29, 13, *unde ne quis suspicetur* for *unde quis non suspicetur*; 32, 10, *bulim* for *bulimam*; 34, 2, *blatterare* for *blaterare*; 35, 4, *Bruttaces* for *Bruttates*; 40, 8, *comptum*, *genus libaminis*, for *conilum*; 40, 9, *et excultu* for *et cultu*; 40, 10, *conflunt* for *confligit*; 42, 1, *convoli* for *contuoli*; 42, 6, *valles*, *vallecula* for *vallis*, *vallacula*; 46, 11, *caudeae* for *caudecae* (as Scaliger had conjectured); 46, 16, *clacendix* for *calcendix*; 48, 8, *caperratum* for *capertum*; 50, 1, *cura dicta quasi coreda*, for *quasi cor edat*; 50, 9, *culcitula* for *culticula*; 50, 10, *cumulter* (= *cum altero*) for *cumalter*; 55, 9, *cluras* (= *simias*) for *clunas*; 56, 16, and 64, 17, *commoetaculum* for *commetaculum*; 63, 5, *cingillum* for *cingulum*; 69, 15, *discidere* (*dis*, *caedere*) for *discedere*; 79, 7, *incudis* (nominative) for *incus*; 81, 12 and 131, 13, *Equirria* for *equiviria*; 82, 7, *exim* for *exin*; 88, 4, *favisae* for *favissae*, confirmed by the MSS. of Nonius and Gellius; 92, 21, *fulgere ferire* for *fulcere*; 95, 7, *gizeria* for *gigeria*, with some support from the MSS. of Nonius p. 119; 100, 6, *hariuga* for *harviga*; 103, 8, *heluella* for *helvella*; 105, 11, *iacere pultis* for *pullis*; 111, 5, *circumitu* for *circuitu*; 117, 6, *laetrum*, *laetrorsum* for *laevum*, *laevorsum*; 123, 22, *Sisinna* for *Sisenna*; 124, 6, *a mercedem solvendo* for *a mercede solvenda*; 134, 19, *Maeson*, *Maesone*, for *Moeson*; 143, 10, *millando*, not *mullando*; 149, 32, *equis cretus*, for *ortus*; 162 b 14, *coniugationem* for *coniunctionem* (a conjunction); 167, 7, *iugulandis* for *iuglandis*; 175, 2, *noctiugam* for *noctilugam*; 177, a 6, *subiecta mensae* for *subvecta*; 207, 7, *pitora* for *petora*; 225, 12, *procastria* for *procestria*; 233, a 15, and elsewhere, *quodannis* for *quot annis*, as so often in the MSS. of Vergil; 238 b 1, *planitia* for *planitie*; 244, 12, *pavire* and *terripavium*, for *puvire* and *terripuvium*; 246, b 31, *descriptione* *centuriarum* for *descriptione*; 253 a 21, *posculenta* for *poculenta*; see my *Contributions to Latin Lexicography* p. 553. 258, b 4 and 259, 3 and 6, *quandoc* for *quando*; 263, 1, *runa proeliata* for *pilata*; 367, 7, *aut permaceret paries* for *permaceret*, confirming Vahlen's conjecture. Many other improvements of the kind might be mentioned, did space permit.

It should be mentioned that the book is disfigured by more misprints than might have been expected. P. 6, 15, *anncs* for *annus*; 12, 14, *irfirmare* for *infirmare*; 15, 8 (in the added gloss on *adversus*), *ergo* for *erga*; 20, 4, *ad eadem causa* for *ab...*; 28, 16, *fierit* for

fieri; 30, 6, *apellatur* for *appellatur*; 32, 9, *βυκάκην* for *βυκάνην*; 41, 9, *ligui* for *ligni*; 44, 11, *paecuti* for *praecuti*; 67, 11, *dumus* for *domus*; 69, 5, *institutae* for *institutae*; 78, 12, *iu* for *in*; 79, 11, *exhiberunt* for *exhibuerunt*; 99, 20, *aedem* for *eadem*; 114, 16, *proptee* for *propter*; 132, 3, *mensuetum* for *mansuetum*; 133, 22, *agende...verbe* for *agendo...verbo*; 142, 18, *clam pater* for *patre*; 151, 1, *decreta* for *decreto*; 156, 7, *craei-monias* for *caerimonias*; 259, 7, *ignificat* for *significat*.

I conclude by offering, for what they are worth, a few emendations. P. 2, 14, *aqua dicitur a qua iuvamur*. This is too senseless even for Paulus. Perhaps the word *Diuturna* (= *Iuturna*) has dropped out before *dicitur* (*diutur-*); *aqua Diuturna dicitur* etc. Or *dicitur* a may be a corruption for *Diuturna*: *aqua Diuturna, a qua iuvamur*. See Servius on *Aen.* 12, 139, where the etymology of *Diuturna* or *Iuturna* from *iuvo* is given. 11, 15, *Affatim dicitur a copia fatendi*. Perhaps *a copia fandi*: Priscian 15, p. 75, *Keil, a fatu affatim*. 21, 13, *Adulare ab accedendo et alluendo*. Perhaps *ululando*: Lucretius 5 1070 (*canes*) *longe alio gannitu vocis adulant*. 34, 2, 3, *blatterare* and *blateae* are surely two glosses, not one. 35, 6, *ex tentoriis et ex pellibus*. Possibly *et ex pellibus* is a gloss, and *tentoriis* from a substantive *tentoriae*, i.e. *tentoriae pelles*. 73, 12, *dilaniare est discindere* etc. *Discidere* and *discidit* are clearly indicated by the MSS. readings (as given by Müller) *decedere, discedit*; compare 117, 18, where we have *discidendo*. 73, 12, *Genium appellabant deum qui vim obtineret rerum omnium gerendarum*. I have always thought that the right reading is *genendarum*; Censorinus 3, 1, *hic (genius) sive quod ut genamur curat,.....certe a genendo genius appellatur*. 162, b 10, *Necessarii sunt...qui aut cognati aut aut adfines*, etc. Perhaps *aut agnati aut adfines*. 186, 30, *Hostiae opimae praecipue pingues*. Perhaps *praecipuae, pingues*; *praecipuus* being used in its proper sense of 'first chosen, select': *Aen.* 5, 249, *ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores*. 270, b 15, *redibitur tum id proprie dicitur quod redditum est improbatumque*. The true reading may be *redhibitorium id proprie dicitur* etc.

All students of Latin will gratefully recognize the value of this book, which will be immensely enhanced when the second volume, with a complete *apparatus criticus*, and explanatory preface, makes its appearance.

H. NETTLESHIP.

THE VIENNA CORPUS SCRIPTORUM ECCLESIASTICORUM LATINORUM.

IV.

S. Augustini Opera, Sect. III. Pars i. (*Speculum*), ed. Wehrich. Vienna, 1887. 15 Mk.

Priscilliani quae supersunt, ed. Schepss, Vienna, 1889. 8 Mk. 50.

AN apology is due to the readers of the *Classical Review* for the long but unavoidable delay in the continuation of the notices of this series. It is seldom that such delays are quite without their compensations; and I hope to be able to show that there is a real gain in taking the two books which head this article together, as they throw unexpected light on each other.

The volume first named contains two works both of which appear in the MSS. as *S. Augustini Speculum*. Both are collections of Biblical extracts, put together for purposes of edification. But there is this difference between them: the first takes the Books of the Bible in order and selects from them sayings adapted generally for 'example of life and instruction of manners': in the second the extracts are arranged under heads each of which runs through the whole Bible.

The first, there is good reason to think, is at least so far as its framework is concerned the genuine work of St. Augustine. Possidius in his *Life* speaks of such a work as unfinished at the time of St. Augustine's death; the preface is quoted by Eugippius early in the sixth century; and there are many points of contact between the occasional summaries and comments and the extant writings of St. Augustine. There is, however, equally good reason to think that the extracts have not come down to us in the form in which they left the hand of St. Augustine. They present with very few exceptions a Vulgate text; but even if it were possible, as perhaps it is, that St. Augustine might have made use of such a text at the end of his life, there is clear evidence that he did not do so. In several places the summaries and comments spoken of above distinctly imply an Old-Latin text: for instance in the reference to Acts xv. 20, 29, xxi. 25, there is express mention of three things from which the Gentiles are to abstain, where the Vulgate, correcting the Old Latin, adds a fourth. We are shut up then to one of two conclusions: either a Vulgate text was substituted for that which St. Augustine left behind him, or else we must suppose that St. Augustine did not himself

write out, or have written out, the extracts in full, but only indicated the beginning and end, just as in the two MSS. which contain the Theodulfian recension of the second *Speculum* the entries are often abbreviated (*Honora dominum de tua substantia usque et uino torcularia redundabunt*), and that the passages were later filled in from the Vulgate. In any case the change must have been made before the work got into general circulation, as all the extant MSS. (two of the ninth century and two perhaps of the tenth) follow the Vulgate. We are reminded of the way in which the famous *Cod. Fulden-sis*, written for Victor of Capua just before the year 546, though based in the Gospels upon Tatian's Diatessaron already makes use of Jerome's version.

The other *Speculum* is published by Wehrich with the alternative title *De Divinis Scripturis*. This however rests upon the authority of a single MS. which we shall see presently is by no means above question. The other tradition gives to it too simply the title *S. Augustini Speculum*. Accordingly its genuineness was affirmed rather than established by the two Cardinals, Wiseman who referred to it in support of the *comma Johanneum* (1 St. John v. 7) and Mai by whom it was published. But there can be little doubt that they were mistaken in this contention. St. Augustine made use of a different Biblical text; he rejected the Epistle to the Laodiceans which the *Speculum* quotes as St. Paul's; and he lays stress upon our present order of the Gospels, while the *Speculum* has them in the usual Western order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. Wehrich has satisfactorily proved his case on these heads in an article in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, Band ciii. Heft 1.

Speaking generally, his edition of the two documents is a careful one and such as we are accustomed to in the *Corp. Script. Eccles. Lat.* It is not however immaculate. Occasionally one desiderates a fuller statement of the evidence: e.g. on p. 140. 13 it is not clear on what grounds Wehrich reads *conuertetur*, which only has approximations in two MSS. and is easily explained by confusion of sound and association of ideas. Why not *conteretur delictum* with *P*, corresponding to the Greek συντριβήσεται ἀμαρτία? Sometimes the MSS. are deserted unnecessarily. There can be no doubt that the true reading on p. 141. 5 (also p. 477. 6) is not

horripilationem, but *obripilationem*, on which see Thielmann in Wölflin's *Archiv* ii. 71. The same writer is also certainly right in correcting *acriter* to *achariter* on p. 133. 16 (*Archiv* iv. 600). These are only details, though details of some importance; but in the second *Speculum* I suspect that the editor has deferred too much to the lead of a single MS. His text is based primarily on *Cod. Sessorianus* (*S*), which is a little the oldest of the complete MSS. though not so old as the splendid but fragmentary *Cod. Floriacensis* (*F*) of which a facsimile is given by the Palaeographical Society, ser. ii. pl. 34. The Sessorian MS., so called from the library of Sta. Croce in Jerusalemme (Bibliotheca Sessoriana) at Rome, in which it is preserved, has been fully described by Reifferscheid (*Bibl. Ital.* i. 129): it contains besides the *Testimonia* of Cyprian, which is quoted as *A* in Hartel's edition. It seems to have exercised the same kind of fascination over both the editors who have dealt with it, though with less disastrous results in the case of the later of the two. It is now generally agreed that Hartel was wrong in trusting to it for the text of the *Testimonia*. In the second *Speculum* Weihrich has followed it almost as implicitly. Here however there is more to be said for it. There are in fact two divergent families of which sometimes one and sometimes the other is in the right. I should quite agree for instance with Weihrich in reading *commutauerunt* on p. 445 l. 8, *geniturae* on p. 525 l. 9, *facti* on p. 627 l. 9; but I think that he would have done well to omit *hic* on p. 305 l. 6, and to write *se esse* on p. 567 l. 6 (comp. p. 445 l. 3). The most conspicuous instance in which he seems to have gone wrong is in the quotation of Luke i. 35 on p. 322 l. 5. Here he reads (after *S*): *propter quod et qui ex te nascetur (nascitur S) sanctus uocabitur filius dei* for which the other family (*MVLC*) has *ideo et quod nascetur ex te sem uocabitur filius dei* (comp. also p. 308 l. 8). Probably Weihrich was determined by the fact that this latter text is substantially that of the Vulgate: it is however older than St Jerome, as it is found in Priscillian (p. 36 l. 22), and the importance of the corroboration thus supplied will be apparent presently. At the same time it is only fair to remember that Weihrich had not the text of Priscillian before him, and that even if he had had access to it he would have had no special reason for referring to it on this passage.

Weihrich has noted quite rightly that the first *Speculum* presents many points of con-

tact with *Cod. Amiatinus*; but he shows good critical caution in not laying too much stress upon this (p. xxi.). The fact is that the coincidences with this MS. are only so marked as they are because both represent an early and sound tradition. There are not a few places both in the Old and the New Testaments in which the *Speculum* agrees with other leading MSS. against *Cod. Amiatinus*. It would be too much to say that both belonged to the same family of Vulgate texts.

In turning to Priscillian we come to a publication of very considerable importance. The eleven treatises now edited by Dr. Schepss rank along with the *Didache* among the greatest discoveries of recent years. Dr. Schepss himself has the credit of it. He was the first to identify a volume of anonymous 'Homilies' in the University Library at Würzburg as the work of Priscillian: he gave a preliminary account of their contents in a lecture delivered in 1886 (*Priscillian, ein neu aufgefunden Lat. Schriftsteller des 4 Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg, 1886): and he has now published the text along with the so-called 'Canons' of Priscillian and Orosius' *Commonitorium de Errore Priscillianistarum et Origenistarum*.

The work has been excellently done. The MS., which is probably of the sixth century has been scrupulously reproduced. And all the help that could be given short of a commentary, by a full palaeographical introduction and by elaborate indices, has been given. By this publication important light is thrown on the life and character of Priscillian himself, on his teaching, on his Latinity (on this aspect of his subject Dr. Schepss wrote in Wölflin's *Archiv* iii. 309 ff.), and last but not least on the Biblical text of which he made use.

It was already known that the unfortunate man had been put to death with several of his followers by the usurper Maximus at Trier in the year 385, as the first Christians who suffered for heresy. This was brought about mainly by intrigue, and many, including Martin of Tours, protested against their fate. The scandalous charges brought against Priscillian by Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.* ii. 48, 50) are probably false; and though it would seem that he was to some extent tainted with gnosticism his error was not intentional or very deeply seated.

In regard to the events which led to the execution there are considerable discrepancies between Sulpicius Severus and Priscillian's own treatises. The first of these is a defence

of himself at the earliest stages of the controversy; the second is a *libellus* handed in to Pope Damasus when he went to Rome with that object, appealing at the same time to St. Ambrose at Milan; the third is a reply to a charge of using apocryphal books; the remaining treatises are not controversial but homiletical. The second is most important in its historical bearings; and when allowance is made for the fact that it proceeds from the accused person himself it enables us to correct Sulpicius Severus in several respects. On this historical side reference may be made to the lecture by Schepss mentioned above, to Möller's *Kirchengeschichte* i. 463 ff., and to an elaborate review by Loofs in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1890, col. 7 ff.

The Canons of Priscillian are based upon a system of division into numbered sections applied to the Epistles of St. Paul in a manner similar to the Ammonian or Eusebian sections in the Gospels. Having thus mapped out the whole of St. Paul's Epistles, Priscillian proceeded to draw up a series of ninety heads, doctrinal and practical, and under each he ranged the numbers of the sections by which it was illustrated. Schepss has given (in the index) a list of the numbered sections from a copy of the famous *Cod. Cavensis* of the Vulgate; and he has also printed the Canons, with the numbers of the illustrative sections attached to them, from a group of Vulgate MSS. mainly Spanish. A preliminary note which goes with these shows that the Canons had undergone a certain amount of orthodox

revision from a bishop who calls himself 'Peregrinus.' Schepss, following Arevalo, seems to think that this may be a pseudonym. He points out that Vincentius Lerinensis wrote under the name 'Peregrinus,' and he seems to think that Bacchiarius, author of a work *De Fide* which presents affinities to Priscillian, might also be considered. The editing of this section shows the same scrupulous care as the rest.

The *Commonitorium* of Orosius, a short tract addressed to St. Augustine, is printed from two MSS. compared with the Benedictine edition.

It only remains to explain the relation between Priscillian and the *Speculum*. It is, I believe, an important fact, and one which as far as I am aware has not yet been noticed, that there is a close relation between them, and that in fact the second *Speculum*, wrongly attributed to St. Augustine, was put together somewhere in the circle in which Priscillian moved and from a copy of the Bible which if not exactly his was yet closely related to it. I was first made aware of this by observing the marked resemblance of the two texts in a quotation from the Epistle of St. James. This will appear distinctly if the four extant texts are set side by side. Advantage may also be taken of this opportunity to show how the MSS. of the *Speculum* divide, the right reading being sometimes on the side of *MV* and sometimes on the side of *S*. Coincidences between Prisc and Spec. against Vulg. and ff are marked by italics, those between Vulg. and ff against Prisc. and Spec. by small capitals.

ST. JAMES, V. 1—3.

PRISCILLIAN.	SPECULUM.	VULGATE. (Cod. Amiatinus)	CORBIE MS. (ff)
Age nunc, diuites, <i>plangite</i> ululantes <i>super</i> miseras vestras quae <i>superueniunt</i> diuitiis vestris: putruerunt et tini- -auerunt uestes vestrae: aurum [uestrum] et argentum uestrum, <i>quod reposu-</i> <i>-istis in nouissimis diebus</i> eruginabit et erugo eorum in testimonium vobis erit et <i>comedet</i> carnes vestras sicut ignis.	Age nunc, diuites, <i>plangite</i> [uos] ululantes <i>super</i> miseras vestras, quae <i>superueniunt</i> diuitiis vestris: putruerunt et tini- -auerunt uestes vestrae: aurum et argentum uestrum, <i>quod reposu-</i> <i>-istis in nouissimis diebus</i> eruginauit et erugo eorum in testimonium vobis erit et <i>comedet</i> carnes vestras sicut ignis. age <i>MV</i> : agite <i>SVLC</i> . ululantes <i>om. MYLC</i> . putruerunt <i>MV</i> . uestimenta uestra (<i>om. uestra</i> <i>C</i>) <i>MYLC</i> . eruginavit (-bit <i>L</i>) et erugo <i>SMYLC</i> (acr- bis Wehrich). comedit <i>S</i> .	Agite nunc, diuites, FLORATE ululantes IN miseris quae ADuenient vobis: diuitiae vestrae putraefactae sunt et uestimenta uestra a tineis comesta sunt: aurum et argentum uestrum eruginauit, et erugo eorum in testimonium vobis erit: et MANDUCABIT carnes vestras sicut ignis.	Iam nunc locupletes FLORATE ululantes in miseris uestris ADuenientibus: diuitiae vestrae putri- -erunt res vestrae tiniauerunt: aurum uestrum et argentum eruginauit et erugo ipsorum erit vobis in testi- -monium et MANDUCABIT carnes vestras tanquam ignis.

It would be too much to say that this degree of resemblance is kept up all through the Bible; still there is a very preponderating

resemblance, so far as I have observed, throughout the Old Testament as well as in the New. When once this is brought home

to us a number of other phenomena occur to the mind, confirming the conclusion that there is some intimate local connexion between the two texts. We remember that whereas hitherto the *Speculum* had been the oldest authority for the *comma Johanneum*, this is now found in Priscillian (p. 6 l. 5). We remember that both Priscillian and the *Speculum* recognise the Epistle to the Laodiceans, which is also found in Spanish MSS. of the Vulgate. We remember further that most of the MSS. of the *Speculum* are French, coming up as it were from the South and West—Limoges, Fleury sur Loire, Mont St. Michel, St. Victor (Paris). We remember lastly that there is a special connexion between the *Speculum* and the Spaniard, Theodulf bishop of Orleans. It will, I believe, be found that there are interesting relations between Priscillian and

the two Theodulfian MSS. For instance in Deut. xxxii. 8 there is a closer resemblance between Prisc. and μ than with other MSS. of the *Speculum*: the same holds good of Hos. ii. 18: on the other hand Prisc. = Spec. against α and still more μ in Job xl. 9; Prisc. = α Spec. against μ in Isa. xxx. 15; Prisc. = Spec. against μ (*vacat* α) in Isa. xl. 6—8: Prisc. = Spec. Codd. *MVLC* against Spec. cod. *S* as well as α μ in Amos v. 8. It would seem as if the Theodulfian MSS., especially μ , had a fundamental affinity to Prisc. but (as we might expect) were more largely corrupted from the Vulgate. It will be seen however that a number of interesting problems are raised which will need more fully working out than I can profess to have done at present.

W. SANDAY.

TEUFFEL'S STUDIES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF GREEK AND ROMAN LITERATURE.

Studien und Charakteristiken zur griechischen und römischen Literaturgeschichte, von W. S. TEUFFEL. 2te veränderte Auflage. (Teubner 1889.) 5s. 6d.

THE present collection of Teuffel's papers differs from the previous edition, published in 1871, seven years before the author's death, by the addition of some papers, the abridgment of others and the omission of one or two. The whole has been edited by the author's son from his father's papers. An interesting sketch of Teuffel's life is also supplied.

The material in the present volume has all, with the exception of a short introduction to Cicero's speech *pro Quinctio*, been already published in some form, and by far the largest part of it appears in print now for the third time. It is therefore not necessary to treat the work as a new contribution to scholarship. It derives its importance rather from the personality of its author. To English students Teuffel's name is well-known from the translation of his History of Roman Literature, which has gone through four editions in Germany. His editions of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes and of the *Persae* of Aeschylus are deservedly popular. In the

useful and responsible work of translation he was most active. To a collection of German translations of classical authors he contributed the metrical versions of Aristophanes' *Clouds*, Horace's *Ars Poetica*, Persius and Tibullus, besides being joint author of those of Catullus and Juvenal; from him too came the prose translations of Plato's *Republic*, Lucian, Cicero's *Orator* and *Brutus*, Livy and Tacitus's *Dialogue on Orators*. To this sum of work must be added articles written for Pauly's *Real-encyclopädie*, some of the volumes of which he edited, several 'Programs' etc., and a large number of contributions to German periodicals. Some of the papers published were preliminary studies for a History of Grecian Literature, which he had planned but did not live to execute.

The papers in the present volume are of various origin. The first three—on 'The Position of Women in Grecian Poetry,' 'The Comparison of Ancient and Modern Lyric Poetry' and 'Aristophanes's Relation to his Time'—are lectures delivered before popular audiences, and present little that is original. Of the rest some belong to the class of 'Programs,' etc., others were published with volumes of translations (as the paper on Cicero's life, and that on Tibullus); some

are contributions to periodicals. It is in this last class that most of the points of detailed criticism are to be found. The subjects range over the whole field of classical literature, from Homer to Procopius and Agathias, from Plautus to Appuleius, and testify to a wideness of reading and wideness of sympathy probably rarely equalled. Teuffel though an accurate was not a microscopic scholar. We find, as we might expect, that the literary and historical point of view is to him more attractive than the purely philological. Even in points of criticism it is nearly always from the exegetical side that he attacks the difficulty. A good sample of the temper he was to bring to the teaching and interpretation of the classics is seen in one of the theses which he selected when qualifying as Privatdozent in his University of Tübingen: 'Antiquitatis res non eam ob causam exponendae sunt ut litterarum monumenta intelligantur, sed haec monumenta explicanda sunt ut antiquitatis res cognoscantur et intelligantur.'

It is easy to accept as conformable to the impressions we thus gather of his mind the account given by his son of Teuffel's qualities as a teacher. It was to this part of his work, we are told, rather than to his writings, that he himself attached primary importance. 'In his lectures he always endeavoured as far as possible to present some entire work rather than a mere introduction or fragment; it was the future teacher that held the front rank in his regard rather than the future scholar. Accordingly, in his allusions to illustrative literature he was more scanty than is usual; his pupils did not take home from his lectures references that could only be of use to men that had the command of a well equipped University Library. What he gave them was carefully arranged, sharply defined and clearly and briefly expressed.'

The estimates that he forms of authors are in nearly all cases at once sane and sympathetic. Like most of his compatriots he failed fully to appreciate the genius of Virgil. To Euripides also he seems inclined to do something less than justice, when, in explaining the grounds of his harsh judgment of women, he calls him 'ein Bücherwurm.' On the other hand he pays a worthy tribute to the marvellous insight and deep feeling shown by Sophocles in the portraits of women we find in six of his seven extant plays, and compares him in this quality with Goethe, attributing to both poets 'ein weiblich weicher rezeptiver character'—a view of Sophocles's genius that perhaps is

not a familiar one. Tibullus, whom he translated, is a favourite of his; he considers him 'der innerlichste' of all the Roman elegiac poets. (He is at the moment referring to Tib. iv. 13, which he considers genuine, as he also does the *Encomium Messallae*, though a very youthful and immature production.)

It remains to say something of those papers that deal not with the general characteristics of authors, but with particular places. Here again the leading impression is of a judgment trained and sobered by wide experience. It might be said of Teuffel that without being a man of eminent originality he had a great knack of taking the winning side on disputed questions. On points of textual criticism his general tendency is decidedly conservative. (Is this, it might be asked, a mark of the wide-reading, as opposed to the minute scholar?) In a long paper on 'die horazische Lyrik und ihre Kritik' he vigorously repels the destructive criticism of Lehrs, Gruppe and others. A series of papers on Plato's *Symposium* are mainly directed to showing how much too far the noble sport of gloss-hunting had been carried by Sauppe, Jahn and Usener. The desire to bring out the ἡθος of the different speakers, and the general laxity of conversation, will, he rightly thinks, account for a good deal that might seem irregular, clumsy or superfluous. His views in the main coincide with those accepted by A. Hug, who mentions him as one to whom he is indebted in the preface to his valuable edition of the *Symposium*, and by Schanz. Neither of these editors, however, have been willing to follow him in his defence of the addition ἡ ὥσπερ τὰ πᾶσι ταῖς θρίξιν at 190 E. Here, surely, conservatism has carried Teuffel too far. A suggestion of his on Plato, *Republic* 376 D, instead of ἵνα μὴ ἐῶμεν ἱκανὸν λόγον ἡ συχνὸν διεξίωμεν to read ἵνα ἡ ἐῶμεν συχνὸν λόγον ἡ ἱκανὸν διεξίωμεν, deserves careful consideration. The transposition of ἱκανὸν and συχνὸν is supported by three MSS. The Zurich editors (ed. 6) mention the suggestion in their introductory notes, but do not adopt it.

To Plautus Teuffel devoted special and careful study. A few suggestions made by him (in Fleckheisen's *Jahrbuch*, 1867) after Brix had published his first edition of the *Menaechni* were all adopted by him in the second. A subsequent treatment of the difficult passage in the same play (vv. 592 sqq.) in the *Rhein. Mus.* xxii is partially adopted by Brix in his third edition. I venture to think that Brix might have gone

further in adopting Teuffel's interpretation than he has, and will conclude this paper by a brief discussion of this passage. A misprint in Teuffel may incidentally be noted. He says (p. 332) that in v. 591 the palimpsest A gives *tetuli*. It really gives (wrongly) *DETULI*. In the following verses the MS. reading (following A as far as possible) is

aut plus aut minus quam opus fuerat dicto (?)
dixeram controversiam ut
sponsio fieret ille qui praedem dedit
nec magis manifestum ego hominem unquam
ullum teneri vidi.

Ritschl, followed by Brix^{1, 2} and Wagner read in v. 592 *plús minus quam opus fuerat* etc. Teuffel, with very slight violence to the MSS., reads *haud plus haud minus* etc. Menaechmus, he says, being in a hurry, naturally confined himself in his speech to what was necessary, and said just so much; no more; but also, having regard to his duties as *patronus*, no less. This reading and this explanation is adopted by Brix in his 3rd edition. I do not understand why Mr. Onions (*Journ. Phil.* vol. xiv. p. 66) said that this reading 'hardly gives the sense required.' It appears to me that the sense, as explained by Teuffel, is good enough; but there is another force that may be given to the same words that makes them even more appropriate. Roman procedure was full of pitfalls by which the unwary might learn to their cost the dangers of saying (or claiming) too much, as well as too

little. Such passages as *Cic. de Orat.* I §§ 167 *sqq.* are instructive on this matter; perhaps too Plaut. *Most.* 632 is in point here. Menaechmus in proposing the complicated *sponsio* by which he hoped to give his good-for-nothing client a chance of escape no doubt had to be extremely particular as to his language, and to say *haud plus haud minus quam opus fuerat*. Brix still thinks that the question was between the acceptance of a *sponsio* and a summary trial, and that the folly of the client consisted in his insisting on a summary trial, where he had no chance, rather than resorting to the *sponsio*, where he might possibly escape under a cloud. I think Teuffel is right in saying that if that were the meaning we should expect instead of *nec*, before *magis manifestum* in v. 594, some adversative particle. 'He preferred summary trial; *though* in that case he had not a leg to stand upon.' Teuffel therefore seems rightly to explain *praedem dedit* in v. 593 (the right reading of the rest of the line is not of present importance) not of consenting to stand a summary trial and giving the requisite surety in case of conviction, but of giving surety for the penalty as if already convicted. In other words, the client 'caved in'—'and indeed,' adds Menaechmus, 'I must say I never saw a man with a worse case. The more fool and rascal he, for not caving in at the beginning, and sparing me my valuable time and misplaced ingenuity.'

E. S. THOMPSON.

SCHRADER'S PREHISTORIC ANTIQUITIES OF THE ARYAN PEOPLES.

Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples, by Dr. O. SCHRADER. Translated from the second edition by F. B. JEVONS. (London: Charles Griffin & Co.) 21s.

DR. SCHRADER'S *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* is a book of such an established and deserved reputation that no apology was necessary for offering it to the public in an English translation. But we may go beyond that point and say that it would be hard to find any book more to be recommended just now to the early student in philology and prehistoric archaeology. Its special merits lie in a combination of extensive learning with perfect common-sense and a judicial

tone. It is this last quality which gives the book a peculiar value at the present moment. We have had in England of late enough and to spare of a polemical style of writing upon questions of philology and primitive culture—dogmatism upon the one side, *ricanement* at that dogmatism upon the other. Neither of these weapons of controversy is employed by Dr. Schrader. The first portion of his book is devoted to an extremely learned and, within the limits of his space, complete summary of the history of comparative philology during the century, in so far as it concerns the problems of prehistoric study; or at any rate in so far as it concerns the study of

Aryan origins. The great epoch in this history, since the days when Bopp and Grimm first fully established the affinity of the Indo-European languages and suggested the common parentage of the Indo-European races, has been made by the 'theory of transmission' (*Wellen-oder Übergangstheorie*) propounded by J. Schmidt in place of the hitherto received genealogical theory of the relationship of the Aryan languages. This theory is in effect that of the rise at different points over a vast surface of territory occupied by people speaking a language essentially the same, of vortices of sound-change which develop into the different languages of the Indo-European group. 'Vortex-theory' would, it seems to me, be a better name for this hypothesis than the rather fanciful name 'Wave-theory' which Schmidt adopted. Anybody who has at all followed the history of comparative philology will know what a revolution this theory, should it eventually supplant the genealogical conceptions of Schleicher and his school, is calculated to effect in this study, and in the hypotheses to which comparative philology has given rise.

Schrader is judicial and respectful but very thorough in his exposure of the rash theorizing and the unsound etymologies for which many eminent philologists have made themselves responsible, while endeavouring to use comparative philology as a key to unlock the secrets of the past. With regard to the majority of these errors it must be admitted that they were due not to the feebleness but to the exuberant vitality of the science in which they sprang up. It would, of course, have seemed to an outsider of average common-sense an extravagant hope that a mere collection and comparison of roots should ever answer all the questions to which philologists sought to find an answer concerning the condition and still more the beliefs of the primitive Aryans. But it did no harm for the comparative philologists to rush forward in their career. The amount of work which under the stimulus of these hopes they performed was prodigious. To a later time might safely be left a critical examination of the result of their labours—the task of sifting the grain from the chaff.

The time has now arrived, and the most important essay in such a task which has yet appeared is unquestionably this book of Schrader's. As it is in the region of comparative mythology and the history of religion that the philologists have exposed themselves to most criticism, it may be

interesting to note our author's judgment upon the final outcome of this criticism. He reviews the progressive theories of Mannhardt, Meyer, and Gruppe. The first began as an adherent of the etymological school of Kuhn and Max Müller, but ultimately repudiated their methods as devoid of all scientific exactness and barren of results. Meyer's views are very much the same as those of the English anthropological school. Gruppe goes further, and, with what seems a quaint harking back to the ideas of the last century, proclaims that the whole body of what may be called the *religion* of the Indo-Europeans has been an invention of priesthoods and of the ruling classes. Each of these attempted explanations of mythology Schrader passes in review. He agrees with Gruppe 'that the linguistic science of the Comparative Mythologists is no longer coincident with [on a level with] the linguistic science of Comparative Philologists.' Nevertheless there are some equations which in our author's view still hold good—the Dyâus-Zeus-Jupiter-Tiu equation, for example, the earliest and most important of all.

'I am (he says, concluding an extended inquiry) convinced that in the primeval Indo-European period there did exist predicates expressing the divine. The question now is, whether we are to consider that the shining sky, the sun, the fire, the dawn, the storm, the thunder, were the subjects of these predicates as early as the primeval period. Now I am of the affirmative opinion and am moved thereto by the following considerations :—

'In the case of two Indo-European peoples, one European and one Asiatic, whose early condition has, we may venture to believe, been preserved for us with peculiar fidelity, two authors who are unimpeachable and who came into personal contact with these peoples, have declared in a perfectly unambiguous manner that the worship of natural phenomena was the very foundation of these peoples' religion.'

And Schrader proceeds to quote two well-known passages—Caesar's description of the religion of the Germans (*B.G.* vi, 21) and Herodotus's of that of the Persians (i. 131.), remarking with regard to the former that it is not permissible to do as J. Grimm and so many others have done, and impute error or superficial inquiry to Caesar. 'It should be remembered that between Caesar and Tacitus are [intervene] one hundred and fifty years, the one hundred and fifty years which saw the most important turning-point in the history of the Teutons, their contact with Rome.

Other considerations which point to the same conclusion are the *Dyâus-Zeus*; &c. equation above cited; the fact that the most ancient and most persistent epithets attached to the name of Zeus in Homer are such epithets as *νεφεληγερέτα*, *κελαινεφής*, *ἐρίγδουπος*, *ἐριβρεμέτης*, and so forth; whereas such epithets as *μητίετα*, *ξένιος* are of later date. These last appear rarely in the *Iliad* (*ξένιος* only once), but frequently in the *Odyssey*. Others, *ἱκετήσιος*, *ἐρκέος*, &c., occur only in the *Odyssey*.

We might add that the equation *flamen* = *brahman*, if these words were originally of a neuter form with a plural significance (J. Schmidt, *Pluralbild. der Indo-G. Neutrae* p. 24), and thus meant originally 'a body of worshippers,' is, so far as it goes, an argument of considerable weight against Gruppe's theory; especially when we take this argument in connection with Caesar's statement about the Germans '*neque Druides habent, neque sacrificiis student.*'

I have not had an opportunity of com-

paring this English version with the text of the second edition of Schrader's *Sprachvergleichung* from which it is taken; but the translation appears (as we should expect from Mr. Jevons) to be excellent. Now and then a superfluous 'but,' 'now' or 'however' might be pruned away with advantage. The translator should make up his mind between 'Indo-European' and 'Indo-Germanic' and discard one or the other—the latter, we may say without hesitation. The preservation of the declension in the German words cited in a title (e.g. 'the introduction to F. Kluge's *Etymologischem Wörterbuch der D.S.*' p. 59) is awkward and wholly unnecessary. In one place (p. 56) we have 'in Fick's *Vergleichenden Wörterbuch.*' Schrader's translation of *Völuspá* 'strophe' is not quite accurate: 'hittusk *Æsir*' means 'the *Æsir* met, each other,' met together; 'and' is 'treasure,' 'treasures' not 'ore,' and 'töl' is 'tools' not 'lovely ornaments.'

C. F. KEARY.

Plato's Gorgias. School edition by A. TH. CHRIST. Vienna and Prague. F. Tempsky. 1890. pp. xxiv, 163. Unbound 60 kr.; bound 75 kr.

THE first thing that strikes one about this little book is the alluring grace of the paper and printing. The days are gone by when it could be said with truth that we English took the German texts and printed them on better paper. English scholars may still own themselves indebted to the patient and self-sacrificing industry of their German brethren. But we can no longer as a nation boast that we excel the Germans in the externals of literature. Indeed it would be hard to find an English text of a Greek author which is so restful to the eye as this which has been prepared for the happy youth of Austria. The book is adorned with a portrait of Plato from a bust in the Vatican, without the erroneous modern inscription 'Zeno.'

In striking contrast with this Sicilian luxury in the material aspect of the book is the Spartan rigour with which help has been denied to the student. Perhaps we in England coddle our youth over-much with a profusion of notes: but it is difficult to believe that the demands of a school edition are satisfied by an introduction of eighteen pages, beginning with remarks on the sophistic spirit and proceeding to give a graphic analysis of the various characters of the dialogue, by an index of names with some account under each heading of the various persons or places mentioned in the text, and by the searching analysis of the argument with which the book concludes. All these helps are excellent so far as they go, but they do not make up for the absence of a commentary.

The *Gorgias*, though it is not a difficult dialogue, abounds in passages which call for notes and references. One does not, for instance, grasp the full meaning of the first words of Chaerephon, *Οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα, ὦ Σώκρατες: ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ ἰδύσσομαι*, apart from the information supplied by the Scholiast that we have here a

reference to the words of the oracle relating to Telephus and Achilles—*ὁ τρώας καὶ ἰδύσεται*. Again the uninstructed reader might pass over the remarkable utterance of Polus (448C) with its curiously balanced language, and never realise that this is a quotation from Polus's own *Art of Rhetoric*, which is referred to later on (462C). Neither could he be expected to appreciate the point of *ὦ ἄφστε Πῶλε, ἵνα προσέπω σε κατὰ σέ* (467B) without knowing that Polus was specially addicted to the rhetorical figures to which Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 9 § 9) gives the names of *παρίσωσις* and *παρομοίωσις* (Cp. *Symp.* 185C—*Πανσανίου δὲ πανσαμένου, διδάσκουσι γὰρ με ἴσα λέγειν οὕτως οἱ σοφοί*). A word or two on the significance of the questions *ποία τις* and *τίς* and on the dialectical method of Plato, as illustrated by the search for the definition of rhetoric, would not be out of place in a school edition. Then there is the allusion in 451B to the form of expression (*τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ ἔδοξε*) when a *προβούλευμα* of the Council was amended in the popular assembly, which is used to illustrate the relation of *λογιστική* to *ἀριθμητική*. On this latter point the English student would only find himself mystified by the statement in Liddell and Scott's lexicon that *λογιστική* is the art and *ἀριθμητική* the science of arithmetic. The classification of goods in the popular drinking-song, which is referred to in 451E, loses its legitimate interest, unless the words of the scholium, which is variously ascribed to Simonides or Epicarmus, are set before us, as they are by Athenaeus xv. 694c. Nor is the *δοῦν πάντα χρήματα* of 465D fully intelligible to the student without a note to inform him that we have here an extract relating to the primal chaos from the beginning of Anaxagoras's treatise on Nature. Again the peculiar meaning assigned to *βούλησις* in the discussion with Polus derives light from the more developed doctrine of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (iii. 4). Moreover the delicate irony of 473E is missed by the reader who fails to notice that Socrates's pretended ignorance of the forms of political procedure

is only the veil which covers a deliberate refusal to truckle to the passions of the multitude. The theory seriously held by Callicles that laws are established by the weak in their own interest might well be compared with the passage in the *Republic* (358E), where a similar position is maintained by Glaucon for the sake of argument; while the contemptuous declaration of the same interlocutor (484E), that philosophy is all very well for boys, derives light from the contention of Adeimantus in the *Republic* 487 with regard to the practical failure of philosophers, which is met by Socrates with the parable of the true pilot. Then the reply of Socrates to Callicles in 490E, that he not only said the same things, but on the same subjects, requires a reference to Xenophon *Memorabilia*, iv. 4 § 6, where the same thing is related with more point as a retort made to Hippias; also the disgust of the same speaker at the vulgar illustrations which Socrates was in the habit of using may be paralleled from the *Memorabilia* (i. 2 § 37 and iv. 4 § 5) and from the passage in the *Symposium* (221E), where Alcibiades is made to declare that these are only the grotesque outside of the casket which contains the precious jewel of truth within. But the passage which above all cries aloud for comment is that which maintains in a vein of punning allegorization the mysterious doctrine that this life is death and that the body is the soul's sepulchre.

Such are a few of the points which suggest themselves most obviously as needing explanation or illustration in an edition which is intended to be helpful to learners. But on none of them does Herr Christ offer any aid, because they do not happen to fit in with the subject-matter of the introduction or to be suggested by any proper name in the index.

The text of this edition is drawn in the main from Schanz, but there is a pretty full list of deviations. It is not necessary to discuss these in connexion with a school book. There should be a clear line of demarcation drawn between the *critical* edition of a Latin or Greek author, which seeks by a careful recension of MSS. and by gleanings from the ancient grammarians to present the text in a more perfect form than before, and the *expository* edition, which, assuming the text, makes use of it as a basis for inferences as to the life, thought and language of antiquity. In 462D Herr Christ has done well in adopting the felicitous alteration in the ascription of parts, which brings out the fact that Socrates is prompting his opponent as to the way in which he ought to put his questions. But it is a disappointment not to find one's old friend, τὸν Αἰγυπτίῳ θεόν, after μὴ τὸν κύνα in 482B. The hypothesis of glosses might easily be pushed to such an extreme as to deprive the classical writers of the right to employ apposition. These words must have been in the text as early as the age of Constantine: for how else are we to explain the words of Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* iii. 19)—Quis jam superstitiones Aegyptiorum audeat reprehendere, quas Socrates Athenis auctoritate confirmavit sua? Lactantius, following Zeno, appears to have taken seriously what Plato only meant in jest. We need not look for any deeper origin of the oaths by the dog and the goose than the resemblance in sound of κύνα and χῆνα to ζῆνα. In the same spirit we have in 489E of this dialogue the surprise of τὸν Ζῆθον. Very few misprints disfigure the text. On page 10, line 5, there is an unnecessary colon between between ὦν and ἐπῆρσεν; on the last line of page 39 ὦντδ is printed for ὦν τδ; and on page 95, line 22, Γοργίαν appears for Γοργίαν. The spelling ἀποκτείνωμι and θνησκω is intentional and habitual.

Herr Christ is no doubt right in conceiving that

the scene of the dialogue is not the house of Callicles, but the place in which Gorgias has already given his ἐπίδειξις. He may be right also in regarding Callicles as no historical character, even under a disguised name, but as a mere impersonation of the spirit of the times. But one of Callicles' three partners in philosophical study, namely Nausikydes, appears to have been historical (Xen. *Mem.* II. 7 § 6; Aristoph. *Eccles.* 426), and another, Andron, the son of Androction, figures again in *Protagoras* 315C.

ST. GEORGE STOCK.

Die Rhetorik des Anaximenes unter den Werken des Aristoteles. DR. A. IPFELKOFER. Würzburg. 1889.

VERY little agreement is possible at present with regard to the so-called *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*. Scholars are indeed tolerably unanimous in denying it a place among the Aristotelian writings, but beyond this all is confusion and controversy. Whether it dates from before or after Aristotle; whether it is in fundamentals a very early work or a very late one; whether it possesses an essential unity and has only suffered some interpolations, or is an amalgamation of two or more works, or is a mere collection of fragments—all these questions have been keenly disputed, and none of them can at present be said to be settled. The writer of the 'Programm' before us concurs in the opinion of Spengel that the *Rhetoric* belongs to the time immediately preceding the genuine *Rhetoric* of Aristotle and may be assigned with great probability, though not confidently, to Anaximenes. His more special thesis is that the treatise was subsequently altered with the direct object of procuring admission for it into the list of Aristotelian writings. First, the letter to Alexander was composed. This is admittedly false, but scholars like Rose and Zeller have thought that it and the book went together. Ipfelkofer however points to a great difference of style between the two, the latter being ornate and affected while the book is quite simple and straightforward, and also to certain differences of substance, e.g. in the views taken as to the scope and function of rhetorical training and as to the Platonic division of the soul. He falls in with the theory that the letter was forged simply to raise at some time or other the money-value of the book. Proceeding to the book itself he discusses certain parts which he regards as later interpolations and seems to indicate that in his opinion there are others which might be condemned on the same ground. His remarks deserve the attention of those interested in the subject.

H. RICHARDS.

De Isocratis Demonicea. Scripsit RICARDUS BRUNO PONICKAU MUELSENENSIS. Stendalis. Typis Franzenii et Grossii. MDCCCLXXXIX.

STUDENTS of Isocrates will be interested in this dissertation which discusses once more the *revelata quaestio* of the authenticity of the *paraenesis ad Demonium*. Although Isocrates was credited with the authorship of the treatise by such authorities as Harpocration s.v. παράκλησις (the addition of Ἀπολλωνιάτης in Harpoc. s.v. ἐπακτὸς ὄρκος seems to be an error), Dionysius and Hermogenes, yet, as is well known, various modern writers have urged objections to its genuineness. Of these may be named Muretus, Stephens and Coray and more recently Benseler and Blass. Benseler in his treatise *De Hiatu* and in his review of Schneider's edition of the *Ad Demonium* and *Euagoras* (in *Jahn* f. lxxxii. 1860 p. 121 sqq.) urges as fatal objections (1) the violation of the law of

hiatus, (2) the use of expressions foreign to the usage of Isocrates, and (3) the bad arrangement of the precepts. Blass (*Att. Bered.* ii. p. 126 sqq., 256 sqq.) would remove cases of hiatus; as in other orations, by emendation, but on the ground of Benseler's other objections assigns the treatise to one of the pupils of Isocrates. It must be admitted, as Ponickau remarks (p. 10), that such high authority as that of Benseler and Blass may well shake our faith in the authenticity of the *paraenesis*. Yet defenders of its Isocratean origin have not been wanting. 'Quisquis harum rerum peritum est,' says Sauppe (*Apospasm. or. Att.* p. 245), 'facile intelligit multa in illa oratione inesse, quae Isocrati Atheniensi tribuendam esse demonstrant nihil esse, quod de auctore cogitare nos cogat.' Strange regards it as genuine, as also does O. Schneider (Isocrates, *Ausgewählte Reden*), though, as Blass and Ponickau have shown, he can scarcely be right in regarding it as an early work of Isocrates. In England Dr. Sandys in his well-known edition of the *Ad Demonium and Panegyricus* (1868) has defended its genuineness in a way which has carried conviction to the mind of Professor Jebb (*Attic Orators*, ii. p. 86). Since then Benseler's objections have been even more fully examined and refuted by Henkel in a programm written in Greek (Ἐοσδώρου Ἀγκυλλανος τῶν περὶ Ἰσοκράτη ζητήσεων βιβλίον δ. Rudolst. 1877), and Wrobel and Hartlich have taken the same side, while on the other hand Lehman de Lehnfeld (*De oratione ad Demonium Isocrati abjudicanda*, Lugd. Batav. 1879), Jahr (*Quaestiones Isocrateae* Hal. 1881), Allbrecht *Philol.* xliii. 1884, p. 244 sqq.) and Keil (*Herm.* xxiii. 1888, p. 374 sqq.) argue for the non-Isocratean origin of the treatise. In the view of such a conflict of opinion Ponickau has thought it expedient to consider afresh the objections urged. Regarding Benseler as still the most formidable antagonist of the more conservative view, he proceeds (after giving a full account of the literature of the subject) to discuss his objections in detail.

First as to the *hiatus*. Benseler, with strange inconsistency, allowed many cases of hiatus to remain in this oration while he removed by emendation quite similar ones in others. Ponickau, who insists on a more rigorous application of the law than seemed necessary to Dr. Sandys (*l.c.* pp. xxxvi. and 128), shows that, of the twenty-one cases of violation presented by the *Codex Urbinas*, many may be removed by elision, contraction, transposition or other emendation. A few examples may here suffice: for *καταριθμυσαίμεθα*. ἀλλὰ § 11 he would read *καταριθμήσαιμεν*. ἀλλὰ since Isocrates elsewhere uses the active, not the middle of *ἐξαριθμῆναι*, *ἀπαριθμῆναι* and *ἀριθμῆναι* and the *a* may easily be a dittograph of the *a* in ἀλλὰ; in § 20 he would remove the '*foodissimus hiatus*' τῷ δὲ λόγῳ εὐπροσήγορος by reading with Henkel τοῖς μὲν τρόποις.....τοῖς δὲ λόγοις (cf. τοῖς λόγοις in the same section, and τὰ τῶν τρόπων ἦθη in § 4); παντὶ ἐλαττουμένους in § 49 he considers corrupt and is unable to suggest a certain correction. He concludes then that, in respect to *hiatus*, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the treatise.

He next shows that the occurrence of many words not occurring in the other orations of Isocrates (some of them poetical, e.g. § 19 *πέλαγος*, *διαπερᾶν*, § 6 *μαραινέιν*) need not surprise us, since the same thing is true of other orations, e.g. the words *στοά*, *ἀγορά*, *αἰδώς*, *νεώσοικος*, *δένδρον* occur once only and all in *Or. vii*. Nor does he shrink from the more difficult task of justifying the use of many expressions foreign to the usage of Isocrates, e.g. §§ 9, 22 *λέγειν* with dative (cf. xvii. 23, 24); § 33 *οὐς ἂν βούλη ποιήσασθαι φίλους*, *ἀγαθόν τι λέγε* περὶ αὐτῶν, which, though without a parallel in Isocrates, is frequent in other writers; § 24 *θέλε* justified by

considerations of euphony; § 28 *ἀπολαύειν* without an object. Some of these peculiarities he would explain as due to the Gorgian influence so evident in this oration, e.g. § 31 *τὰς χάριτας ἀχαρίστως χαρίζομενος* (*παρονομασία*); § 30 *τοὺς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ἀπεχθανομένους* antithetical to the preceding *πρὸς τὸ φαυλότατον χαρίζομένους*: others as due to the desire to preserve the original form of current maxims and of quotations from poets and philosophers, on which ground he would excuse *σύν* (for *μετά*) in § 16 (cf. Blass, *Att. Bered.* ii. p. 127), *γονεῖς* in §§ 14, 16 (unless it is due to MS. error, v. Sandys on § 11), *συνειδήσεις* in § 16 and *εἰδήσεις* in § 44, these last being examples of *δμοιοτέλειον*. Thus § 16 *τέρψις* (γὰρ) *σὺν τῷ καλῷ ἄριστον* is to be compared with Pittacus (*Mull.* i. p. 225, 7, *Stob.* ix. 33, *Ἥδονή σὺν τῷ καλῷ δίκαιον*, and § 32 *ἐξανίστασο πρὸ μέθης* with Theognis v. 485 (Bergk) *ἀλλ' ἢ πρὶν μεθεῖν ὑπανίστασο*. Ponickau concludes this part of his argument by showing how much there is in the treatise thoroughly Isocratean. Lastly he regards the confused arrangement of the precepts as not unsuited to a treatise of this kind, and he justifies sentiments which have been regarded as unworthy of Isocrates by similar ones from the other orations. The whole dissertation, whether we accept Ponickau's conclusion or not, is valuable as a careful study of Isocratean diction and will be welcomed by those teachers who find the orations of Isocrates useful as a preparation for the study of more difficult authors.

H. CLARKE.

The Histories of Tacitus, Books III. IV. and V., with Introduction and Notes by A. D. GODLEY, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

THIS little volume is a continuation of the previous work of the same editor upon the first and second books of the *Histories*, and like its predecessor is a useful school edition. Halm's text is uniformly followed, yet other readings are occasionally quoted in the notes without discussion. In the commentary the editor, as he intimates in his preface, has followed Heraeus rather closely. His treatment of verbal and syntactical difficulties is excellent—the notes, though brief, being always clear and helpful. In the use of parallel and illustrative passages good judgment is shown. Nothing is more instructive than well selected quotations: Mr. Godley's illustrations really illustrate, and are not too numerous nor too long. Historical and archaeological allusions are well explained. The historical introduction is a model of condensation, yet the virtue of brevity has here perhaps been carried too far. In addition to the statement of the necessary facts, a few suggestions as to the deeper significance of the events of the time, with a little vivid portraiture of the chief actors in them, would have been of service to the average school-boy. The editor's judgment in matters of archaeology is well shown in his discussion of the topographical questions involved in Bk. III. Ch. 71. His identification of the *Capitolii fores* with the still visible doorway leading to the Tabularium from the Forum is extremely plausible, and apparently has the endorsement of Prof. Middleton. In locating the Tarpeian Rock on the southwestern side of the Capitoline hill Godley is supported by the best recent authorities, and has the advantage of Heraeus, who follows Becker in favouring the traditional site on the northwest. A plan of ancient Rome, or at least of the region about the Forum, and one or two small maps exhibiting the seat of war in Italy and Germany, would have been a useful addition to the book. The editor evidently assumes that his edition of Bks. I. and II. will be in the

hands of students who use this volume, for he frequently contents himself with explaining a passage in the latter by referring to a note in the former. Either the note should be repeated, or the two volumes should be bound in one.

H. F. BURTON,
University of Rochester, N. Y.

A Study of Juvenecus, by JAMES TAFT HATFIELD, Professor in Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Bonn: 1890.

THIS monograph of fifty-two pages treats of (1) the noun- and verb-forms, (2) the syntax, (3) the prosody, (4) the classes of alliteration, (5) the imitations of other poets, (6) the occasional words which are peculiar to Juvenecus. It is based entirely on Marold's edition (Teubner, 1886).

So inconsiderable a poet as the author of the four versified books of the Gospels perhaps hardly deserves so careful a study as Mr. Hatfield has given him. Especially the elaboration of the section on Juvenecus's syntax, extending to thirty-three of the fifty-two pages, seems excessive. Almost any other Christian poet will better repay study than this one, unless perhaps metrically. The monograph therefore must be pronounced uninteresting; yet as a companion in reading Juvenecus it will certainly be found not without use.

R. ELLIS.

Beiträge zur Griechischen Geschichte. Von LUDWIG HOLTZAPFEL. Berlin, 1888.

THESE excellent *Beiträge* are composed of three papers: in the first, the date of the Solonian laws is discussed; in the second, the relations of Athens and Persia in 465-412 B.C.; in the third, the chronology of the events which occurred between the battle of Leucimne and the first invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians. The work is one which cannot be criticised in much detail without tedious and minute learning; but it is one which ought to be carefully read by every student of Greek history.

In the first essay the author brings down the date of Solon's legislation to the year 584 B.C., after the archonships of Damasias II. In doing so, he relies mainly on the evidence afforded by the 'Berlin Fragments,' of Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. Readers of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will remember that Professor Case has argued, on different grounds, in favour of a later date for Solon than 594 B.C.

In the second essay Holtzapfel refuses to accept the historical reality of the Peace of Callias or Cimon. He says, very truly, that neither after the battles of Eurymedon (465 B.C.) nor after those of Cyprus (449 B.C.) was there a lasting peace between Athens and Persia (p. 21 ff.). But he thinks that there was a *truce* after Eurymedon (p. 30 f., 33). In this view

I do not agree, and I do not see why the decree quoted by Craterus should be rejected as evidence of a peace (p. 29) and accepted as evidence of a truce (p. 35). In either case there would be a date attached to the decree, if genuine, and the confusion about the time at which the peace was made could not have arisen. It is of course possible to say that the document was concerned with a truce for a short period; and for a short period after Eurymedon there was no war between Athens and Persia, Artaxerxes being engaged in crushing revolts, and Athens in subduing Thasos, etc. When the *truce* was turned by orators or historians into a *peace* the true date could not be kept as every one knew that the battles of Cyprus were fought in 449 B.C.—a conclusive proof that peace was not concluded in 465 B.C. But to this we may answer that, if the document was correctly copied by Craterus, it would be clear that it was concerned with a *truce*, not with a *peace*; and if it was not correctly copied, what is the value of the evidence?

Holtzapfel also argues in favour of a peace between Athens and Persia in 424 B.C. (p. 41). He thinks this is the peace mentioned by Andocides (*De Pace* § 28), in negotiating which Epilycus, the uncle of the orator, took a leading part.

The third essay is the most elaborate. It deals of course with old well-worn difficulties, τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος, etc. Holtzapfel considers that this expression refers to the ripeness of the corn (regarding the words καρπὸν συγκομιδῆς, Thuc. iii. 15, which denote something done after the Olympia, as the ingathering of the *fruit*, not of the corn¹). Consequently the invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians in 431 B.C. cannot be put later than the end of May—the date of the harvest in Attica. Holtzapfel thinks that this date can be reconciled with the expression τοῦ θέρους ἀκμάζοντος which Thucydides couples with τοῦ σίτου ἂ. (p. 53), but he does not remember that Herodotus fixes μέσον θέρος τῆς ἔρης to the time of the Olympia or after (Herod. viii. 12). Holtzapfel also maintains that the Greek spring began earlier than ours—about the late rising of Arcturus (p. 59 ff.). Hence he would put the attack on Plataea in the night of March 5/6, adopting of course Krüger's proposal to read *four* instead of *two* months for the remainder of the archonship of Pythodorus (Thuc. ii. 2).—These indications of the line taken by Holtzapfel will be enough to show that his work is one which must be read, though even he has not succeeded in producing a scheme of chronology which will enable us to keep the text of Thucydides.

EVELYN ABBOTT.

[¹ Holtzapfel assumes that the Olympia were celebrated in the middle of August, which has still to be proved, *pace* Unger.]

NOTES.

Κανθήλη, CANDELA, Κανθήλια.—A new portion of the 'Edict of Diocletian,' from Megalopolis, which is to be published in the forthcoming number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, contains a considerable number of new and curious words. Of these the word κανθήλη seems to me to deserve a separate notice. The entry preceding that in which κανθήλη occurs contains the word λυχνεῖδος, which is perhaps a

mistake for λυχνεῖδος, and in any case denotes the lychnitis-plant (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxv. 10, 74), the leaves of which were used for lamp-wicks. Then comes the entry in question, 'κανθήλης ἦτοι καλαμανθήλης.' The word κανθήλης following immediately upon λυχνεῖδος naturally suggests the notion of a candle, while καλαμανθήλης suggests some sort of reed. What we require is a plant which might be

used for candle-wicks, corresponding to the lychnitis of the preceding entry, which was used for lamps.

Why should not *κανθήλη* be a *rush*? If *κανθήλη* was, as I believe, a rush, we obtain immediately two new derivations: (1) *κανθήλια* (baskets, panniers) are 'rush-baskets,' (2) *candela* (candle) is properly a 'rush-light.' The substitution of *d* for *θ* in 'candela' is in that case simply a piece of false etymology, the Romans naturally deriving the word, as it has been derived ever since, from 'candeo,' to shine.

W. LORING.

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EURIPIDES, *Troades*.

332. *χόρευε μήτερ ἄναγε πόδα σόν κ.τ.λ.*

So the verse is given in P, yielding perfect sense and corresponding with the strophe. However V has *ἀναγέλασον* in place of *ἀναγε πόδα σόν*, and Kirchhoff's restoration of this word is generally accepted, although it involves an alteration in 315. Busche, in a tract on this play, has recently attempted to prove that the authority of P is as good as, or better than, that of V. Without entering into this question, I would submit that the most rational explanation of the divergence in this passage is that V and the related MSS. have dropped the syllable *πο-*, for *Δ* and *Λ* are practically identical, especially as the same MSS. in v. 444 have *ἐξαντίζω* or *ἐξανθίζω* in place of *ἐξακοντίζω*, where the trochaic metre forbids change. I believe the same error to have taken place in vv. 961-2 *πῶς οὖν ἐτ' ἂν θνήσκοιμ' ἂν ἐνδίκως, πόσι, πρὸς σου δικάως*, where we should read *θνήσκοιμ' ἔνασίμως, πόσι, πρὸς σου δικάως θ'*: for *ἔνασίμως* cf. *Alc.* 1077. The syllable *IM* was omitted leaving *ΕΝΑΙΩΣ*, which naturally became *ἐνδίκως*, and the metre demanded a second *ἀν*.

435-443. The internal evidence against the genuineness of these lines is very strong:—(1) the whole tone of the passage is feeble, and particularly *ὡς δὲ συντέμω* in v. 441: (2) *οὐ* has no meaning, and drives the edd. to suppose a lacuna: (3) *διάνλος* does not mean 'a strait': (4) *πέτρας* is without construction: (5) *ἐπιστάτης* does not mean a 'shepherd,' and P's reading looks like a correction: (6) *μορφώτρια συνών* might perhaps pass elsewhere, but is to be added to the many eccentricities of this passage: (7) *σάρκα φωνήσσαν ἥσουσιν* has been rightly condemned by Kirchhoff: (8) *κατὰ μυρία* is weak, but the interpolator became conscious that his epitome of the *Odyssey* had gone far enough. We may compare the similar interpolation in *Or.* 588-590. After writing this, I found that Prof. Tyrrell had already bracketed the lines.

632, 633. *τοῦ ζῆν δὲ λυπρῶς κρείσσον ἔστι καθθανεῖν. ἀλγεῖ γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν κακῶν ἡρσημένως.*

The MSS. reading of the second line has been explained in two ways: 'ὁ γὰρ καθθανὼν οὐκ ἀλγεῖ διὰ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι τῶν κακῶν, or perhaps "after having known what misfortune is"' (Paley). Neither supposition is tolerable. Both involve an awkward ellipse of the subject to *ἀλγεῖ*, and the tense of *ἡρσημένος* is a conclusive objection to the first. Schmidt indeed goes farther: 'das arme οὐδὲν kann unmöglich zwei Herren dienen,' but this is open to question: cf. e.g. *Thuc.* vi. 33, 1, *ἄμως δὲ οὐ καταφοβηθεὶς ἐπιστήσας*, *Pind. Nem.* iii. 14, *παλαίφατον ἀγορὰν οὐκ ἐλεγχεέσσαν Ἀριστοκλείδας τεὰν ἐμίανε... μαλαχθεῖς*, also in Latin, *Juv.* xiii. 131, *nemo dolorem fingit in hoc casu vestem diducere summam contentus*. I would propose *τῶν κακῶν δ' ἔσθθ' ἡμένος*: the changes involved—*ε* to *η* and *β* to *θ*—are not

difficult, while *Δ* fell out after *N* as in *Aesch. Suppl.* 510 (Tucker). The alternation between present and aorist is idiomatic: cf. *Soph. El.* 26, *Phil.* 308.

697-700. *καὶ παῖδα τόνδε παιδὸς ἐκθρέφειας ἂν Τροία μέγιστον ὠφέλημ', ἢν' εἴ ποτε ἐκ σου γενόμενοι παῖδες ὕστερον πάλιν κατοικήσειαν, καὶ πόλις γένοιτ' ἔτι.*

So all MSS. The vulgate, following Aldus, has *ἢν' οἴ ποτε* in 698. The construction of this may perhaps be defended (see Goodwin § 34, 2 and cf. Verrall on *Ag.* 331), but hardly the position of *οἴ*. A very slight alteration of the MSS. reading gives *Τροίας μεγίστην ὠφέλησιν, εἴ ποτε* where *ὠφέλησιν* is accusative in apposition to the sentence. The corruption was caused by a wrong division of the words, a very common source of error. The correction *ὠφέλημ' εἶναι ποτε ἐξ οὗ* (Nauck and Schmidt) is attractive, but does not so well account for the optatives used in v. 700.

916-918. *ἐγὼ δ', ἃ σ' οἶμαι διὰ λόγων ἰδόντ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορήσειν, ἀντιθεῖσ' ἀμείβομαι τοῖς σοῖσι τὰμὰ καὶ τὰ σ' αἰτιάματα.*

Paley construes *ἐγὼ δὲ ἀμείβομαι τοῖς σοῖσι ἃ κ.τ.λ. ἀντιθεῖσα τὰμὰ καὶ τὰ σ' αἰτιάματα*. Similarly Prof. Tyrrell, except that he does not make *τοῖς σοῖσι* antecedent to *ἃ*. The greatest objections to this are the order of the words and the awkward recurrence of *τὰ σὰ* after *τοῖς σοῖσι*. Besides, *ἀμείβομαι* does not seem to take a dative. These objections have been already recognized; thus Herwerden proposed *πάνδικ'* and Busche *δὲς τόσ'* for *καὶ τὰ σ'*. Rather for *TAMAKAITAC* we should read *TAMICAITAT* i.e. *τὰμ' ἰσαίτατ' αἰτιάματα*. For *ἴσος* cf. *Suppl.* 441. The confusion of *K* and *IC* is generally admitted, and, when *ICA* had passed to *KAI*, the traditional text was inevitable.

A. C. PEARSON.

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ECHOED PHRASES.—

In answer to Mr. G. C. M. Smith's question in the *Classical Review* of April last, page 150—'Can other instances of the same kind' (as those he had found in Euripides' *Hippolytus*) 'be found in Euripides or the other dramatists?'—I would refer to Dr. Jebb's introduction to Sophocles' *Antigone*, p. xxix., where he calls attention to Creon's 'conscious' repetition, v. 771, of Antigone's words, v. 546, an allusion pointed out by Creon himself in the words *εὐ γὰρ οὖν λέγεις*.

Again in the *Alecestis* of Euripides Heracles tells the Attendant, v. 782, *βροτοῖς ἅπασι καθθανεῖν ὀφείλεται*, repeating the very words used by the chorus, v. 419,

ὡς πᾶσιν ἡμῖν καθθανεῖν ὀφείλεται.

Did Euripides merely desire to impress on the minds of his audience that incontrovertible truth, 'Being mortals ye must die'; or was there also some subtle dramatic significance in this 'Echoed Phrase'?

J. S.

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THUCYD. iv. 81.—*καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξῆλθε πλείστον ἄξιον Λακεδαιμονίοις γενόμενον*. My friend Dr. Rutherford, in his note on this chapter, has kindly referred to me in words which require a brief explanation on my part. He says, 'The solecism in signification of the aorist participle *γενόμενον* was first pointed out to me by Professor Campbell.' What I intended to

point out was not the solecism, but the occurrence of an idiom which so far as I knew had not been recognised—*γενόμενον* = *ὅς ὕστερον τούτων ἐγένετο*. I had observed other instances of the same use, and I can at this moment point to three in Herodotus, which are hardly to be got rid of by the method of excision :—

Herod. vii. 106. κατέλιπε δὲ ἄνδρα τοιόνδε Μασκάμην *γενόμενον*, κ.τ.λ.

Ibid. 62. ἡγεμόνα παρεχόμενοι Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλῶνος ὕστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύσαντα.

Ibid. 164. κατοίκησε πόλιν Ζάγκλην τὴν ἐς Μεσσήνην μεταβαλοῦσαν τὸ ὄνομα. L. CAMPBELL.

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JOTTINGS ON APPULEIUS.

1. *Liber de deo Socratis*, p. 50 (Elmenhorst) :—*Lemur* (in the singular) :—

Est et secundo significatu species daemonum, animus humanus emeritis stipendiis vitae corpore suo abjurans : hunc veterē latinā lingua reperio *Lemurem* dictitatum.

2. *opperiminor* (imperative), *Metamorphoses* liber I. p. 112 :—

Dum annuntio, inquit, hic ibidem me *opperiminor*.

3. *Tantillulus*, *Met.* lib. II. p. 125 :—

Cum repente introrepens mustela contra me constitit, obtutumque acerrimum in me destituit, ut *tantillula animalis* prae nimia sui fiducia mihi turbarit animum.

Here also *animalis* is used as a noun feminine for *animal*.

4. *Novissima pars corporis* = *testes*, *Met.* p. 198 :—

Extremae poenae reservatus maerebam et in *novissima parte corporis* totum me peritum deflebam.

5. *Adulterium*, with the meaning of *cuckoldom*, *Met.* lib. IX. p. 219 :—

Cognoscimus lepidam de *adulterio* cujusdam pauperis fabulam, quam vos etiam cognoscatis volo.

6. *Auctoror* (let out for hire), *Met.* lib. IX. p. 225 :—

Nec a genuina levitate descivit mulier, sed exserando metallo pudicitiam suam protinus *auctorata* est.

7. *abominor* (to imprecate), *Met.* p. 227 :—

Tunc uxor egregia diras devotiones in eum et crucum ejus fragrum *abominata*.

8. *Veris coma* (the flowers of spring), *Met.* lib. X. p. 254 :—

Dominae voluptatum *veris coma* blandientes.

9. *Specimen* (an image), *Met.* lib. XI. p. 265 :—

Nec tamen me sinebat animus ungue latius indidem digredi, sed intuitans deae *specimen* pristinos casus meos recordabar.

10. *Inanimi cibi* (vegetable diet), *Met.* lib. XI. p. 271 :—

Decem rursus diebus *inanimis* contentus *cibis*.

11. *Dissimulo* (take no notice of), *Apologia*, p. 303 :—

Quatuordecim servi petitu tuo adsunt, eos *dissimulas*; unus puerulus abest, eum insimulas.

12. *Pilei umbraculum* (broad rim of a cap), *Apol.* p. 315 (speaking of a small image of Mercury) :—

Ut in capite crispatus capillus sub *imo pilei umbraculo* appareat.

13. *Depector* (a contractor, bargainer), from *depeciscor* or *depaciscor*, *Apol.* p. 321 :—

Est enim omnium litium *depector*, omnium falsorum commentator, omnium simulationum architectus, omnium malorum seminarium.

14. *Cluden* (a sword used on the stage), *Apol.* p. 324 :—

Quas tamen cum saltas, tanta mollitia animi, tanta formido ferri est, sine *cludine* saltas.

15. *Fugela* or *fugella* (flight), *Apol.* p. 336 :—

Cum a nobis regeretur ad magistros itabat ; ab iis nunc magna *fugela* in ganeum fugit.

16. *Articuli palmarum* (the wrists), *Florida*, p. 351 :—

Chlamyde velat utrumque brachium adusque *articulos palmarum*.

17. *A socco ad cothurnum ascendere* (to mount from comedy to tragedy), *Met.* lib. X. p. 238 :—

Jam ergo, lector optime, scito te tragoediam non *fabulam* (comedy) *legere*, et a *socco* ad *cothurnum* *ascendere*.

E. J. CHINNOCK.

OBITUARY.

PROFESSOR ALLEN.

WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN died at his home in Madison, Wisconsin, on the ninth of December. It was a surprise to many of his friends, even those who met him in daily intercourse, to find that he had reached his sixtieth year ; for he was cut off in the full tide of a zealous and energetic activity that gave no sign of old age. The night before he died he revised the last proof-sheets of his *Short History of the Roman People* ; and only the day before this he had written me a cheerful message, speaking of his four days' illness as a brief interruption of work on his edition of the *Annals* of Tacitus, which, like

the *History*, was nearly ready for publication.

Although Professor Allen was a prolific writer, it was as a teacher that he did his best service for classical scholarship. When, in 1867, he accepted the chair of ancient languages and history in the University of Wisconsin, he cast his lot with a people who were keenly alive to the importance of education, but, engrossed as they were in developing the material resources of a new country, were disposed by all the influences about them to set a higher value on the practical sciences than on anything so remote

as the language and life of Greece and Rome. A state university in the West is exposed to many dangers: if it escape the blight of politics, its best efforts are still liable to be smothered by an ill-informed and intractable majority in its board of regents. It was Allen's good fortune to be associated with an institution which has safely weathered both of these dangers, and to have bestowed his faithful labour of two and twenty years on a not ungrateful soil. How large a place he won for himself in the university and the community, the expressions of esteem and gratitude which his death called forth abundantly testify.

To this work he went well equipped. He was of Puritan stock. His father, who was for fifty-six years pastor of the village church of Northborough, Massachusetts, where Allen was born, came of a long line of English yeomen and New England farmers. His mother counted among her ancestors seven generations of Christian ministers. The diverse traits of this ancestry were found in Allen—sturdy endurance and a cheerful disposition, with gentleness and scholarly tastes. The thorough foundations of his classical training were laid at the Roxbury Latin School and at Harvard College, where he was graduated in 1851, in the same class with Professor Goodwin. To this was added the experience of twelve years of teaching in various schools, a period however not continuous. In 1854 he went to Europe, and after a semester in each of the universities of Göttingen and Berlin he spent a second year in Italy and Greece, making in particular a study of the topography of Rome. Another interruption occurred in 1863, when he laid aside his classical studies, and spent the last two years of the Civil War in the South, largely occupied in promoting the education of the freedmen. While thus engaged he took the opportunity to note down many of the songs of the Southern negro, and published them in the volume of *Slave Songs of the United States*, which he edited in connection with his kinsman, Charles P. Ware, and Miss Lucy McKim (Mrs. Wendell Phillips Garrison).

It was part of Allen's fitness for his life-work that his interest in the classics was on the historical more than on the linguistic side. He was first of all a student of history and of human life, and a philologist only incidentally. The successive steps by which his professorship was changed, in 1870 to Latin and History, and in 1886 to History alone, corresponded with his own taste and desire, and followed the development of his

studies. As a classical teacher he found the long mechanical drill in Latin grammar—a whole year, with no reading—which in his own school-days had been the regular introduction to the study of the classics, not only distasteful, but a hindrance to him in his effort to impart something of living interest to his subject; and as a contribution to a better method, he prepared the first draft of the *Manual Latin Grammar*, which he subsequently published, with the co-operation of his brother Joseph H. Allen, in 1868. It was a thin volume of only eighty pages, and experience soon proved that, in clearing away the tangle of details and exceptions with which the study of the language was encumbered, the authors had lopped off some useful branches. The book erred on the side of meagreness; but as a protest against traditional methods it made its mark, and from it has grown the widely-used 'Allen and Greenough' of to-day. To the series of school classics which go under these names Professor Allen contributed the admirable historical and archaeological notes. The same bent of his mind is shown by the works which he chose to edit independently—the *Germania* and the *Agricola*, and finally the *Annals*, of Tacitus. Towards Tacitus, indeed, he felt an especial attraction, and the character of Tiberius in particular, with its conflicting traits and shifting phases, interested him. He regarded his work on the *Annals* as in a sense the culmination of his classical studies, and with it he would probably have concluded his labours in this field, even if his life had been prolonged.

For he had already committed himself to the study and teaching of history, or rather, let me say, he had at last secured the coveted opportunity to devote himself wholly to the field of his choice. I have said that his taste for historical study was part of Allen's fitness for his western work. If it is safe to neglect this side of classical philology anywhere, it certainly is not in a community where the study of 'the dead languages' has no tradition to uphold it. On this, its more human side, as the study of ancient life, it makes its strongest appeal to the interest of the student, and for this reason Allen was better fitted for his work, and could do more to promote the cultivation of classical learning in the field to which he was called than if he had been devoted to philology in its narrower sense.

But his interest was at no time bounded by the range of his studies. His most prominent characteristic was, perhaps, great breadth of sympathy; this, and an extra-

ordinary capacity for work. The picture of his last hours, which his sudden death, as with a flash-light, has photographed on the memory of his friends, is a true revelation of the man. The exacting demands of his position in the university and in the community about it did not exhaust either his interest or his energy. He was a watchful observer of all that went on in the world outside, of the movement of thought in literature and in politics; and his active mind sought frequent expression in reviews and other contributions to current periodicals. To the *New York Nation*, especially, for twenty-four years his contributions, on a great variety of topics, were almost as constant as the issues of the journal itself. He was intensely interested in men. For him no historical fact had any value 'except so far as it helps us to understand human nature, or the working of historic forces,'

which have their root in human nature. As a teacher he felt a warm personal interest in his pupils; and they on their part are said to have been singularly drawn to him. Apart from his generous outgiving spirit, which placed his books, his learning, his advice freely at their service, there was something in the man that attracted them to him as to few other instructors, and established a bond of affection and respect that outlived the temporary relation of teacher and student, and often brought them back to him in later years for counsel and guidance. It is after all through this unrecorded influence on young men and women trained to be leaders in their several walks of life that his character and scholarship have sown their most fruitful seed.

CLEMENT LAWRENCE SMITH.

Harvard University.

PROFESSOR SELLAR, LL.D.

WILLIAM YOUNG SELLAR, Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh, whose work as an appreciative critic of Roman literature is increasingly valued by the reading world, died at his country residence of Kenbank, in Galloway, Scotland, on the 12th of October, 1890. His last illness, jaundice, arising from a chill, was short and sharp. But it is consolatory to think that throughout the preceding summer he had been in better health than for some years previously, and had had much enjoyment in his work and in the society of intimate friends. A tour in Italy, made soon after the conclusion of the winter session, in which he visited the haunts of favourite Latin poets, had seemed to revive him and to restore his strength.

An estimate of his contributions to the literature of scholarship must be reserved for some more competent hand, and were it not an impertinence on my part there is not time for it now. But a brief outline of his uneventful life from one whose acquaintance with him dates from thirty-five years ago may not be unwelcome to those who have been interested by his writings.

At an early age he was sent from his northern home in Sutherlandshire to compete with those who were two or three years his seniors as a pupil of the Edinburgh Academy, then at the height of its renown

as a classical seminary and threatening to supplant the ancient High School. Under strict and somewhat stern surveillance, with the single motive of excelling to please his father, he kept steadily at the top of his class, until at fourteen he carried off the 'dux medal' from the whole school. Of those seven years of schooling he always retained many genial and humorous memories, but on the whole he looked back upon them as a time of gloom, in which the affections were starved and the intellect prematurely forced. He used himself to trace some of the liability to illness which haunted him in later life to that early pressure. But on the other hand there can be no doubt that to the extreme accuracy of Andrew Carmichael and to the great teaching powers of the rector, Archdeacon Williams (he had been the nominee of John Lockhart and Sir Walter Scott), Sellar owed the solid and lasting foundation of the ripe scholarship which he afterwards displayed.

From the Academy young Sellar proceeded to the University of Glasgow, where he continued to distinguish himself, and at seventeen was appointed Snell Exhibitioner to Balliol College, a position which had previously been held by Archibald Tait (since Archbishop of Canterbury), and Sir William Hamilton, the metaphysician. But following the native instinct and the paternal wish,

αἰὲν ἀπιστεύειν, the youth could not be contented without obtaining 'the blue ribbon of English scholarship,' and he was a winner of the Balliol Scholarship in 1843.

When he went to Glasgow, Edmund Lushington had recently succeeded Sir Daniel Sandford as Professor of Greek. And one of those abiding admirations which never waned nor wearied was awakened in Sellar's mind by the inaugural lecture on Greek literature, in which the young Cambridge scholar of twenty-five exhibited a maturity and comprehensiveness of judgment only equalled by the rich gracefulness and noble dignity of the style.

The Chair of Latin had been held for some years by Professor William Ramsay—best known perhaps for his *Roman Antiquities*, but deserving credit also for other lasting contributions to learning. He was at that time deeply engaged with original work for Dr. Smith's *Dictionaries of Classical Antiquities and Classical Biography*, which were published severally in 1842 and 1843. Ramsay's influence, as will be seen presently, is a factor not to be ignored in studying the formation of Sellar's mind. His friendship with both these teachers and their families was life-long; and he was also at Glasgow brought into close relations with Norman Macleod, which led to a friendship with him and his that was maintained until the end. And to the end continued also another friendship which originated in the transition from Glasgow to Oxford. To prepare for Balliol, he went, probably by Professor Lushington's advice, to Mr. William Dobson, who had been third Classic in Lushington's and Thompson of Trinity's year, and was for many years at the head of Cheltenham College. He spent some months of great enjoyment in that quiet household.

At Balliol he found companionships such as heretofore he can have hardly known. The Balliol scholars of that date have been celebrated by the late Principal Shairp in one of the best known of his poems. There was Arthur Hugh Clough, there was Matthew Arnold, there was Robert Morier, there was Shairp himself, there were Grant and Sandars, and others destined along with Sellar to be Fellows of Oriel. There, too, it must never be forgotten, not as scholar but as fellow, was one hardly removed from boyhood, but already plying eagerly that elder brother's part which has won him reverence from so many generations of Oxford men—he of whom Sellar used to speak to his mother (as she herself once told the present writer) as 'the divine Jowett.'

It was now more than ever previously that there was developed in him the passion for companionship which never left him. Now too, about the time of his first-class degree, he began to feel some reaction from the long previous strain. An inequality of health and spirits, ending with a period of pronounced illness, gave some anxiety to his friends. He went to Malvern, where the hydropathic treatment was in full activity, but neither then nor afterwards was led to a belief in water-cures. The real cure was found in regular and not too severe occupation. After gaining the Oriel Fellowship in 1850, he taught for a while in the young University of Durham, but was called away in the following year to assist his friend Professor William Ramsay, who had broken down in health. Two years thus spent in Glasgow were among the most eventful in his life. For they led the way to a result most fruitful in after happiness—his marriage to Miss Eleanor M. Dennistoun. Nor can it be supposed that the renewal of intercourse with his former teachers was without effect on his intellectual growth. The speculations of young Oxford in those days, when the Tractarian party were losing hold, and neither the Broad-Church nor the Positivist nor the Socialist movement had yet begun, were apt to be, if wide-sweeping, yet somewhat vague. That could not be said of Lushington's Inaugural, nor of Ramsay's articles 'Agricultura,' 'Cicero,' 'Juvenalis,' 'Lucilius,' 'Lucretius.' It can hardly have been accidental that in his years at St. Andrews, first as Assistant to the Professor of Greek (1853—1859), and afterwards (1859—1863) as Professor, he should have applied his well-proved powers of thought and of composition to similar themes. His essays on 'Lucretius' (*Oxford Essays*, 1855), and on the 'Characteristics of Thucydides' (*Oxford Essays*, 1857), were the first-fruits of these special studies. Then, shortly before he became a candidate for the Chair of Humanity in Edinburgh, there appeared his first substantial volume, *The Roman Poets of the Republic*.

A pleasing testimony to Sellar's influence as a teacher at St. Andrews is given by Mr. Andrew Lang in a contribution to a fugitive publication called *Alma Mater's Mirror* (Edinburgh, 1887). He had then and always the power of interesting his pupils even more in the literature than in the minutiae of the language, which a scholar of Andrew Carmichael's was, however, in no danger of neglecting. He was also famous for maintaining order. 'He has been over the

ground before you to make it smooth, like a great roller,' said Mrs. Ferrier to his successor in the Greek Chair. 'You will find them in good training, like a set of young pointers' was his own expression.

Apart from duties which were not felt as heavy, Mr. and Mrs. Sellar at St. Andrews were the life of a society that was otherwise not wanting in living powers. The Ferriers, the Shairps, the Tullochs, James D. Forbes and his family, Professor and Mrs. Veitch and others, lived together there on terms of close intimacy and cordial friendliness. And in those years Sellar began the practice which he continued afterwards of making the acquaintance of young scholars and opening his house to them. I myself was a happy guest at Abbey Park in 1855. It was something of a wrench to him to leave St. Andrews. A lover of games and of the open air, he was devoted to golf, which he enjoyed none the less for not being a first-class player. And the familiar coterie was more congenial to his tastes than a larger and less intimate society. His acute conscientiousness also shrank a little from the great increase of responsibility involved in the change. How he fulfilled the charge now committed to him through the long tenure of twenty-seven years is matter of notoriety. His pupils, with their high academical distinctions and, in more than one case, successful authorship, witness silently, as they will no doubt witness loudly, to the fact.

Companionship was as the breath of life to Sellar. And it was in close companionship that his entire freedom from anything approaching to envy, his genial humour, so often directed against himself, his true modesty and his high and delicate sense of personal honour, were most conspicuously felt. He had the sincerity of genius and, if such a thing is possible, he might be called candid to a fault.

The loss of friends was the most real of losses to him. And as men so different from each other yet so allied to him as Henry Lancaster, Sir Alexander Grant, and John Campbell Shairp—the first two suddenly—passed one by one into the silent world, a portion of his own vitality seems to have ebbed away from him. Last of all came the loss of his younger brother Alexander, in whose public career he had taken such justifiable pride, and with whom he had constantly communicated his thoughts, especially on things political;—this was a blow from which he never entirely recovered. Against the loss, however, it is right to set the gain. In some of his travels he had the fellowship of Professor George Ramsay, in others that of Mr. Alfred Benn; and he had I think made the acquaintance of Comparetti, whose works he greatly valued. Sir Charles Bowen's translation of Virgil had pleasantly renewed a former intimacy, and I trust I may not intrude too far on personal matters if I allude to the comfort which he had in his later years from his colleague in the Edinburgh Chair of Greek, with whom he found himself in perfect sympathy, and to whom he characteristically looked up with admiration. Professor Butcher has the rare happiness, while yet in life, ἀνταγωνίστῳ εὐνοίᾳ τετιμῆσθαι.

The book on Virgil, the first instalment of *The Poets of the Augustan Age*, was published in 1877 and, together with *The Roman Poets of the Republic*, has been for some time in a second edition.

In conclusion, let me repeat the hope which has been expressed by an eminent scholar, whom Sellar was one of the first to estimate at his true worth, that the studies on Horace, Ovid, Propertius and other Latin poets on which Professor Sellar was latterly engaged may be found to be in a sufficiently advanced state for early publication.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens; being a translation of a portion of the 'Attica' of Pausanias by MARGARET DE G. VERRALL, with introductory essay and archaeological commentary by JANE E. HARRISON. London, Macmillan and Co. 1890. 16s.

THIS is a valuable book, and one of a novel sort. It has been sometimes spoken of as if

it belonged to the class represented by Dyer's *Ancient Athens*, but Miss Harrison has been careful to explain in her preface that topography and monuments have, for her, only a subordinate importance. Her aim has been to discuss in full detail every topographical point that could bear upon mythology, and, for the sake of completeness, to touch, but very briefly, on such non-mythological monuments as were either noted by Pausanias

or certainly existed in his day' (p. iv.). Accordingly the book consists, first of a description of ancient Athens, based upon all available evidence, literary, epigraphical, and monumental; and, secondly, of copious mythological and mythographical discussions interwoven with the foregoing, besides a separate introductory essay on The Mythology of Athenian Local Cults.

As regards the first part of this undertaking, Miss Harrison's work has been, as she herself tells us, that of a critical compiler rather than that of an originator. She has read extensively in the literature of the subject, and has had the inestimable privilege of appropriating the unpublished views of Dr. Dörpfeld. The result is a mass of information and speculation about the topography and buildings of ancient Athens which was before accessible with difficulty or not at all. That some of the positions advanced will have to be modified or abandoned in the light of future discoveries, Dr. Dörpfeld himself would probably be the last to deny. But for some time to come this book will be indispensable to every English-speaking student of Athenian antiquities. I must, however, express my regret that this part of the work was not undertaken by some one to whom it had a primary importance. Indeed, I venture to think that both mythology and monuments would have gained by being completely separated in treatment. To begin with, Miss Harrison does not pretend to give complete descriptions of even the most important buildings. Thus she gives no ground-plan of the 'Theseum,' and only the most meagre account of its architectural features. For the structural details of the Dionysiac theatre—excepting those most recently discovered—she refers us (p. 271) to 'many large and easily accessible books.' Similarly for the Parthenon (p. 431). In the account of the Propylaea we get a *résumé* of Dr. Dörpfeld's brilliant demonstration of the original plan of Mnesicles, but scarcely a notion of the appearance of the several façades of the completed edifice. The great complex of rock-cuttings in the Pnyx region is dismissed with the barest mention (p. 107). The small Ionic temple by the Ilissos, drawn and described by Stuart, is, I believe, not alluded to. In short Miss Harrison's principle in dealing with the monuments seems to have been to record pretty fully the most recent discoveries and to touch rather lightly, 'for the sake of completeness,' on points adequately dealt with in older hand-books. The information given may in general be im-

plicitly trusted so far as it goes. It is not true however, as stated on p. 345, that the triglyphs of the choregic monument of Nicias were coloured blue and red; the colour on the triglyphs was blue only. On p. 203 we read of 'two and a half inches [*sic!* read arches] of the aqueduct which led from the klepsydra to the turret' of the Tower of the Winds. But Dr. Dörpfeld seems to have proved that the said arches have nothing to do with the tower (see the excellent article 'Windsturm' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*). Now and then self-contradictory opinions are implied, as when we are told (p. 43) that 'we have no evidence that the Metroön was ever a temple,' while the immediately succeeding paragraphs repeatedly assume the existence of a temple. But slips of this kind are not numerous or serious. In treating of epigraphical and literary evidence, Miss Harrison is a much less trustworthy guide. This part of her work stands in need of a searching revision—a statement of which I will submit a few specimen proofs. The epigraphical argument as to the date of the 'Theseum' (p. 116) is confusedly and inaccurately given. Thucydides does not say that the assembly occasionally met in the Athenian theatre (p. 110); he speaks of the theatre in Munychia. If Thucydides had said what Miss Harrison credits him with, it would have told strongly against Dr. Dörpfeld's view, here adopted, of the Lycurgæan date of the Athenian theatre.

The battle of Oenoe is said (p. 132) to have been fought about 388 B.C. Miss Harrison has probably been misled by Curtius who follows a combination of Kirchhoff's, now abandoned by its author. The date of the battle is wholly unknown (see Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets*, 4th edition p. 142). It is rather amusing to read (p. 146) that 'Chrysippus seems to have been one of the most popular of all the Stoic philosophers'; *εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν σοφά*. And Juvenal does not say that 'everywhere was to be found the bust of Chrysippus'; he is speaking only of the premises of hypocritical philosophers (Juv. II. 5). At the foot of p. 190 Miss Harrison quotes from the Pseudo-Dicaearchus a passage referring to the Olympicium of Antiochus, as if it were by the genuine Dicaearchus and referred to the structure begun by Pisi-stratus.

There is a batch of errors in the account of the Street of Tripods. These tripods were not generally, if ever, dedicated for victories in tragic contests (p. 241 at foot), but rather for victories in lyric contests. The victor

did not receive his prize from his tribe (p. 242), but from the state. It was not Plutarch (p. 243), but Demetrius of Phalerum, who appealed to the tripod of Aristides for proof of his wealth. Pausanias does not imply (*ibid.*) that the Satyr of Praxiteles stood on a tripod; rather, he speaks of the tripods as *containing* (περιέχοντες) works of art, whatever that may mean. It is strange to be told (p. 246) that the monument of Lysicrates was 'in Stuart's time (1831) cleared of the soil that had accumulated round its base'; Stuart died in 1788. It would be easy to extend the foregoing list, but the examples given may suffice.

In the field of mythology Miss Harrison's most original contribution consists of three illustrations of the theory 'that in many, even the large majority of cases, *ritual practice misunderstood* explains the elaboration of myth' (p. iii.). I regret to say that in the handling of this theory I find no approach to scientific rigour; the results command conviction as little as the once fashionable vagaries of the devotees of the Dawn. Fully to justify this verdict would take as many pages as the original exposition, and I must confine myself to pivotal considerations. The first case—that of Erichthonios—is much the best made out, yet even here doubts arise. If we accept Miss Harrison's tacit identification of Arrhetophoria with Arrhephoria (for Arrhephoria at the top of p. xxxv. read Arrhetophoria), then according to the scholium quoted on pp. 102–3 the mysterious objects carried by the Hersephori would seem to have been πλάσματα of snakes and men. This being so, how can ἐρσηφόρος mean 'carrier of sucklings'? And how should a ἐρση carried give rise to a Herse who carried? The second myth subjected to this method is that of Erigone. Here the explanation turns on the assumption that Ἀλγίτις was indistinguishable in pronunciation from Ἀλέτις. This is throwing phonetic science to the winds. The third case is the story of Cephalus and Procris. Strabo, speaking of the 'Lovers' Leap' at the southern end of Leucadia (x. 452), mentions a legend that the first to take the fatal leap was Cephalus. He then adds that it was the custom yearly, at the festival of Apollo, to hurl a criminal from this cliff, as an averter of evil. From this we are asked to infer that 'Kephalos' is, like Aletis, a mythical piaculum invented to account for a cultus practice. His slaying of Prokris, and his death by the leap from the rock, are the main original elements of the myth, especially his leap from the rock, a factor

often omitted, but really central and essential.' Now it is conceivable enough that the religious practice in question might have given birth to a story of a guilty prototype. But Strabo expressly tells us that Cephalus's suicide was due to a disappointed passion for Pterelas. On the other hand, no version of the Cephalus-Procris story so much as hints at the death of Cephalus; nor does Miss Harrison succeed in pointing out a plausible connexion between any feature of this story and the practice described by Strabo.

Miss Harrison is at her best in the interpretation and appraisal of works of ancient art. Out of much that is good, I may single out for mention her closing pages, in which she advances the novel and taking suggestion that the reserve with which emotion is expressed in the Attic grave-reliefs is due to the derivation of the type: 'the scene of actual human sorrow was cast in the type already fixed of divine worship.'

The illustrations of the book are numerous. Those of vase-paintings, sculptures and the like generally answer their purpose fairly well; those of sites and buildings are often too indistinct to be of much value. Greek words are printed with great disregard of the rules of accent, and the proof-reading generally is very careless. There are besides numerous slips of the pen, such as the writing of Delphi and Delphic for Delos and Delian three times (pp. cxxviii., 186, 564); this has even got into the index. Miss Harrison's translations from the Greek are sometimes seriously wrong; examples on pp. 138, 162, 332. Mrs. Verrall's work bears a different stamp. I have examined it far enough to satisfy myself that it is in general scholarly and skilful. To pronounce it flawless would be to pronounce it a super-human achievement.

F. B. TARBELL.

ACQUISITIONS OF BRITISH MUSEUM.

1. An Ionic capital, from Ephesus.
2. The following antiquities excavated in two sites in Cyprus, viz. Limniti and Polis-tes-Chrysokhou, in the year 1889. Presented by the Committee of the Cyprus Exploration Fund. Nos. *a-g* are from Polis-tes-Chrysokhou, *h* from Limniti.
 - a. Inscriptions.* Limestone block inscribed in Cypriote characters which have been inlaid with bronze; the epitaph of Kreon son of Gillikas (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* xi. p. 64, no. 6).
 - Long slab of limestone with Cypriote inscription, the epitaph of Timonassa (*ibid.* p. 69, no. 14).
 - Fragment of marble with part of an inscription in what appear to be archaic Greek characters (*ibid.* p. 74, no. 18).
 - Fragment of a Latin inscription.

b. Architecture. Limestone capital of a column formed of palm leaves (*ibid.* p. 28, fig. 4).

c. Gold and Silver. A pair of plated bronze bangles, each terminating in two golden heads of rams (*ibid.* pl. v. 1).

A cylindrical amulet case in gold, decorated with palmettes in filagree (*ibid.* pl. v. 4).

A gold pendant of beaten work in form of a Sphinx, with chain (*ibid.* pl. v. 7).

Three gold pendants from a necklace, with granulated patterns (*ibid.* pl. v. 5).

Mouthpiece of beaten gold (*ibid.* pl. v. 8).

d. Bronze arm of a statuette.

e. Glass &c. Three cups, one of a fine amber colour, another bearing the inscription ΕΥΦΡΟΥΝΗ in raised letters.

An alabastron of Phoenician glass, blue and white.

A finger ring with hollow bezel for a seal, a scaraboid with lion devouring a bull, and a scaraboid engraved with rude signs.

f. Pottery (*ibid.* pp. 41-51). A pinax pierced for suspension, painted with the design of a Sphinx (*ibid.* p. 41, fig. 7).

Lekythos, winged female and four other figures (*ibid.* p. 43, figs. 8a, 8b).

Kylix, horseman and youth (*ibid.* p. 45, fig. 10).

Kylix, on each side a galloping centaur (in miniature style).

Kotyle, red-figured, man with thyrsos, and nymph with torch.

Lekythos, Adonis(?), Aphrodite, and Nymphs (*ibid.* pl. iv.).

Askos, Seilenos and bull in red figures; and an askos with lion's head in relief.

Two kylikes and a deep cup with votive wreath painted in white; a series of seventeen vases of local fabrics.

g. Terracottas (*ibid.* pp. 51-54). Draped figure reclining on a couch, draped figure seated, a figure standing beside a couch partly broken away, two statuettes and two heads.

h. From Limniti. Bronze statuette of a warrior (*ibid.* p. 89, fig. 9). Terracotta female head (*ibid.* p. 94, fig. 12).

3. *a.* Marble bust of Antinous, about half life size. The workmanship is good, though apparently the head is unfinished.

b. Fragment of painting in tempera on wood panel (part of a mummy portrait?), part of the nose, right eye and right ear of a woman's face nearly full to front; in the ear is a earring (part wanting) of the type with gold hoop and pearls strung on it: over this ear falls a lock of black hair. On the left, upon the background of slate colour, is painted in white

ΣΑΡΑΠΙ, perhaps part of the lady's name, the other half of which may have been on the right-hand side of the portrait; possibly this was Σαραπίδης, or some such name.

c. Small flat panel of terracotta about 2½ in. high by 2½ in. broad, with low relief pressed from a mould of the class used for decorating vases of the Tarentine fabric. Herakles strides across the body of the Hydra to r. striking it with his club; his back is turned to the spectator: on his left arm is a mantle or skin.

4. An iron sword and iron spear-head, from Spain. The sword (21 in. long) is of the type which is slightly curved, the blade (which is broadest at the end near the point) forming the interior of the curve. The handle is bent over so as to form an ear-shaped opening for the hand: the wood, or ivory, for which the rivets still remain, has perished.

5. *a.* Portrait-bust of an elderly Roman lady, painted in tempera on a wood panel, from Rubaiyat in the Fayoum: evidently from a mummy and of the same period as those published in Petrie's *Hawara*, viz. third century A.D. The portrait is hard and somewhat coarse, but it is in excellent condition and a good example of tempera: specially interesting is the treatment of the grey hair and the wrinkled forehead. Ht. 12½ in. by 7½ in.

b. A lamp (?) in the form of a pig, of which the tail, arched over the back (broken), has formed the handle; the orifice for oil is in the back, that for the wick extends from the ears to the snout. It is of Roman period and of fine yellow glaze: bought at Cairo.

c. Terracotta mask of a comic actor, from the Fayoum: round the head is a broad fillet; over this passes the mantle. The side is broken away. Ht. 2 in. by 1½ in.

d. Shell cameo, ht. 2½ in. A youth wearing chlamys, l. foot raised on a rock, brandishes with both hands over his head some object which he is about to hurl to the r. where the design is broken away: from Tartus.

e. Archaic marble xoanon, a female figure of the usual 'island' type, but somewhat advanced modelling; the arms, which cross below the breasts, are carved partly free; the legs are entirely in the round, with naturalistic elbows and ankles. Ht. 8 in. Amorgos.

f. Terracotta antefixa, mask of taumorphic bearded figure to front; from Tarentum; the same type as in *J.H.S.* iv. pl. xxxii. but more complete.

g. Terracotta antefixa, in tragic mask. Ht. 6½ in. by 7½ in. Cumae.

h. Two terracotta impressions of gems: female with spear (Artemis?) extending her hand, behind her a tree: Hermes holding caduceus, leaning arm on a column. Tarentum.

i. Terracotta relief (part of a vase?) representing apparently a Roman portrait head. Smyrna.

k. Part of a terracotta rectangular pinax, pierced with two holes for suspension: painted with black figures in a careless style; a girl running to r. beside an object which is almost all broken away. Athens.

l. Two terracotta moulds; the one is for an Egyptian figure of Osiris, and has traces of red colour. The other is part of a large composition, representing a column surmounted by an amphora, beside which has probably stood a statue (?). Tarentum.

m. Ten of the terracotta disks or weights of which so many have been found at Tarentum: the subjects in relief are as follows: (i) Eros flying to r. holding wreath (?); (ii) Eros kneeling on one knee to front; (iii) Taras on dolphin to r.; (iv) Aphrodite on swan flying to front; (v) owl, as on coins of Athens, beside some object; (vi) both sides covered with portions of impression from a stamp which has a band of Maeander below a band of anthemion; (vii) comic actor to front, holding torch (?); (viii) two figures, between them an object which is unintelligible; (ix) incuse, ΉΜΙΟΒέλιον; cf. *J.H.S.*

iv. p. 156; (x) incuse, ΔΥΟΤΡΙ (*sic*). Tarentum.

n. Two leaden objects of uncertain use. Ephesos.

o. Three theatre tickets, viz. (i) ivory disk, on one side VIII incised; (ii) ivory in form of a shell, on flat side incised VI; (iii) rock crystal disk, on one side incised XIII. Pozzuoli.

p. Bronze mirror, the edge on both sides decorated with wave pattern of line and dots. Bologna.

q. Bronze boss (diam. 3½ in.) with handle at the back; decorated on the face with patterns, repoussé, pointillé and punched in. Perugia.

r. Bronze circular object of archaic period : within the circle is wrought *à jour* a rude outline of a human figure between two birds : on the outside of the circle at even distances are attached three oblong loops. Bologna.

s. A pair of bronze bracelets formed of twisted wire. Megara.

t. Bronze necklace with pendent ring. Near Rome.

u. Bronze mace head, from near Rome. This is of nearly conical form, with eight longitudinal and equidistant flanges. It corresponds to the Persian mace of six flanges, shish-per, which was used in ancient Persia and is carried to this day in the south of that country.

v. Shell of rock crystal. From Reggio in Calabria.

Revue Archéologique. May-June, 1890. Paris.

1. Deloche ; seals and signet-rings of the Mero-vigian period continued : several cuts in text. 2. Heuzey ; publishes a note by M. Maspero on the slab with reliefs in, the Louvre (see *Rev. Arch.* 1890 p. 145, pl. iv.—v. ; *C.R.* 1890, p. 322). M. Maspero thinks that such reliefs, though possibly the work of Syrian artists, were executed in Egypt. M. Heuzey thinks that the figures are Egyptian auxiliaries, probably of Asiatic origin. 3. Th. Reinach ; a portrait of Pompey : a new reproduction of the bust published by Helbig in *Röm. Mitth.* i. p. 37, pl. 1 : plate. 4. Blanchet ; publishes a bronze in form of a vase-handle, decorated with figures representing a conquered nation and warriors ; compares these figures with reliefs on Trajan's column : plate. 5. de Baye ; the necropolis of Mouranka in Russia : tombs discovered last year, containing objects attributed to the Tartars of the fourteenth century. 6. Toulouse ; discovery of Roman remains at the s. extremity of the Butte Sainte-Geneviève and other sites in Paris : thirty-six cuts. 7. Mowat ; inscriptions of the city of the Lingones preserved at Dijon and at Langres (continued from *Rev. Arch.* 1889, p. 363—379).

Note on a basilica recently discovered at Doukla, by Gérard ; and on the inscriptions therein, by Cagnat ; on the Vienna 'Attischen Grabreliefs,' by Perrot ; *Reviews.* Cagnat's 'Cours d'Épigraphie' ; Tardieu's 'Géographie de Strabon' ; Moreau's 'Album Caranda' ; Wilpert's 'Prinzipienfragen der christlichen Archæologie' ; Engelmann's 'Bilder-atlas zum Homer.'

The Same. July—August, 1890.

1. de Morgan ; the prehistoric necropoleis of North Persia ; the result of two months' researches among the dolmens of Lenkoran ; five cuts. 2. Blanchet ; contributions to the Gallo-Roman epigraphy of Saintes. 3. Mowat ; continues his article from last issue (no. 7 above) : two plates. 4. Delisle ; imitation of ancient writings by the scribes of mediæval times : two plates. 5. Audollent ; winged Victory of the Museum of Constantine (Algeria) ; a bronze statuette, perhaps of the first or second century A.D. : the type is that of the Paionios statue. An inscription shows that it stood on a globe in the hand of a silver statue of Jupiter in the Capitol at Circa : plate. 6. S. Reinach ; on a passage of Sidonius Apollinaris, disposing of the evidence (based on this passage) of the activity of volcanoes in Gaul A.D. 471—5. 7. Babin ; note on the employment of triangles in the relative proportions of Greek monuments. Shows from various examples that 'in Greek architecture, beside the modular system in which all the parts

of an edifice express themselves in the function of a common measure, there were also geometric methods based upon the employment of triangles, and a particular method based on the equilateral triangle' : twenty cuts. 8. Jourdanne ; restoration of a 'pagus' of l'Aude ; discusses the position of the district of Carbadès.

Note by de Mély on article 5 of preceding issue : the custom of covering the long tresses of hair, noted by M. de Baye at Mouranka, is paralleled among the Kalmucks of the Don and Volga steppes.

Reviews. 'Ephemeris Epigraphica' VII (addimenta ad Corpus, vol. VII) ; de Jubainville's 'Recherches sur l'origine de la propriété foncière' &c. Cagnat : review of epigraphical publications relating to Roman antiquity.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. May—December, 1890. Athens and Paris.

1. Homolle ; accounts and inventories of the Delian temples in the year 279 ; publishes a large intact stele engraved on all sides ; on face A are recorded the cash in hand, the receipts for the year, such as farm property, leases, capital and interest on loans recovered &c. ; current expenses, salaries &c. ; the balanced account and formula of transmission. On face B are the inventories of the Artemision, the temple of Apollo, the temple of the Seven Statues, the temple of Eileithyia, and the Chalkotheke. On the sides are mainly supplements to the above accounts. Containing a mass of curious information on all sorts of subjects connected with ancient Greek life : two plates. 2. Fougères ; bas relief of Tegea representing a lioness : probably inspired, at a later period, by the sculptures on the temple of Athene Alea : plate. 3. Foucart ; an Athenian inscription (*C. I. A.* iii. 68, from copies of Spon and Fourmont, now rediscovered). 4. Th. Reinach ; letter to Comm. J. B. de Rossi on the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus ; researches partly based upon unpublished notes of Cyriac of Anconâ, found by M. de Rossi in the Vatican, Naples and Parma : with plan of the temple. 5. Jamot ; votive stele found in the hieron of the Muses : the inscription incomplete, mentions Hesiod and the Muses ; the relief shows the bust of a curious figure of which the interpretation is doubtful ; two plates. 6. Lechat : the archaic statues of the Akropolis Museum, continued ; discusses (vii) their polychromy ; compares it with the Egyptian usage—'colouring as conventional as possible, crude tints applied without any intention of truth'—(viii) their interpretation. 7. Radet and Paris ; an inscription relating to Ptolemy son of Thraseas. 8. Foucart ; on the sculptures and date of some buildings of Epidauros : the Timotheos who furnished models for the sculptures of the temple of Asklepios (*Εφημ. Αρχ.* 1886, p. 145) is the same sculptor who worked on the Mausoleum : the temple dates from about B.C. 375—380 ; the Polykleitos, whom Pausanias mentions as having constructed the theatre and the tholos, is Polykleitos the younger. 9. Fougères ; a statuette of Telesphoros and a female head, from Mantinea : two plates and cut. 10. Holleaux ; bronze statuette found at the temple of Apollo Ptoos : plate. 11. Doublet and Deschamps ; thirty-six inscriptions of Caria. 12. Defrasse and Lechat ; notes on Epidauros ; the tholos was a building which covered the sacred source of Asklepios ; discussing the identification of the altar of Asklepios : two plans. 13. Bérard ; inscription recording the dedication of two statues to the proconsul Voconius Saxa. 14. Cousin ; addendum to his article on the letter of Darius Hystaspes (*Bulletin*, xiii. p. 529). 15. Bérard ; two Attic inscriptions.

Römische Mittheilungen. 1890: part 2. Rome.

1. Mommsen; a new sylloge epigraphica of the fifteenth century. 2. Milani; publishes an Etruscan bronze mirror case with relief representing Dionysos, Eirene and Ploutos as in Euripides *Bacchae* 416—420; with a discussion of the types of Eirene and of the group: plate, two cuts. 3. Mau; excavations in Pompeii 1888—1890; the present description refers to Insula viii. 2: plan. 4. Savignoni; two monuments with inscriptions of artists; the one, from the agora of Gortyna, gives the leg of a figure (perhaps an emperor) beside which is a little statuette of Attis; signed by Athenaios son of Dionysios, a Parian (cf. Löwy, *Inscr. Gr. Bildh.* n. 466). The other is the lower part of a colossal female figure, discovered near the first; it represents probably Fortuna, and is signed by Eisidotos an Athenian; two cuts. 5. Kern; a new page of the Codex Coburgensis discovered by him in the Codex Ursinianus of the Vatican: with important drawings of ancient marbles, especially that of a relief which supplies the motive to a fragmentary relief of the Lateran (Benndorf-Schoene, no. 37): plate and cut. 6. Keller; a wall painting of the Villa Pamfili shows that the modern method of climbing a palm-tree by means of a circle of rope existed in antiquity also: two cuts.

'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική. 1889. Athens.

1. Leonardos; inscriptions of the Amphiareion, (continued from 1886, p. 53); nos. 24—33; 24, the earliest from this site, gives the name of an Athenian sculptor Strombichos; 25, the signature of the Sikyonian Thoinias; 26, a list of silver objects in the

Amphiareion; 28, honorary decree in favour of Pytheas, an official elected ἐπὶ τὰς κρήνας; 29, eight decrees of proxenia; 30, eight similar decrees; 31, two similar decrees; 32, two similar; 33, six similar. 2. Koumanoudes; eleven inscriptions of Athens, Amorgos and Gytheium: to which Svoronos adds a note on the city of Koropissos in Numismatics. 3. Svoronos; analecta numismatica; a variety of identifications of types on coins: two plates of coin types, five cuts in text. 4. Philios; publishes four archaic heads from Eleusis, recently found; one has been fitted to a torso found some distance away. (see 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1884, pl. 8, figs. 5 and 5a): four plates. 5. Tsountas; researches in Laconia, and the tomb of Vaphio. In the spring of 1888 the author was appointed by the Ἀρχ. Ἐταιρία to conduct researches; several Mykenaeen sites were examined which contained little beside potters, but the main objective was the opening of the well known cupola grave παρὰ τὸ Βαφείον. It differs from the Mykenae tombs in being built on the crest of a hill which is naturally conical. Even in the dromos no pottery later than Mykenaeen was found. Within the tomb a large number of objects of the Mykenae period were found, and are carefully described, and for the most part admirably illustrated on the four plates which accompany this article. Chief among these are the already famous gold cups with reliefs representing the hunting and capture of bulls (pl. 9). 6. Philios; excavations of ancient tombs in Eleusis (cf. *Praktika*, 1884, p. 83; and plan in *ibid.* 1887): four cuts, two plans. 7. Svoronos; addenda to his book 'Numismatique de la Crète ancienne': and addendum to his article on Koropissos (above, no. 2).

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie u. Pädagogik. Ed. Fleckeisen u. Masius. Leipzig, 1890.

Heft 1 contains (1) C. Krauth *Das Skythenland nach Herodotos*, a careful study by a writer who is evidently acquainted with the district. (2) O. Apelt zu *Platon's Politeia* V. 473 D, proposing αἱ πολιτικαὶ φύσεις for αἱ πολλαὶ φ. (3) F. Vollbrecht *Zur Ilias* II 257—267, some comments on the wasp-simile. (4) E. Schulze *Zur Odyssee*, proposing ἰχθύσιν εἰναλίους in μ 251, δὴν τότε γ' ἦδη in χ 184, and πνίγος ἀλέων in v 226. (5) B. Lupus *Achradina*, a long article controverting F. Haverfield's opinion (*Class. Rev.* III. pp. 110—112) that the Achradina was confined to the plain and did not include any of the heights of Epipolae. (6) A. Ludwig *Baubo und Demeter*, an emendation of the Orphic fragment (215 in Abel's edition) preserved in the *προτροπικός* of Clemens Al. II. 20. The emendation is founded on Arnobius *Adv. nationes* V. 25 sq. (7) E. Brandes *Zum 6ten u. 8ten Buche der Aeneis, die Unterwelt u. der Schild des Aeneas*, the first part of a long article, comparing these passages with Homer. (8) H. Kriege *Zu Terentius*, a criticism of the prologue to *Hauton*.

Heft 2 contains (1) K. Brandt *Zur Gesch. u. Composition der Ilias* Th. VIII., dealing chiefly with the twentieth book. (2) F. Seiler *Die Katastrophe in Soph. Antigone*, a defence of Sophocles' technique against a criticism of Bellermann's. (3) O. E. Schmidt *Zur Kritik der Briefe Ciceros an M. Brutus*,

partly an attempt to reconstruct the archetype of these letters, partly a criticism of Cicero's policy in the Mutinensian war. (4) J. Lange *Zu Plautus*, some emendations. (5) E. Brandes *Zum 6ten u. 8ten Buche der Aeneis*, continued. (6) R. Dressler *Zu Cic. Phil.* II. 68, suggesting *horreum etiam saepe uigilantem* for *furere* etc.

Heft 3 contains G. F. Unger *Frühlings Anfang*, the first part of an article intended to prove that, notwithstanding inconsistent observations of ancient authors, spring was popularly supposed, both by Greeks and Romans, to commence at the vernal equinox. (2) C. Haeblerlin *Zu Lysias* XIII. 23, suggesting that ἡγγυῶντο and ὁμολόγουν should be transposed. (3) H. Kothe *Die Bernsteininseln bei Timaios*, a polemical article, maintaining that Samland, and not any more westerly island, was the chief source of amber. (4) F. Susmühl *Zu den Biogr. von Bion u. Pittakos bei Diog. La.*, attempting first to define the limits of the two authorities from whom Diog. compiled his life of Bion, and secondly modifying, though not materially, some statements in a previous article on Pittakos. (5) E. Redtslob *Zu Plaut. Asin.* V. 230, proposing *annuum hunc ut ne cum* etc. (6) C. Stegmann *Zur Kritik der Moralia Plutarchs*, many emendations. (7) K. Wernicke *Das Dubliner Demosthenes-relief*, contending that the Dublin relief is a copy, and a bad copy, of a relief found at Verona (*Dütschke* IV. p. 275, No. 626) and that the title is spurious. (8) Th. Hultsch *Zu Dion. Cassius* ed. Dindorf. I. fr. 57, 49, emending the text

with the help of Strabo. (9) N. Fritsch *Zu Horatius Oden*, chiefly exegetical notes. (10) W. Soltau *Der Geburtstag des Augustus*, a note on the 23rd September, showing that this day was comitial, and not fastus, before the Caesarian calendar was introduced.

Philologus, xlviii. 1, first half contains:—

I. R. Peppmüller, *Der Hymnus auf Pan*. Emendations, followed by translation of whole.—II. B. Todt, *Z. Erklärung u. Kritik von Aeschylus' Schutz-flehenden*. Emends several passages and concludes with a fuller examination of the exodos.—III. Joannes Ilberg, *Galeniana*. Readings from the margin of an Aldine at Dresden.—IV. R. Opitz, *Weiteres z. Kritik des Rhetor Seneca*.—V. M. Kiderlin, *Zum XI. Buche des Quintilianus*.—VI. G. F. Unger, *Der Tod des Philippos Aridaïos 316 v. Chr.* Proves from the testimony of Porphyry (*ap. Euseb.*) and other considerations that the received date for the fall of Aridaeus is about nine months too early, and modifies other dates accordingly.

Short notes: W. Schmid, *Emendationum ad Aristideum spec.* III.—C. Häberlin, *Aeschyl. Suppl.* 555. 'The line lost after this is Aesch. Fr. 305. Dind. emended to read *ὡς λέγει γέρον αἶσμα*.'

The same, second half, contains:

VII. K. Tümpel, *Lesbiaka*, I. *ἐπὶ Λεσβίδες*. Attempts to construct the history of these in literature and mythology, starting from I. 130, 638, T. 246 and Hygin. *Poet. Astron.* II. 24, p. 67.—VIII. W. Soltau, *Die römisch-karthagischen Verträge*. 'The original treaties bore no dates: the second (Polybian) is to be placed about 343 B.C.; it was unfavourable to Rome and so not mentioned by Livy.'—IX. H. Blümner, *Ueber d. Farbenbezeichnungen bei d. röm. Dichtern*. Discusses *albus* and *candidus*.—X. W. Studemund, *Die Sacra Argeorum*. The topography in Varro L. L. V. 45-54.

Miscellen:—

1. O. Crusius, *Ein Epigramm auf Hyllos den Herakliden*, Polyb. xv. 16.—2. O. Bachmann, *Zu Aristophanes*. 'Schnee's modifications of the received text in *Av.* 648-57 and *Ach.* 317 sq. are unnecessary.'—3. A. Häckermann, *Zu Juvenal, Sat.* viii. l. 90, *regum* better than *rerum*: l. 199 sq. follows Madvig (*Op.* ii. p. 181).—4. I. Antonibon, *De codice Varronis Mutinensi*.—5. E. Meyer, *Pron und Haliaia in Argos*. 'Haliaia was also the name of the judicial assembly at Argos: Pron was its place of meeting.'—6. W. Streit, *Die polybianische Beschreibung der Schlacht bei Zama*. Defends it against Delbrück.—7. H. Schiller, *Zur Topographie des alten Alexandria*.—8. Cr(usius), *Das Porsonische Gesetz bei den Komikern*. 'Is not observed'—9. M. Hertz, *Nachträgliches zu den Excerpta Palatina*.

Short notes:—

K. Tümpel, *Zu Iuba v. Mauretanien*, Assigns frag. 7 to his Ὀμοιώτης.—O. Immisch, *Ad Orionem Thebanum*.

Rheinisches Museum, xlv. 3, contains:—

F. Buecheler, *Oskische Funde*. Five new inscriptions from the necropolis of the ancient Capua, with explanations and comments.—A. Riese, *Die Sueben*. Attempts to construct their history from the references, especially in Caesar and Tacitus, and concludes that they were not a tribe but a tribal confederation.—P. Cauer, *Zur homerischen Interpunktion*. Showing how a change of punctuation improves the sense of many passages; e.g. in I. 336 he reads *εἴλετ' ἔχει δ' ἄλοχον θυμαρά, τῇ παριαύων κ.τ.έ.*—

C. Frick, *Joseph Justus Scaliger u. d. Chroniken d. Victor Tunnunensis u. d. Joannes Biclarenensis*.—J. Bruns, *Lucian und Oenomaos*. An analysis of L's *Zeus Τραγῶδης* and Z. *Ἐλεγχόμενος*, and attempt to show that the latter was inspired by a work of O's.—J. Schmidt, *Zama*. Disputes Mommsen's identification (*Hermes* xx. p. 144 sq.) of *Zama Regia* with West Zama instead of E.—F. Blass, *Demosthenische Studien*. 'The use of aorist and imperfect forms is not fortuitous and the MS. testimony is mostly reliable.'—O. Rossbach, *Kretische Münzen und Sagen*.—C. Cichorius, *Ein Bündnissvertrag zwischen Rom und Methymna*. Restores an inscription containing a treaty between Rome and Methymna, and by its means reconstructs that with Astypalaea.—O. Crusius, *Ad poetas Latinos exegetica*.—G. Hirschfeld, *Z. d. Inschriften von Naukratis*. Rejects E. Gardner's views on the date of foundation for Naukratis and on history of Ionic alphabet. Admits independence of Abu Simbel alphabet. ζ is not an older form of ξ but derived from *Tsade* (not *Schin*), and so the Ionic alphabet divides into two groups; finally, that of the powerful Miletus gained the day.

Miscellen:—

A. Ludwig, *Zum homerischen Hermes-Hymnus*, l. 400, reads *ῥ' ἄδην τὰ χρήματ' ἀτάλλετο νυκτὸς ἐν ὄρρ.*—E. Graf, *Die ἀρχαὶ Terpanδερς*.—M. Schanz, *Zu Sophokles. Phil.* 758 reads *διὰ χρόνον νόσος, πλάων*, Ib. 1383 *ὠφελῶν μόνον*.—Th. Gomperz and O. Ribbeck, *In Sachen der Theophrastischen Charaktere*.—H. L. Ulrichs, *Ueber die Tempelstatue des Thrasymedes im Asklepieion zu Epidaurus*.—L. Traube, *Sophocles, ein Dichter der Anthologia Latina*.—M. Schanz, *Zu den lateinischen Panegyriken*. 'Bähr. *Paneg. lat.* 247, c. iv. by reading *ingenuis indigni cruciatu corporibus* no lacuna need be assumed.'—Joh. Schmidt, *Afrikanische Inschriften*.—H. L. Ulrichs, *Zu Plinius nat. hist.* 36, 13. Denies the necessity of emending the words *et omnibus fere quae fecit* etc.—*Berichtigungen*.

The same, xlv. 4:—

K. Buresch, *Triopceion, Herodes, Regilla*. Dates in the life of Herodes Atticus.—H. van Herwerden, *Homericæ*. Notes and conjectures.—M. Ihm, *Observationes in patres ecclesiasticos Latinos*.—Fr. Vogel, *Ephorus u. Diodor über den Ausbruch des peloponnesischen Kriegs*.—M. Manitius, *Zu spätlateinischen Dichtern*.—O. Immisch, *Zur Geschichte der griechischen Lyrik*: 1. *δράματα τραγικά*, 'heroic compositions'; 2. *σκόλια*, 'witty sallies in verse'.—E. Pernice, *Ad Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquias*.—J. Koch, *Claudian u. d. Ereignisse der Jahre 395 bis 398*. Gives the events chronologically arranged, after demonstrating the importance of Claudian's testimony.—J. Bruns, *Studien zu Alexander von Aphrodisias*. I. On the Stoic view of possibility: notes, chiefly critical, on passages in A.'s *De fato* and *Questiones*.

Miscellen:—

J. Wackernagel, *Zum Demeterhymnus*. Reads *ὅη* for *εἰ μή* in l. 24.—F. Buecheler, *Zu Philodemus περὶ ποιμάτων*.—K. Dziatzko, *Zu Lucilius* (Cicero, *de fin.*). Attempts to restore the fragment in II. 8, 23, and modifies the text accordingly.—G. Gundermann, *Die via Gallica*. 'Is not, as generally supposed, a continuation of the *Aurelia*, but a branch of the *Appia* running through the Pomptine territory, cf. Front. *Strat.* II. 6. 1.'—Title and Index to vol. xlv.

The same, xlv. 1, contains:—

A. V. Domaszewski, *Zur Geschichte d. röm. Provinzialverwaltung I. Moesia u. Hispania citerior*.—A. Ludwig, *Zum homerischen Hermes-Hymnus*.

Emendations.—C. Haeblerlin, *Quaestiones criticae in L. Annaei Senecae de beneficiis libros*.—Th. Kock, *Zu Phrynichos u. Aristophanes*. Strictures on the paper in *Hermes* xxiv. 35 f.—E. Oder, *Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Landwirtschaft bei den Griechen* I. Dealing principally with Anatolius and his authorities.—H. Nissen, *Zu d. röm. Stadtrechten*. On the *lex Iulia municipalis*, *Tabulae Heracl.* and *lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae*.—J. Ilberg, *Die Hippokratessaufgaben des Artemidoros Kapitön u. Dioskurides*.—I. Bruns, *Studien zu Alexander von Aphrodisias* II. (*Quaestiones* II. 3).

O. Ribbeck, *Zur 'Oaristús*, l. 9 reads ΚΟ ἄδε τί γηράσκω; τόδε κ.τ.λ. l. 10 ΔΑ. ἄ (χὰ) σταφυλὶς σταφίς ἔσται ὃ νῦν ῥόδον, αὖθις δλεῖται followed by l. 17, to the κορή. After l. 15, supposes a lacuna of two lines, l. 23 f. reads καὶ τί φίλον στέρξαιμι and τίν' οὐ τρομέουσι.—O. Ribbeck, *Zu den 'Alieis* (*Theocr.* xxi.) l. 58, reads πιστεύσα καλὰ γρητον εὐπέρνατον. l. 10, ? τὰ φουκίοντα τε νῆτρα of Suidas.—J. Schmidt, *Zu Theocrit.* vii. l. 78, retains πεπόνθεις and does not accept identification with the tale of Lycus. l. 154 understands πῶμα as 'song'.—Chr. Bartholomae, *Das Griechische Infinitivsuffix -σθαι*. Analyses e.g. *Feideσθαι*, *Feid-εσ* an -es- stem + sx. -dha-, a dative from *√dhē* 'place'; then εἶδε-ται: εἶδεσ-θαι produced φερεται: φερεσ-θαι and so -σθαι became inf. sx. Perhaps Gk. -σθε beside Skt. *dham* points to 1ῃ) (2ῃ) sxes, one with *zdh-*, one with *dhv-*; then levelled out.—M. Manitius, *Zur späten latein. Dichtern*.—J. Schmidt, *Lex dedicationis von Mactaris*.—F. B(uechler), *Altes Latein*. xv. 'Eples. in-sus in Plautus and their derivs. are often to be replaced by the older forms in -tus &c.

The same, xlv. 2, contains :—

F. Buecheler, *Oskisches*. Restoring and commenting on two more Capuan inserr.—A. Koerte, *Augusteoc bei Philodem*. Finds in the Varius and Quintilius mentioned in the fragments *Vol. Hercul.* 2 I. f. 92 and VII. f. 196 L. Varius Rufus and Quintilius Varus Cremonensis the friends of Horace and Vergil.—F. Dümmler, *Die Quellen Zu Polygnots Nekyia*. I. *Die Nekyia der Nosten*.—A. V. Domaszewski, *Zur Geschichte d. röm. Provinzialverwaltung*, II. *Pannonia inferior*.—E. Oder, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Landwirtschaft bei den Griechen* II. On the relation of Anatolius to the Byzantine collection and especially to Didymus.—I. Bruns, *Studien zu Alexander von Aphrodisias* III. His views on 'Providence'.—G. Eskuhe, *Die Elisionen in den 2 letzten Füßen des lat. Hexameters*. 'The distaste for these steadily increases as the poetical standard rises'.—O. Crusius, *Ein vergessenes Fragment des Rhinthon*. Reconstructs frag. and assigns it to a comedy by Rhinthon, from comparison of Clemens *Protr.* 16, Firmicus *Mat. de err. prof. relig.* 26, and Arnob. *Adv. nat.* v. 20.—E. Bruhn, *Suida*. Pointing out excerpts in S. (1) from Aelian *V.H.* (2) from Iamblichus *Babylonica*.—Ch. Hülsen, *Z. d. Inschr. des Herodes Atticus*. Disagrees with Buresch's conclusion in *Rh. Mus.* xlv.—H. Swoboda, *Bemerkungen zur politischen Stellung der Athenischen Strategen*. Showing that they possessed important political rights, the most important being that of laying proposals before the *Βουλή*.

Miscellen :—

C. Haeblerlin, *Aristotelis Politic.* vi. 18.—O. Ribbeck, *Varia*. Emendations of Latin poets.—M. Manitius, *Z. späten lat. Dichtern*.—Ferd. Becher, *Z. Cicero pro Ligurio* 2, 4-5. 'Omit tempus and further correction is unnecessary'.—J. Schmidt, *Die Zuverlässigkeit der Ortsbeschreibungen in Sallusts Jugurtha* Maintains his general reliability.—C. Weyman, *Z. Maximus Taur.*

Zeitschrift für das Gymnasial-Wesen, 1890.

Jan. contains nothing of interest.

Feb.—Mar. A favourable notice of P. Schmitt, *Ueber den Ursprung der Substantivsatz mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen*, and J. Frenzel, *Die Entwicklung des relativen Satzbaues im Griechischen*, by R. Grosser. Paul Kretschmer, *Beiträge zur griechischen Grammatik*. Berliner Inaugural-Dissertation. (B. Büchschütz), contains two parts: (1) The change of τ before ι into σ; (2) The transition from the musical to the expiratory accentuation in Greek. P. Vergili Maronis *Aeneis* ed. Th. Ladewig second edition by P. Deuticke (P. v. Boltenstern). The editor says 'vestigia Ladewigi sequenda esse vidi religiose,' yet he departs from L's text in not a few places. The Mediceus with the readings of the first hand (M¹) is the chief foundation of the text.

April, contains nothing of interest.

May, C. Meissner, *Kurzgefasste lateinische Synonymik nebst einem Antibarbarus*, fourth edition (O. Weissenfels). 'Both books have long been known as carefully elaborated and skilfully composed helps, and need no long recommendation.'

June, contains nothing of interest. The February, March, April, and June numbers contain a long notice by O. Pilz of the fortieth meeting of German philologists and schoolmasters held at Gürlitz, 2-5 October, 1889.

Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxx. 6 :—

Paul Kretschmer. The change of τ before ι to σ. Assimilation occurs in all dialects before medial unaccented ι, but does not occur after σ, at the beginning of a word, before accented ι and before final ι in paroxytones. In other cases the Ionic, Attic, Cyprian, Arcadian and Aeolian dialects change τ before final ι into σ even in proparoxytones, the other dialects leave τ unaltered. The significance of these facts for the relations of the Greek dialects is discussed.—Kretschmer also discusses the change from the chromatic to the expiratory accent in Greek, which he believes to have begun in the 1st or 2nd century B.C.—F. Solensen discusses the etymology of ἐπικούρος, κρατῖνός, and μαλθακός.

The same, xxxi. 1.

Josef Zubaty discusses the treatment of the original surd dental aspirate in Greek and Latin. In Greek it appears generally as θ, but after σ and perhaps ν as τ. In Latin it appears as t, but original sth becomes ss. [The writer does not seem to be aware of Mr. J. H. Moulton's discussion of the subject in the *American Journal of Philology*, where more satisfactory results are arrived at.]—G. Hatzidakis discusses at length the history of mediaeval and modern Greek. The number contains little else of interest to readers of the *Classical Review*.

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The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1890.

THE BODLEIAN FACSIMILES OF LATIN PAPYRI FROM HERCULANEUM.

THE Bodleian Library, Oxford, possesses seven folio volumes containing pencil copies of the papyrus rolls found at Herculaneum in 1752. These copies were made under the supervision of the Rev. John Hayter, whom the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) had sent to Naples to conduct the work of unrolling and copying the papyri, a work carried on at the Prince's expense. They are generally pronounced to be better than the pencil copies at Naples of the same rolls, the latter having been made many years after, when the papyri had considerably suffered from exposure and handling; and no edition of any of the Herculanean rolls can be deemed satisfactory which is not based on the Oxford as well as the Naples facsimiles. Most of these Naples facsimiles have been published in a ponderous series of twenty-two folio volumes, the *Collectio Prior* (1793—1855) and the *Collectio Altera* (1862—1876), but the Oxford copies with a few exceptions remained unavailable for students outside Oxford until this year, when the Oxford Philological Society had photographs taken of the collection, and presented a set to five of the leading libraries on the Continent. There is some hope therefore that in the next few years we shall have editions of the more important texts of the rolls from foreign scholars. The rolls photographed by the Society comprised all the Greek rolls in the Oxford collection which had not been previously published or edited. The Latin rolls, partly through lack of funds, and partly from the fact that they are so few in number, so fragmentary and so illegible compared with the Greek, were left untouched. It may

then be worth while to take this opportunity of giving such information about them as is available.

The Latin papyri found at Herculaneum seem to have been, most of them, in a separate corner of the *Villa dei Papiri*, enclosed in a single *capsa*. The rolls were of larger size than the Greek rolls, and the writing of a larger type, but from some reason or other they baffled the best attempts of the workmen to unroll them and like the Gordian knot had to be cut or chopped, not untied. The result is that what we possess of Latin from Herculaneum is meagre and fragmentary to the last degree. *Disiecta membra* of words and sentences appear here and there in the most bewildering manner, so that most persons who have examined them will concur in the verdict which Professor Scott in his Catalogue of the Oxford Facsimiles pronounces on almost every fragment, 'nothing intelligible.' The Latin rolls (that is to say rolls represented by one or two or three fragments apiece) which he enumerates are fifteen in all, their reference numbers being:—78 (Oxf. Facs. VII. p. 1581), 153 (O.F. VII. p. 1584 *sqq.*), 215 (O.F. VII. p. 1589 *sqq.*), 218 (O.F. VII. p. 1594 *sqq.*), 324 (O.F. VII. p. 1610 *sqq.*), 395 (O.F. VII. p. 1615), 397 (O.F. VI. p. 1569, 1571, 1572), 399 (O.F. VI. p. 1569), 413 (O.F. VI. p. 1569, and 1572), 459 (O.F. VI. p. 1571), 817 (O.F. VII. p. 1618 *sqq.*), 1057 (O.F. VII. p. 1640 *sqq.*), 1082 (O.F. VI. p. 1568 and 1570), 1419 (O.F. VI. p. 1571), 1463 (O.F. VII. p. 1653 *sqq.*), and one unnumbered fragment, marked G (O.F. VI. p. 1573). To these must be added five fragmentary rolls

(nos. 371, 396, 502, 1484, 1620) represented in a volume of facsimiles¹ which belongs to the Clarendon Press, and is now deposited in the Bodleian Library—rolls which unfortunately labour under the same Cimmerian obscurity as those already mentioned. In fact the only one of the Latin papyri from which anything definite has been elicited is no. 817, containing a hexameter poem, of which 8 pages, reproduced in lithograph at the end of Professor Scott's book, have been edited by Baehrens² in the *Poetae Latini Minores*, vol. I., under the title *Incerti de Augusti Bello Aegyptiaco Carmen*. There are other ten pages containing fragments of this poem in the Oxford Facsimiles, which were not dealt with by Baehrens, and which, though even more scrappy than the pages he edited, are far from being unintelligible. On p. 1633 we have the greater part of three lines:—

<quae> iubet ira deum vi<cti>s pa<tie>nda
<put>emus

....is e<ce>e patet tellus pelusia late

<praeb>et iter totoque tibi v<acat> a<e>
quor<e> nilus.

and on p. 1627 two hemistichs

<vir> gineos parat illa choros...

<im> misce<t> que mares inpuberis...

With the help of the Naples unpublished fragments of the same roll (see a photograph of one of these in Zangemeister and Wattenbach, *Exempla Codicum Latinorum litteris majusculis scriptorum*, Heidelberg, 1876) some idea might be formed of the scope and contents of the poem. But undoubtedly the main interest of this, as of the other Latin rolls, is the light it throws on Latin writing and spelling of the first century A.D. Our previous ideas of early Imperial bookwriting, gained from the oldest parchment MSS., with their sharp distinction between Square Capitals, Rustic Capitals, and Uncials, are modified by an examination of the characters used in this poem written on papyrus, for though the style of writing approaches nearly to the Rustic Capitals, many of the letters (notably U) have somewhat of the Uncial type, and now and then actual Uncial

letters are introduced. For example, in the fragment on p. 1637 we have a line ending *fiducia gentis* with the *d* in its Uncial form, while the *g* has a form often found in the Pompeian graffiti (see Zangemeister's table in vol. IV. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, col. iv., no. 7).

Almost every word in the copies, probably every word in the originals, is separated by a dot from the following word, and, contrary to the usual practice on inscriptions, the word at the end of the line has a dot after it like the rest. Between a preposition and its noun this dot is sometimes omitted (e.g. *inmunere*, p. 1618, but *in somnum* with a dot after *in*, p. 1623), while on the other hand in another Latin papyrus (no. 397) on p. 1569, containing a fragment of a hexameter poem, we have the Pres. Inf. Pass. of *perimo* spelt *per emi*, with a dot between the preposition and the verb (line 3 . . *er per emi ni* . .). The usual punctuation sign is a longish line sloping upwards from left to right (e.g. end of line 4 on p. 1619, middle of line 3 on p. 1624), which, when in the middle of the line, starts above the dot that marks the termination of a word, so as to have very much the same appearance as the ordinary comma sign in Caroline minuscules, or as the English mark of exclamation. Another sign, like a sloping T without a right hand cross-bar, occurs at the end of the second line on p. 1622, and seems to indicate a more complete pause, while on p. 1625, at the end of a book, we have a third sign something like the letter Y. The *paragraphus* mark mentioned by Isidore *Orig.* I. 21 (see Wattenbach *Anleitung zur lateinischen Palaeographie*, 4th edn., p. 88) occurs in a modified form at the beginning of the line on p. 1623 and 1625, and in another Latin papyrus (no. 397) on p. 1571. Long vowels are indicated by a sloping accent-mark above. This is found often, but not invariably, for long *e*, *o*, *u* (I have not noticed an example for long *a*), but in the case of long *i* throughout no. 817 the mark becomes vertical, and is placed so as to form a straight upward continuation of the letter, giving the appearance of two *i*'s one on the top of the other. The high form of *i* is something quite different. It appears e.g. in the words *loci*, p. 1622, *ni*, p. 1620, *coniunx*, p. 1621, <p>*haris*, p. 1621, *milite*, p. 1624.

As regards orthography, the following spellings deserve notice:—Preposition in Compounds, e.g. *opsessis* p. 1618, *opsidione* p. 1625, *adsidu<o>* p. 1618, *inridens* p. 1624, *inlita* p. 1623, *imminet* p. 1618, *im<pe>riis* p. 1619, *im<per>ii* p. 1620, *impetus*

¹ Some or all of these are copies of the rolls (Greek and Latin) opened by Sir Humphry Davy in 1818. Whether they are unique, or whether there exist duplicate copies at Naples has not been ascertained. Specimens of a few may be seen in the volume of the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for 1821.

² His text has been considerably improved by Mr. Robinson Ellis in the *Journal of Philology*, 1887. I hear that the Clarendon Press is about to publish copperplate impressions of these 8 pages, along with some pages of a Greek roll, containing the fourth book of Philodemus' treatise on Death (περί Θανάτου).

p. 1618, *inpruberis* p. 1627, and in no. 1463 (p. 1654) *adfini* (with the high form for the second *i*). Acc. Pl. of I. -Stems, e.g. *instantis* p. 1622, *segnis* p. 1621 *talis* p. 1625, *sollemnis* p. 1625, *partis* . . om<n>is p. 1621, but *mares* p. 1627, and Nom. Pl. *classes* p. 1622. Also <e>l<ia>nnunc p. 1621 (according to Mr. Ellis's certain restoration), *uolnere* p. 1623, *interemit* (Pres.) p. 1623; *litora* p. 1631. *Cesaris* p. 1618 must surely be a clerical error. We have *caesar* on p. 1624. On p. 1627 a line ends . . *eida morest*, where *morest* (the *o* has the mark of length over it) seems to stand for *more est*. Long vowels are indicated for *segnis* p. 1621, *consiliis* p. 1625, *instantis* p. 1622, *illuc* p. 1622. In no. 1057 (p. 1641) we have some part of the verb *consecro* spelt *consacr* . .

Two other papyri, no. 397 (four frags.) and no. 399 (one fragt.), seem to have contained hexameters. In both of these, as in no. 817, almost every word is separated by a dot, and a long vowel is sometimes marked by an accent-sign. Professor Scott, who thinks that the *Carmen de Augusti Bello* (no. 817) may have been written by the author of the *Laus Pisonis*, considers it possible that some of the other Latin rolls contain this latter poem. Neither no. 397 nor no. 399 can have done so. Test-words, which will serve to identify them with any poem to which they belong, are for no. 397 *stiva* in the third fragt. on p. 1571 *-nue<m> in stiva*, and for no. 399, line 1 *-sem romere terr<am>*, line 2 *ceu semina de-*. The contents of the other Latin rolls in Capital writing can hardly even be guessed at, so scanty are the fragments. The writing of no. 371 is remarkably regular and careful, like the letters of an inscription, but the two fragments contain only about a score of letters between them, and perhaps not a complete word. The care and elegance with which they are written give strong presumption that the papyrus contained the work of some famous author. Possibly some reader of the *Classical Review* may be ingenious enough to discover what author it was, if I give the fragments in full :—

fragt. i. ATORS
 AST
 ROLI
 NIN
fragt. ii. RI (or T)
 OSVO
 NON

The first fragment of no. 1082, on p. 1568, seems to be in Capitals, though badly represented in the facsimile, and, unless it con-

tains the title can hardly be rightly assigned to that roll, for the other fragments numbered 1082 are in a different style of writing, which will be mentioned later.

Of no. 1484 (in the Clarendon Press volume), though we have eight fragments in Square Capitals resembling those of no. 371, they are so meagre as to give little foothold for any conjecture. Lines 3–5 of the eighth fragment (p. 62) suggest that the roll may have contained a speech, delivered in a law-court :—

non m<e>tu<m im>mo mortem <postulat>
<i>ustit <ia>....
<l>ibet ut a vin<die>ta....

Lastly, to complete the list of Capital writings, we have a fragment, which is not assigned to any definite papyrus, but is marked 'G' (O.F. VI. p. 1573), containing some twenty letters, of which nothing can be made.

The greater part however, of the Latin rolls are written in the Cursive character found in many of the Pompeian *graffiti*. (See Zangemeister's Table in vol. IV. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*.) It is a most interesting fact, and one which throws a great deal of light on the earlier stages of Latin Palaeography, that along with the Square Capital and Rustic Capital types of bookwriting we find even at this early period a variety of the Cursive writing of ordinary correspondence used for books. The writing of these rolls can however hardly be called Cursive, for the letters do not run into one another, but stand as a rule separately and neatly formed. The usual form of A is that of no. 4 in col. iii. of Zangemeister's Table (the small cross stroke on the right being often omitted), but there are many other types, one like col. iii., no. 1, another like a capital N with a loop instead of the lower angle. B generally appears as col. iv., no. 4. C has the ordinary capital form, but is sometimes like col. iv. no. 2. D is like col. iv. no. 11. E like col. iv. no. 8. F like the form of E in col. ii. no. 4, but coming below the line. I have not noticed E or F made by two parallel strokes, as in col. iv. no. 10, no. 4. G is like col. iv. no. 7. H. is like col. iv. no. 7. I takes the high form in *anni* no. 413, *-riis* no. 1082, *in* (the preposition?) no. 413, and elsewhere. L has many shapes, one like col. iv. no. 8, others more or less removed from the capital form. M is like col. iii. no. 2. N like col. iv. no. 5. I have not noticed the types of M and N, col. iv. nos. 7–10, 8–10. O is the ordinary capital letter. P has usually the capital form,

but is often like col. iv. no. 6. Thus in no. 215 in the word *perpetui* (p. 1589) the initial *p* has the former shape, the second *p* the latter, being united to the following *e*. *Q* is generally like col. iv. no. 4. *R* like col. iv. no. 10. *S* like no. 9 or no. 10 of col. iv. *T* approximates to the ordinary capital type. *U* is like col. iii. no. 3, sometimes like col. iv. no. 12, but after the letter *Q* is often of smaller size, and raised slightly above the line. *X* has more or less the ordinary capital form. *Y* and *Z* I have not noticed.

In the small and elegant writing of no. 1463 some of these letters have a somewhat different shape. The slanting upstrokes of *A*, *M*, *N* go high above the line, like the forms given by Zangemeister in col. iv. no. 5 *b* (for *A*), col. iii. no. 2 (for *M*), col. iii. no. 1 (for *N*); *U* is like col. iv. no. 11, but more elegantly formed; but the general character of the writing is the same in all the 'Semicursive' rolls, viz. nos. 78, 153, 215, 218, 394, 395, 396, 413, 459, 502, 1057, 1082, 1419, 1463, 1620.

Whether many contractions occur in these fragments it is difficult to say. *q* followed by a dot represents *que* in no. 394 (p. 1610), and elsewhere. In no. 215 (p. 1589), there is a letter like *p* with a cross-bar at the foot. The letter following is *u*, the rest of the word being lost. One naturally guesses, but it is no more than a guess, that the word was *provincia* with the first syllable contracted. Dots between words are not quite so prevalent in these 'Semicursive' rolls as in those written in Capitals, but still are very frequent. Long vowels are rarely marked, e.g. *donis* with accents over *o* and *i*, no. 394 (p. 1612). A mark, something like a long *i* with a dot on the left side seems to indicate the beginning of a paragraph in no. 394 (p. 1610), line 4.

The 'Semicursive' fragments, though much larger than the scraps in Capital writing, do not often allow us to judge of the size of the column. No. 215 seems to have had some 22 lines to the column, and some 17 letters to the line. No. 218 something like the the same. But in no. 396, if one may judge from the appearance of the pencil facsimiles, 25 or more letters go to the line. The first page of no. 1057 (p. 1640) shews about 23 letters to the line, other pages only 17 or 18.

As to the contents of these papyri one can in no case speak with certainty, but one may hazard the guess that no. 394 contained a panegyric on some emperor, probably Augustus. The first 9 lines of the first fragment (p. 1610) shew us

...ti iam comu...utia...
commagenem...tem...
<m>elitenem....d>uct<i>
Tuiq ad aeth <iopi> ça<m e>
pim macedones <quoq> et <ger>
mani abstuo <mili>te <sa>
<l>utem genti ex<ceperunt>
pacem et aeter<n. .
ae iudaesq tetra<rch. .

Without the help of the Naples facsimiles (unpublished for this roll) it is impossible to restore the text with certainty, but the names *Commagenenem*, *Melitenem*, *Macedon*- and *Judae*- are unmistakable, and if I am right in reading in the fourth line *Tuique ad aeth* the last word can hardly be anything else than the name *Aethiopia* or some adjective derived from it. The passage reminds one of a passage in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*:—*alii Germanorum populi per legatos amicitiam meam et populi Romani petierunt. Meo iussu et auspicio ducti sunt duo exercitus eodem fere tempore in Aethiopiam et in Arabiam.* Pliny¹ *N.H.* 6, 181 gives a list of the towns in Aethiopia captured by Augustus' general in this expedition. There are other two fragments of this papyrus in the Oxford Facsimiles, in the first of which (p. 1611)-*granes* suggests *Tigranes*, and at Naples there are said to be five fragments. No. 215 may be of similar contents. At any rate in the fourth fragment (p. 1591) lines 6—8 run as follows:—

exercit <um mac> edona. .
tui ab.....<t>r<i>
bunali.....

and in the fragment on p. 1590 *rufin*- indicates the proper name *Rufus* (or *Rufinus*). And I should not be surprised if no. 1057 turned out to be part of the same work, for the second fragment (p. 1641) shews *arabiosq*, and on p. 1644 *von* (which must be the beginning of a word for a dot stands before the *v*) suggests the name *Vonones*. There are 16 fragments of no. 1057 at Naples, unpublished.

No. 413 may possibly be a dialogue, if we are to argue from the fact that in the second of the three fragments on p. 1572, a fragment from the left hand top corner of a column, the letters *Cum* occur twice in the margin at line 2 and line 7, as if they expressed the name of a speaker, e.g. *Cumanus*, *Cumelius*. In the fragment on p. 1569 occur

¹ The same author tells us (6, 181) that Nero planned an expedition against Aethiopia and sent an exploring party to examine the country.

the words, line 4 <p>ecuniam, line 7 -inta (some numeral), and in the first fragment on p. 1572 *curator* (perhaps <pro>curator).

Nos. 1082 and 1620 are very obscure. On fragt. 11 of the latter (p. 69) we have the words *enobilita*, and, four lines below, what looks like *senatu*. Of no. 153 the fragment on p. 1586 seems to read, line 7 *colonia*, line 8 <co>loniqu<e>. A fragment of 218 (p. 1606) shews what appears to be *thessali*. Of the other rolls nothing can even be guessed with safety, so scanty and illegible are the

copies. But it is likely that most of them are other parts of the same works as those already described, for most books would comprise more than one roll. Something might be made of them and of the other Latin rolls by any one who has time and inclination to go to Naples and examine the unpublished facsimiles of Herculean Papyri in the Museum there. It would be a long and laborious business, but quite worth doing.

W. M. LINDSAY.

BUGGE AND BRÉAL ON THE LATIN ELEMENT IN TEUTONIC MYTHIOLOGY AND SPEECH.

Two articles from the pen of M. Bréal, which appeared in the October and November numbers of the *Journal des Savants*, 1889, are of interest to the classical student, as they present two lines of influence, which Roman thought and Roman speech have exerted upon the German world. The first of these two articles is a discussion of Sophus Bugge's *Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter- und Heldensage* (Munich, Kaiser, 1889). The original of this work is in the Danish language and is entitled *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse*. We find herein presented the result of a profound and thorough study of Norse mythology, wherein, contrary to the belief that has heretofore obtained, that the legends of the Norsemen were peculiarly the creation of Teutonic genius, Professor Bugge claims that the legends relative to the gods and heroes of the North give marked evidence of Graeco-Latin influence and that the old tales of the Eddas are more or less mutilated recollections of Greece and Rome. This theory Bugge proceeds to prove by presenting facts, by enumerating coincidences, by showing points of contact. The god Thor, for instance, owes some episodes of his history to Jupiter and Hercules; the legend of the goddess Freyja is similar to that of Venus; the hero Baldur is in part a reproduction of Achilles. It is true that these resemblances have long since been recognized by mythologists, but they have been attributed to the unity of origin of the Indo-European race and have accordingly been made a matter of comparison; Bugge grants to certain Scandinavian heroes a very high antiquity, but he considers that Norse

mythology as a whole in its present form is of recent date and consists of a variety of elements.

According to him not only the classical, but also the Christian element is clearly traceable in the songs of the Eddas. The character of Baldur is, for instance, but a mixture of that of Achilles and Christ. The Christian Lucifer becomes in northern legend the malevolent Loki; the Roman soldier Longinus is Hödr, who strikes Baldur the mortal blow. The oak Yggdrasil, that covers the three worlds, is the outgrowth of a combination of the tree of life and of the cross.

The mythical and heroic poetry of the North is, in the opinion of Bugge, not older than the epoch of the Vikings, that is, than the ninth century A.D. The mixture of heterogeneous elements contained therein is due to the contact of Norwegian mariners with the inhabitants of England and Ireland, where they gathered the tales and legends that were current there at that time and carried them with them to their northern home, thus furnishing the material for the poetry that sprang up in that and the following century. Nowhere else than in the convents of Ireland, where the last remnants of ancient culture found refuge, are the classical traditions intermingled with Christian. These convents became the centres of propagation and we find these myths recounted not only in the Irish, but also in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. In the language, then, Bugge finds strong support for his theory; from the Eddas, he cites words of Latin origin which occur also in Anglo-Saxon:—

Latin	Anglo-Saxon	Norse
calix	calic	kalkr
gemma	gim	gimr
draco	draca	dreki
cista	cist	kista
scriptum		skript

M. Bréal considers the testimony of language unquestionably in favour of Bugge's view, and recalls a passage in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* xi. (1862), p. 171, in which Lottner shows himself to be emphatically of the same opinion; yet M. Bréal thinks that it is to be regretted that Bugge did not regard his subject from another very suggestive, if not absolutely essential, point of view—that which is to be gained from a study of monuments of art, such as statues, bas-reliefs, mosaics, and especially ornamental figures found on smaller and more portable objects, such as chests, cups, stones, etc. He believes that a study of this sort would have given valuable chronological data, and would finally have led to the conclusion that the classical elements entered into the Norse mythology—now directly, now indirectly—several centuries earlier than the ninth, as the investigation of the *literary* monuments alone would seem to show.

Not only in the common nouns does Bugge find linguistic proof of relationship, but also in the names of the gods; thus, he derives Loki from Lat. Lucifer; Byleistr or Byleiftr, a Scandinavian demon, reproduces the name Beelzebub or Belzuth; Syr, the surname of the goddess Freyja, would be the Dea Syria, a later appellation of Venus; Nanna, the beloved of Hotherus is the same as Oenone; Hlodyn the mother of Thor is the Lat. Latona.

The difficulties of proving the relationship of these words in strict accordance with the phonetic principles of the Celtic and Germanic languages are necessarily great and have not yet, even through the work in question, been wholly removed; nevertheless the attempt has not been unfruitful, inasmuch as it suggests a point of view in which science may yet make great advance.

M. Bréal, after having reviewed briefly some points of resemblance between the Norse mythology on the one hand and the classical mythology and Christian legend on the other, and having shown how far and in what respects Bugge has advanced beyond his predecessors, proceeds to discuss from the linguistic point of view the question of the influence of Rome upon the Germanic world, to show that from the Gothic epoch, and

still earlier, Latin words were current among the Germans.

The words of Latin origin which are to be found in Ulfilas' translation of the Bible are considered in two classes: first, such Latin words as had already passed into the Greek texts of the Gospels, and are therefore to be regarded as having been borrowed from the Greek, rather than from the Latin; such words are:—

Latin	Greek	Gothic
Caesar	Καῖσαρ	Kaisar
legio	λεγεών	laigaion
praetorium	πραιτώριον	{ praitoriaiñ, praitoria
speculator	σπεκουλάτωρ	spaikulatur
membrana	μεμβράνα	maimbrana
assarius	ἀσσάριον	assarjūs

Secondly, those words of Latin origin, whose representatives in the Greek text are entirely unrelated and which cannot therefore have been taken from that source; for example, we have the following:—

Greek	Latin	Gothic
λίτρα	pondus	pund
σφραγίς	sigillum	sigljo
κιθωτός	arca	arka
δεσμωτήριον	carcer	karkara,
	and many others.	

Further M. Bréal has shown that many words which have been hitherto regarded as taken from the Greek are more probably borrowed directly from the Latin, since they had already passed into the Latin translation of the Gospels; that the words which are borrowed directly from the Greek are but two in number: αἰωλαῖγια from Greek εὐλογία (Lat. *benedictio*), and spyreida from σπυρίς (Lat. *sporta*).

That the Gothic has drawn its foreign elements more largely from the Latin than from the Greek is a result which, surprising as it is and reversing as it does the generally accepted idea that the Goths are more largely indebted for their vocabulary to the Greeks than to any one else, M. Bréal shows to be undeniably true, not only by comparing the words in question with their Greek and Latin equivalents, but by calling attention to the fact that the Goths lived in the midst of a Latin-speaking people at the time that Ulfilas made his Gothic version of the Bible.

The second of the two articles by M. Bréal was published in the November number of the *Journal des Savants*, 1889, and continues the discussion of the same

subject, 'The Influence of Rome on the Germanic world.'

The proofs which M. Bréal presents to us in this article are still from the linguistic point of view. In addition to Latin substantives and verbs which are found in Gothic, are also Latin suffixes, joined to Gothic roots—thus the suffix -dupi, which serves to form abstract nouns, is the same as the Latin -tudo. It occurs in four substantives: manag-dups = *multitudo*; mikil-dups = *magnitudo*; gamain-dups = *communinitudo*; Fr. *communauté* = Lat. * *communitas*; ajuk-dups = * *aeternitudo*; Fr. *éternité* = Lat. *aeternitas*. As this suffix is found in these words alone, and is not represented at all in the later German, M. Bréal concludes that this termination -dupi is a comparatively recent formation for which the already existing þs, as in ga-baur-þs, ga-gum-þs etc. led the way; not that its relationship with the Latin should with Leo Meyer be referred back to the pro-ethnic period.

The suffix -tas is represented, if at all, only in a single word, and that of doubtful origin—as-taps (Luc. I. 4).

The Latin termination -arius finds numerous representatives—as in motareis, linpareis, laisareis, bokareis, vullareis, daimonareis, sokareis. M. Bréal, rejecting the hypothesis that the Goth. -areis is a purely German termination or that it has a common origin with the Latin -arius, holds that it is undoubtedly borrowed directly from the Latin. Against the probability of a common origin, he urges that this ending is not found in Greek; for the Greek -τηριον (Lat. -torium) is an entirely different formation. Such words as maimbrana, aurali, spaikulatur give sufficient precedent for the ã of äreis over against the Lat. ā in ārius, where we should expect Goth. ō as the equivalent of Lat. ā. The Irish -aire and the Slavic -arī are also representatives of the same suffix.

Not only in Gothic but also in Old High German do we find traces of Roman influence; Latin words are, indeed, very abundant here; they are found in every part of the O.H.G. vocabulary, and are used to denote all sorts of things; doubtless there was once, in many instances, a Teutonic equivalent in existence, which for one reason or another gave place to the foreign name. Some of the germanized Latin words designate the most common articles of food and most indispensable utensils; as, for instance,

Latin	O.H.G.
fructus	frucht
caulis	chôli

Latin	O.H.G.
radix	retih
caseus	châsi
butyrum	butera
discus	tisc
serinium	scrini
scutella	seuzila
puteus	pfuzzi
molinaris	mulinari

Others have reference to the arts, to civil and religious life; such are:—

Latin	O.H.G.
murus	mûra
pilum	phil
palus	pfâl
paraveredus	pfervrit
telonium	zol
presbyter	priestar
peregrinus	piligrim

Some verbs belong to the language of the church:—

Latin	O.H.G.
praedicare	predigôn
damnare	fir-damnôn
scribere	scriban
dictare	thihtôn

Adjectives of Latin derivation are, however rare; only sihkur, Lat. *securus*, probably introduced in the language of law, has an undisputed right to be mentioned here; the adjectives *falsch* and *wahr*, *kurz* and *lang*, M. Bréal is inclined, in spite of opposing opinions, to regard as borrowed from the Latin.

These facts respecting the mythology and speech of the Teutonic peoples are of importance to the classical student, as they serve to impress the nature and extent of the influence of Rome upon her neighbours, not only in those past ages whose glory has for centuries been the favourite theme of historian and poet, but also in later times and even up to the present day: to the student of Teutonic philology they show an important phase in the life and character of the early Germans; they prove their eagerness and receptivity of mind, their readiness to add to their resources; they shew that these early neighbours of Rome were keenly alive to all their surroundings; and this they were, not only in the earlier centuries of our Christian era, but even later in the days of the dreaded Vikings, who, though mainly bent on conquest, shewed the same old love for the new and beautiful wherever it was to be found.

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GORGIAS, *ENCOMIUM HELENÆ*, § 12.

THIS oration (now generally recognised as authentic) exists in the Codex Crippsianus (now Burneyanus 95) of the British Museum (A), in the Palatine Codex of Lysias (X), and in the Laurentian Codex of Lysias (C). These are, it seems, the only MSS. which need be considered. The passage in question has reached us in a deplorable state. Blass, in his edition of Antiphon (p. 155), gives it as it stands in A, with no variants of any importance from X. It runs as follows: *τίς οὖν αἰτία κωλύει καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην | ὕμνος ἦλθεν ὁμοίως ἂν οὐ νέαν οὔσαν | ὥσπερ εἰ βασιλῆιον, βία ἡρπασθη. τὸ | γὰρ τῆς πειθοῦς ἐξήν ὁ δὲ νοῦς καίτοι εἰ | ἀνάγκη ὁ εἰδὼς ἔξει μὲν οὖν τὴν δὲ | δύναμιν, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει. λόγος γὰρ | κ.τ.λ.* The words *ὁ δὲ νοῦς* are inserted between *ἐξήν* and *καίτοι*, but Mr. F. C. Conybeare, who has kindly examined the MS., assures me that they are to be attributed to the first hand (Blass says *om. pr. A*). I am not satisfied with the restoration proposed by M. Croiset (*Mélanges Graux*, p. 127). It appears to me that the sentence beginning with *καίτοι* is a criticism of the argument, which has found its way into the text, and, in doing so, has ousted some words of the original. C has *λόγον ἐλθόντα* for *ὕμνος ἦλθεν*, and *ἀρπάζαι* for *ἡρπασθη*. It is difficult to believe that, in the first case at least, this MS., which is now considered to be valueless for the text of Lysias, does not represent an independent tradition. I should venture to suggest as a

restoration of the whole *τίς οὖν αἰτία κωλύει καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην λόγων ἐνθέων ἀκούουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐμβατηρίων, βία ἀρπασθῆναι; τὸ γὰρ τῆς πειθοῦς ἐπὴν, ὁ δὲ νοῦς [οὐκέτι παρὴν *vel similia*. The critical remark, which has taken the place of the last words of the sentence, would run *καίτοι, ἡ ἀνάγκη, ὁ εἰδὼς ἔχει μὲν νοῦν, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει* (*i.e.* 'where there is necessity, a conscious agent has *νοῦς*, but his power of resistance is gone.'). I suppose that the *λόγον ἐλθόντα* of C is a corruption of *λόγων ἐνθέων*, and that both *ἦλθεν* and *ὁμοίως* in A represent *ἐνθέων* (*ΟΜΟΙΟΣ* has, I believe, been elsewhere confounded with *ΕΝΘΕΟΣ*): *ὕμνος* is an explanation of *ἐμβατηρίων* which has taken the place of *λόγων* in the text: as Blass points out, *ανουνεαν—ανουσιν* is a dittography. To recover the actual words of the rhetor is of course impossible; the above seems to me to give a good sense. For *λόγοι ἔνθεοι* *cp. ἔνθεοι διὰ λόγων ἐπιδάει* (*supra* § 10). The allusion is to the seductive words, not of Paris, but of his procuress Aphrodite. The comparison of her *πάρφασιν ἥτ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονούντων* to the *ἐμβατήρια μέλη* which made the Spartans blind to danger seems peculiarly apt, and Gorgias no doubt wished to suggest the other and more common meaning of *ἐμβατ-τεῖν*—to embark.*

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STUDIES IN CAESAR. II.

B.G. I. 2, 1: *regni cupiditate inductus coniurationem nobilitatis fecit*, etc. The political and social position of Gaul was a curious one in 58 B.C. There was a feudal aristocracy, with abortive efforts at establishing monarchy, the feudal lords living no doubt from the labour of the common people, whose position is distinctly defined as that of serfs, VI. 13, 7, not helots but like the manorial peasants of the middle ages. Each baron strove to have as many squires and mounted men about him as possible, VI. 15, 2, *eorum ut quisque est genere copiosius amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet*, cf. II. 1, 4 in Gallia a potentioribus atque eis qui ad conducendos homines facultates habebant,

vulgo regna occupabantur.¹ This feudal condition renders it credible that Orgetorix had a *familia* of 10,000 men, I. 4, 1. The annual *vergobret* among the Aedui has a republican flavour: still the tendency was for powerful barons to strive after a monarchical position, to establish a dynasty. In perfect accord with this striving is the fact that the great barons had coins struck bearing their names; cf. an article by F. de Sauley in *Revue Archéologique*, 1869, vol. 13. Most of the coins there discussed bear the name of some baron, *e.g.* No. 7. Commios. 12. Deiviciac... 13. Dubnorex. 14. Dubnoreix.

¹ Why not occupantur? Does the tense designate a condition which had passed away at the probable time of composition, after the fall of Alesia?

16. Ecceios (Iccius). 2. Andecom. (Andecom-borius or -brogius). 19. Liravicos. 24. Orciitirix. 25. Orcitirix. 31. Vereingetorix.¹ 20. Luxtiirios, probably *Lueterios*, a Cadurcan, 'summae homo audaciae,' VII. 5, 1, who operated under direction of Vereingetorix, early in the campaign of 52 B.C. It would be a fair inference at least if we use simply the two data available, *i.e.* these coins and Caesar's text, that the attainment of political prominence was accompanied by such manifestations of *potentia* as these coins indicate, even though the barons rose to prominence but temporarily, as was the case with a Lueterius or Litaircus; and we may also infer that the striving after real monarchy was abortive. Was it the people at large or the other greater barons who opposed the monarchical aspirations of the more powerful of their own class? In the case of Orgetorix indeed Caesar says, I. 4, 3, 'cum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis ius suum exsequi conaretur multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent':—this again has a strong republican flavour, but we must not press too closely the application of Roman political terms which are merely approximate. The commons were practically disfranchised in Gaul proper (cf. above VI. 13, 1), and we are led to infer that the other barons, when they had fully measured the scope of Orgetorix's ambition, took steps to baffle it. A close analogy is presented by the case of the Arvernian baron Celtillus, father of Vereingetorix, VII. 4, 1, 'principatum Galliae totius obtinuerat et ob eam causam quod regnum appetebat ab civitate erat interfectus.' The commons were all *clientes* or belonged to the *familia* of some eques, their action therefore was incited and their sympathies were determined by the baron to whom they owed allegiance. Caesar's report is summary. *Principatus* according to Roman terminology was not illegal, but affectatio or petitio *regni* was. Successful leadership in war was then, as at other stages of political development, the quickest way of advancing to the dignity of rex, although that does not seem to have been hereditary.

Caesar's book, particularly commentarius VI., is superior to Tacitus' brilliant delineation in that it is free from the bias of the latter, whose Stoic mirror is held up to the consciousness of a civilization whose moral degenerateness is in inverse ratio to its

material refinement. Few scholars indeed seem to realize the historical range of the commentarii, the *incunabula* of British, French and German national historiography; and an inspection of Mommsen and of Ranke's Universal History may prove a wholesome corrective for this lack of appreciation.

As for Mommsen, he has to a great extent borrowed colour and types from Caesar, even where he attempts to bring the Cimbri and Teutons before the imagination of his readers. A minor statement however in that chapter I beg leave to call into question: Röm. Gesch. II. (6 ed.) 171: 'dass ein solcher Schwarm nachdem er vielleicht Jahrzehnte auf der Wanderschaft sich befunden und auf seinen Zügen an und in dem Keltenlande ohne Zweifel (?) jeden Waffenbruder der sich anschloss, willkommen geheissen hatte'. . . . The references to the Cimbrian invasion of Gaul found in Caesar make it rather improbable that the sojourn of the Cimbri on the left bank of the Rhine was of so genial a nature. Granted that a clan of the Helvetii joined their fortunes for a while to this German *Völkerwanderung*, nevertheless the appearance of the Germans west of the Rhine was a stern and awful calamity to the Gauls: cf. I. 33, 4 'cum omnem Galliam occupavissent ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent'—*i.e.* the open country; II. 4, 2 (of the Belgae) 'solosque esse qui patrum nostrorum memoria omni Gallia vexata Teutonos Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint.' Further, in the speech of Critognatus in besieged Alesia, VII. 77, 12 sq. 'Facere quod nostri maiores nequaquam pari bello Cimbrorum Teutonumque fecerunt; qui in oppida compulsi ac simili inopia subacti eorum corporibus qui aetate ad bellum inutiles videbantur, vitam toleraverunt neque se hostibus tradiderunt.' If these stray notices of the Cimbrian invasion of Gaul are not exaggerated, then Mommsen's conception of it is too mild.

I. 8, 4: *Helvetii ea spe deiectioni* etc. This period is one of those in which the trace of hurry in composition is unmistakable, compression being excessive without any balancing whatsoever. The partition of the subject between *Helvetii* and *alii* is particularly harsh. Scaliger, feeling this, inserted *alii* before *alii* (in Montanus' edition: Amsterdam, Elzevir, 1670). Oudendorp's reprint of Davis's parallels however sufficiently defends the MSS. reading. With the compression of this period cf. *e.g.* II. 11, 4—5; II. 25.

I. 11, 4: *Eodem tempore <quo> Aedui, Ambarri necessarii et consanguinei*

¹ Holder has made some use of these coin-inscriptions in writing some of these names, although allowance must be made for the difference between Latin translation and Celtic sound.

Aeduum Caesarem certiore faciant etc. Quo is added by Dinter. As a matter of fact it had been the vulgate reading before Oudendorp, who restored the MSS. reading *Aedui Ambarri*. I am inclined to agree with Dinter's restoration of the old vulgate. The Ambarri were a district tribe, cf. I. 14, 3 quod Aeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexassent, cf. also Livy enumeration, V. 34, 5, Bituriges, Arvernos, Senones, Aeduos, Ambarros, Carnutes, Aulercos. The Suessiones, although a distinct tribe, are called *fratres consanguineique* of the Remi, II. 3, 5.

I. 14, 4 : the phrase *impune ferre iniurias suas*—the object being *the subjects own guilt*,—is quite abnormal. Probably = *auferre* : had got off scot free for their outrages. Schneider quotes Terence *Andria* III. 4, 5 ; 'sed inultum id nunquam auferet.' Eginhard, a careful student and imitator of classic Latinity, uses the phrase (*vita Caroli Magni* c. 7) 'nunquam eos huiusmodi aliquid perpetrantes impune ferre passus est.'

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(To be continued.)

LUCRETII, V. 1350—3.

Nexilis ante fuit vestis quam textile tegmen.
textile post ferrumst, quia ferro tela paratur,
nec ratione alia possunt tam levia gigni
insilia ac fusi radii scapique sonantes.

As to the meaning of 1351, there seems to be in most editions a quite unnecessary vagueness of statement. Munro's view may be inferred from his note (added in the third edition): 'The web is prepared with iron, i.e. cannot be woven without instruments of iron; the next two verses explaining this.' So in the note on *insilia* 1353 (as also in the translation) he seems to adopt the same explanation, viz. that the light and movable parts of the loom (catalogued in 1353) were actually made of iron. This was the view of Wakefield (iii. p. 209). On the other hand, Lambinus and Creech more or less clearly explain that iron is needed only for the tools with which the loom itself is made. Some light is thrown upon the question by a statement of Plato (*Laws*, 679 A.—a passage which seems never to have been quoted in illustration of this passage of Lucretius)—that weaving was one of the arts practised before the use of iron was discovered.

That the loom was wholly of wood in Plato's day, but partly of iron in the time of Lucretius, is scarcely credible, in view of the wooden construction of the modern handloom.¹ The use of iron for the heddles is hardly less an impossibility, the necessary lightness being attainable only by the use of

wood or reed. Moreover both Plato and Lucretius are speaking of a remote time, when arts were few and rude. And yet the latter seems to have in mind the horizontal loom of his own time, rather than the more primitive *tela pendula*—just as in Ovid (*Met.* vi. 53—8), the loom of Arachne is clearly horizontal.

In point of clearness much is gained by taking *tela* (with Creech) in the sense of 'loom.' The meaning then is, 'because the loom is made with tools of iron, without which the heddles, &c., could not be properly polished.'

That *insilia* = *insubula* = *licia*² = 'heddles' there is small reason to doubt. *Insilio* is once or twice used absolutely (e.g. Ovid *Met.* xi. 731), and if the simple meaning 'leap' can be allowed, this derivation surely suits the leaping motion of the heddles better than the action of the foot upon the treadle. Neglecting the fanciful derivation of Isidore (*Orig.* xix. 29, 1), *insubulum* may be taken from *insuo*, i.e. it is the mechanical contrivance by which the woof is worked into the warp. In many cases the rods ('shafts') of the *licium* were of reed: originally they were always so (cp. *harundo*, Ovid *Met.* vi. 55). Here the poet has in mind the use of wooden shafts smoothed with iron tools.

Scapi are taken by some (v. Blümner, *Tech. u. Term. der Gewerbe u. Künste*, i. p. 143, note 6) as also referring to the wooden parts of the *licium*, on account of the epithet

² On *insubulum* = *licium*, light has recently been thrown from a Hebrew gloss, in a discussion of Judges xvi. 13 ff., by Prof. Geo. F. Moore, *American Oriental Society's Proceedings*, October, 1889 (note on p. clxxvii.).

¹ The *radius* was still of wood in the sixth century—Isidore, *Orig.* xix. 29, 1 : 'quia radendo fiunt.'

sonantes. But it is not easy to see why Lucretius should introduce two equivalent terms into this brief catalogue. There must be other parts of the loom, to which, though less noisy than the heddles, the epithet can still be applied. Others, as Lambinus, Orelli, Schneider, (*Index Scriptt. Rei Rust.* pp. 371 and 376), and Marquardt (*Röm. Privatalterth.* ii. p. 137), refer the term to the lay, or *pecten*—not merely the *pecten* proper, but the whole swinging frame, which more than any other one improvement distinguishes the horizontal loom from the vertical.

To the observer of the process of weaving the most prominent shaft or beam (*scapus*) in motion must be the light shaft into which the *pecten* itself was set, the whole swinging back and forth at every throw of the shuttle. But why *sonantes*, since the *pecten* should be the most noiseless part of the loom? *Sonantes* may not have been meant with *scapi* alone, but rather with all the parts mentioned in 1353. Or, dividing at the caesura, the epithet

may be taken with *radii* as well as *scapi*, denoting in that case the noise made by the *radius* skimming along in the angle between the teeth of the *pecten* (the whole *scapus* being used for the part) and the taut threads of the warp.

In view of the inadequate treatment of these words even in recent lexicons, it is remarkable that *insilia*, *insubulum*, *scapus*, and *licium* are passed over in silence by Paucker in his *Spicileg. Addend. Lex. Lat.* (1875), as also by Key (who however, does give the old interpretation of *licium*—*Lat.-Eng. Dict.* 1888), and Nettleship (*Contributions*, 1889), although *licium* (at least in one of the senses), occurs in *Thes. Nov. Lat. ap. Mai Class. Auct.* 8, 304, and a different derivation is given by Isidore (*Orig.* xix. 29. 7), while the latter's etymology of *insubuli* (*sic*) is repeated in *Glosa. Vat. ap. Mai ib.* 7, 565.

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CICERO, *EPP. AD ATT.* xiii. 42. 3.

Scripseram iam : ecce tibi orat Lepidus ut veniam. Opinor augures [†]nil habere ad templum effandum. Eatur.† ΜΙΑΚΟΡ-ΔΟΥ.

Nil being simply corrected to *velle*, the sense of the passage up to the corrupt Greek words is clear enough : 'just as I had written [telling you that I should expect you at Tusculum, where I now am, on my birthday], lo and behold you a call to Rome from Lepidus ! I suppose he wants to get together the augurs for the dedication of the new temple. Go I must.' So far there is nothing difficult ; but what of the Greek ? Since Gronovius suggested *μίασμα δυνός*, that weak conjecture has held its place in the text, in spite of the *ductus litterarum*, of the unintelligibility of the supposed proverb, and of its unsuitableness, as understood, to the passage on which it has been thrust. *Μίασμα δυνός*, which has nothing in common with the MS. reading except *μιασ-*, is supposed to allude to 'an act of impiety against the Dodonaean oak once committed by the Thebans,' and Cicero is said to have used this proverb to indicate that the dedication of the temple by Lepidus was an act of impiety—perhaps because it was on the site of the *Curia Hostilia*—all which guesswork affords an excellent example of the influences

which have impeded the interpretation of the letters of Cicero since the revival of learning. Let us dismiss this guess so unworthy of Gronovius, and obelize the Greek words, if we can do nothing better. But I think we can do something much better. Let us make a single postulate, that H was corrupted into IA, and the words of Cicero will be ΜΗΚΟΡΔΟΥ. What then is the meaning of *μη σκόρδον*. I find in Gaisford's *Paroemiographi Graeci* that there was a proverb *ἵνα μὴ σκόρδα μὴδὲ κνήμες* (*sc. φάγω*) meaning 'so that I may not get myself into trouble.' The Scholiast explains that this meaning emerges from the fact that persons about to engage in military duty ate garlic to whet their courage, and those who were about to try a case as dicasts ate beans to keep them awake ; so that the whole proverb meant 'so that I may keep out of trouble whether military or civil,' that is, 'so that I may keep a quiet life.'

Whatever we may think of the Scholiast's account of the *origin* of the proverb, we can ask for no better authority on its *application*, and that he gives ; it is a proverb *ἐπὶ τῶν ἡσυχῇ ζώντων*, that is, it answers to our proverb 'anything for a quiet life.' And this is further established by the Scholiast on Ar. *Lys.* 689 where *μήποτε φάγη σκόρδα* is

explained ἵνα μὴ εἰς ὥραν ἔλθῃ 'that he may not get into trouble.'¹ In the time of Cicero the proverb was simply μὴ σκόρδον (part. gen.), σκόρδον being the regular form in late Greek, and the verb φάγω being characteristically understood. The proverb is *precisely* of the normal type of Greek expressions used by Cicero, in which he contents himself with alluding to a saying by using two or three of the first words of it. I need not here refer to more examples than μηδὲ δίκην (where we have to understand δικόσης πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκούσης), ἔρδοι τις (sc. ἣν ἕκαστος εἰδὲν τέχνην).

The proverb is completely applicable to the context of the letter. 'Go I must,' says Cicero, 'if I want to keep out of trouble;' 'go I must or sup sorrow' would be an analogous expression in Ireland. Cicero feared that any hesitation in complying with the desires of Lepidus might involve him in a misunderstanding with Caesar. Lepidus was at this time Caesar's *alter ego*. In a letter written a couple of days after, Cicero says, *Lepidus...rogat magno opere ut sim Kal. in senatu, me et sibi et Caesari vehementer gratum esse facturum* (Att. xiii. 47b, 1).

I add another conjecture which involves a little more change, but which is interesting as illustrating the principles of criticism which may perhaps guide one in the recension of the very corrupt parts of the letters of Cicero:—

ATT. ix. 18. 2.

Reliqua—O dii! qui comitatus! quae ut tu soles dicere νέκνια in qua erat! fero scelerī! O rem perditam! O copias desperatas!

Cicero is speaking of the constituents of the camp of Caesar, and the corrupt words may fairly be taken to be words in which they are characterised. If then we can arrive at an expression which will convey pointedly an opinion elsewhere expressed by Cicero about the followers of Caesar, and which will not depart too far from the *voces nihili* handed down by the MSS., we shall have made the nearest approach we can to restoring the lost words of Cicero. Now Cicero frequently writes of the followers of Caesar as being either of inhuman depravity or of contemptible incapacity. Of the first class a typical description is found in a letter written very shortly after this (Att. ix. 19. 1) *vidi ipse Formis universos, neque mehercule unquam homines putavi*;

¹ The reading ὥραν is an obvious blunder. It would make the comment absolutely inexplicable; now ὥραν is the regular word for 'trouble' in late Greek.

the other class he calls 'a crew of Baiae,' *Baiana negotia* (fellows) *chorumque illum* (Att. xiv. 8. 1), and of the same he says *λῆρος πολὺς in vino et in somno istorum* (Att. xvi. 1. 4).

It seems to me therefore more than probable that what Cicero wrote was—

Reliqua—O dii! qui comitatus! quae ut tu soles dicere νέκνια in qua erat! O feras! ὦ λῆροι! O rem perditam! O copias desperatas!

The other attempts to emend this passage have little to recommend them. Most of them assume that *sceleri* stands for *scelera*. A copyist finding *scelera* would hardly have written *sceleri*, while nine copyists out of ten finding *ferascleri* would have read in the last six letters *sceleri* and would have changed *era* to *ero*. Then I have only to assume that the *O f-* fell out—a very moderate assumption in such a passage. I need not remind the readers of the *Classical Review* that Greek expressions are often written in Latin characters in the letters of Cicero. This principle has been applied successfully in some of the most certain restorations of obscure Greek expressions in the letters. The sense would then be:—

'For the rest—Good heavens what a crew of *âmes damnées* (to use your expression) he finds himself in! what inhuman monsters! what insignificant nobodies!' &c.

Cicero frequently uses *nugae* in the sense of 'nobodies.' Here he uses the Greek term *λῆροι*. If any one asks why he did not write *nugae* here, I can only quote the terse and sensible remark of Boot on Att. xv. 12. 2, where he admirably suggests *νόστον* for *nostro*; they are these: quodsi cui idonea causa deesse videatur cur Cicero non potius *reditum* scripserit, is velim rationes afferat *cur plura in hac epistola Graece dicuntur quae optime Latine dici possent*.

For *in qua erat* I should prefer to read *in qua errat*, but *erat* can be well explained as 'he finds himself, he turns out to be,' like the Greek ἦν ἄρα. I regard it as nearly certain that the word νέκνια suggested to Cic. the verse οἶος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιάι ἀΐσσουσιν, and I fancy he may have used *errat* here to indicate that Caesar is himself an 'extravagant and erring spirit' like the rest of the νέκνια. But, as I have said, *erat* may well be defended.

I think the critics in the London weekly press sometimes permit themselves to forget what are the real criteria of probability in an emendation. They only ask themselves which of the suggestions made would sound best in a Latin sentence. They forget that

the suggestion is worthless unless it accounts for the corrupt reading. For instance, a very kindly and encouraging reviewer of *The Correspondence of Cicero*, vol. iii., in the *Spectator* for Oct. 11 is surprised that Mr. Purser and I find any difficulty in the words *filio-lam tuam tibi iam Romae iucundam esse gaudeo* (Att. v. 19, 2), and why we should have made several suggestions to account for the presence in the MSS. of the words *iam Romae*. Yet could Cic. have written 'I am glad that you find your daughter pleasant by this time at Rome'? The critic complains 'they say anything is better than plain *tan-topere*.' Certainly anything is better than plain *tantopere*, because there is not the faintest reason to believe that if Cicero had written *t^{he}* the copyist would have copied down *iam romae*. Cicero must have written

some word or words which the copyist did not understand, and for which he wrote down *iam romae*, but certainly that word was not a word so very common, so very suitable to the passage (and therefore likely to be corrupted), and so very unlike *iam romae* as *tan'opere*, which was moreover almost invariably written *t^{he}*. I think Cicero most probably wrote *iam στοργή* (cp. Att. vii. 2. 4), and that a gloss *amore* gave rise to the certainly corrupt *iam romae*. Emendation is to a great extent a question of evidence, and if I were enamoured of an emendation I would rather appeal to a good equity lawyer who knew a little Latin than to a great Latin scholar who knew nothing of the rules of evidence or deliberately ignored them.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

THE GREEK QUOTATIONS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

SOME current theological works contain an argument for the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel derived from the internal evidence of the Gospel itself, in the course of which use is made of the quotations from the Old Testament which occur in the Gospel. These quotations are supposed to prove that the writer was acquainted with Hebrew, because they do not always correspond with the Septuagint, and in some cases give a better rendering of the Hebrew original. I venture to suggest that this reasoning, though supported by very high authority, is open to question. The facts are as follows:

Some of the quotations which are made in the Gospel from the Old Testament coincide exactly with the Septuagint Greek translation, while others vary from it more or less. In two or three cases where the quotation differs from the Septuagint, it represents the Hebrew text more accurately than the Septuagint does. It is therefore argued that the writer must have been a Hebrew-speaking Jew, and that he corrected the Septuagint from his own knowledge of Hebrew. He 'appears,' says Professor Sanday, 'to be equally familiar with the Hebrew text and the Septuagint.'¹ Professor Sanday is supported by Professor Luthardt, Bishop Westcott, and Dr. Salmon, as well as by writers so far apart as Keim and the late Bishop Lightfoot. The reasoning is very plainly put by the latter. 'If on any occa-

sion,' he says, 'the quotations of a writer accord with the original Hebrew against the LXX. version, we have a right to infer that he was acquainted with the sacred language, was, in fact, a Hebrew or Aramaic-speaking Jew'!²

But this inference assumes that there was no other source from which the writer of the Gospel could have got his Greek quotations except from our text of the LXX., or by translating the Hebrew for himself. This would be hard to prove, and the very first instance which Bishop Lightfoot cites leads to a different conclusion. In John xix. 37 a passage from the prophet Zechariah is quoted as 'They shall lock on him whom they pierced' (ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν), which is acknowledged to be a more correct rendering of the present Hebrew text than the ordinary LXX. reading ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με, ἀνθ' ὧν ὀργήσαντο (they shall gaze upon me because they insulted).³ But this improved rendering is not the exclusive property of the writer of the Fourth Gospel. The reading 'pierced' instead of 'insulted' is found elsewhere. It is found in a number of Septuagint MSS., and is adopted in the Aldine edition. It is found in the three Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. It appears in Justin's *Apologetica* (i. 52),⁴ and in Rev. i. 7 the word occurs with evident reference to the

² *Expositor*, Jan. 1890, pp. 20, 21.

¹ *The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 289, 290.

³ The two Greek translations represent two different readings in the original.

⁴ Compare the Dialogue with Trypho 14 and 32.

passage in Zechariah. All this tends to the conclusion that the association of the word $\xi\kappa\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ (pierced) with this passage did not originate with the writer of the Fourth Gospel, but that he and the other writers mentioned above derived it from some common source. Further evidence in support of the idea that there was another version of the Septuagint text which can be traced in this and other quotations will be found in Dr. Hatch's *Essays in Biblical Greek* (p. 213). Dr. Salmon may be cited on the same side, for in discussing the date of the Shepherd of Hermas and its connexion with the text of Theodotion he develops at considerable length a similar argument for the existence of an earlier Greek version of the Book of Daniel which has not come down to us.¹ Luthardt (p. 61)

¹ P. 594 &c. At pp. 605, 6 Dr. Salmon uses the following words, referring to the possible use of this earlier version by the author of the Apocalypse. Have they no applicability to the Gospel? 'It may be said that St. John was not under the necessity of using any version, and could have translated for himself from the Chaldee. And so, no doubt, he could. And yet, I think nothing but a strong preconceived opinion that St. John could have used no other version than the Chisian (that is, the LXX.) would prevent the conclusion from being drawn that he actually does use a different version' (*Historical Introduction to the New Testament*, Fourth Edition).

endeavours to get rid of the evidence of the MSS. of the Septuagint by saying that of course they were altered by Christian scribes to suit the Gospel. But even if this could be proved, it would leave the argument from the other versions untouched. The occurrence of the word in Aquila's version cannot be explained in that way, for Aquila made his translation for the Jews to provide them with a controversial weapon against the Christian quotations from the Septuagint (see *The Old Documents and the New Bible* by J. Paterson Smyth p. 157). It is not likely that such a writer would have adopted from St. John a reading so favourable to the Christian cause, or that the Jews would have allowed the text of their book to be altered by Christian scribes. Dr. Hatch writes (p. 213) 'It may not unreasonably be supposed, from the use which was made of the quotation in the Judæo-Christian controversy, that the alteration in the text of the LXX. was from $\xi\kappa\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ to $\kappa\alpha\tau\omega\rho\chi\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$, and not the reverse, and that it was made by Jews and not by Christians. This hypothesis will be still more probable if it be true that the LXX. text has been handed down by a Jewish rather than by a Christian tradition.'

JOHN A. CROSS.

APPARATUS CRITICUS AD CICERONIS LIBROS DE NATURA DEORUM.

$Z = ABCFM$.

75. 32 Coa om. BFM || illud om. F || 33 corpori B (sed corr. 1 ex-re) FM || si in M¹ || 35 facio quod B² facio id (vel fac id?) quod B² facito quod M || § 76, 38 dicere M || uellitis A || forma C¹ || informatum antiepatum mentibus Z || 1 ut corr. A² || occurret BF¹ || 2 quod || ut Z || excellat, llat in ras. 2, C || diuina bis scr. A¹ || 3 nec esse, n et extr. e corr. 2, B || 4 possit quod ...mentis esse AC (etiam in B ante quod superscriptum fuit possit) || nulla in alia BFM || § 77, 5 quidquid A quicquid C || consideras AC || 6 uidemini mihi M || 7 Omnino || omnium Z || 9 imperatorum B¹ || 11 ipsos, p corr. 2, B || addire, sed corr. 1, A audire C || 12 molientes AB¹C¹ || 13 accessit, e in ras. 2, A || 14 nihil mihi A¹ (nichil ut semper C) || uideatur Z || 15 blande A || et quam sui Z || lena natura, primae a spscr. 2 is, B lenisanatura, pr. a del. 1, F lenis nat. M || 16 tera B¹ || 17 quod corr. B² quid M¹ || ni ita || mita F¹ || 18 aequus A || 19 anteferet C¹ || 20 hominum C || ut om. A¹ || 21 similes A²C || § 78, 23 me ercule C me hercle M || 24 ut om. B¹ || me ipse M || dicere bis scr. B¹

|| 25 uexit] A (sed it in ras. ampl. A³) et CM uexit B¹ uexerit B²F || 27 finge A¹ || uellinus AB¹ || qualis] qua uel C || 29 corpore AB²CFM corpores B¹ || difficilis C || 30 uellit A¹B¹ || homini AC || esset B¹ || formica om. AC || § 79, 31 homini s B || formonsus A¹B¹ || 32 atenis vel atenis B¹ || 34 phylosophis, post. s in ras. 2, B || adulescentulus B¹ (adulescentulis A²) || 35 naeuus] C neuos A¹B¹ naeuus B²F neuus A³M; item v. 30, sed naeuus C (80, 10 neuum AB¹CM) || 36 hic A² || q; ntus A¹ quentus A² quintus B²(in ras.)CFM || 3 exurgentem, ur in ras. et m add. 3, A exeriente C || forte] sorte B¹ om. M¹ || 5 uisus Z || 7 at erat] C aderat ABFM || peruersis B¹ || s falsum CM¹ || § 80, 9 equos] B (sed ec in ras. 2)F et quos ACM || stabones B¹ || petos C² (petul. ABC¹FM) || 10 equos—equos] B²FM equos—etquos A etquos—#ec (nec ?) quos B¹ etquos—etquos C || habere (habaere ?) B || frontones, post. o corr. 2 ex e?, B || 12 nam et si BFM || 13 deos B¹ || 15 cognitio, o in ras. ampl. 2, A || perceptio, er in ras. 3, A || § 81, 16 quod si ACM² quo si BFM¹ || uobis C || 18 defendens ABCFM¹ defenderis M² || sic]

81. *BF* si *ACM* || a parvis enim] apparuisse *Z* || 19 iouem, *em corr.* 2, *C* || iunonem *om.* *C* || appollinem *A*, it. 83, 35 || reliquosque] *A*²*B*²*FM* reliquos *A*¹*B*¹*C* || 20 facie, *e in ras. ampl.*, *B* || neque, *n corr.* 2, *B* || 22 firmioris *A*¹*C* || eos opin.—quam apud *om.* *C* || eas *BFM* || § 82, 24 de] *e in ras.* *C*² || 25 nefandum, *um in ras.* 3, *A* || auditu *AFM* auditu* *B* || 26 corcodrillum *B*²*F* crocodillum *C*² *M* || ibin *AM* || paelem *F* || egypto *AFM* aegyptio *BC* || 27 Apim illum] apud nullum *C* || 28 aegyptus *F*¹ (egyptiis *AC*) || herde *B*¹ erde *C* || 30 talis, *s in ras.* 2, *B* || nec, *ne corr.* 2, *B* || 31 arguins *M* || lanuins *ABC* *FM* latinis *C*² || alia nobis *om.* *Z* || et quid.] equidem *M* || 32 Afris] fratris *M* || ammonis *BF* (*B*¹ ut *vid.* afrissammonis) || § 83, 33 ueneratoremque *B* (-quae ut *vid.* *A*¹*B*¹) || 35 casios *B*¹ || 36 Et *in ras.* *A*³ || laudamus esse athenis *Z* || 1 almenes *C* (alcamaen. *M*) || 2 ha] habebimus *C*¹ || 4 nonantur *A*¹ || § 84, 4 quod *A*¹*BF*¹ || 5 tu *om.* *A*¹ || 6 post. idem *om.* *M*¹ || 10 quem *B*¹ || bellum] bonum *M*² || era *C*¹ || ptius *BF*¹ || nescire* quod *B* || 11 nesciris *A*¹ nescis *A*²*B* (*sed post. s corr.* *B*²) *FM* || istam *BM*¹ et *spscr.* *A*¹ || effuttientem *ABC* || 12 au tui *M*¹ || § 85, 15 humano quod *Z* || 16 nec tu aliquo *B*¹ || 17 metuisset ipsos *B*¹ || 18 numerantes *Z* || 19 uideri *A*¹ uideri *corr.* *ex uidere B* || offensione *ABC* ostensione *F* || 20 reliquisset eos *B*¹ || re] res *A*¹ *om.* *M*¹ || sustulisset *B*¹ || 21 selectus, *sed pr. s eras. et -is corr.*, *A* || eius] *B* (*per comp.* ei] ei *F* *om.* *M* || sententiis *GR* quas *C* || brebibusque *C* || cyrias doxas *Z* || 22 est id quod *C*¹ || 23 exibet *BF*¹ || cuiquam, *ui in ras. ampl.* 2, *B* || 24 existiment *A* *ex*****istim.* (*fuit exibet*) *B* || incitia *B*¹ inscita *C* || plene *B*¹ || fecerat] *A*¹ fecerit *A*²*BCFM* || 25 exestim. *F*¹ (*exhist. A*) || § 86, 26 enim *om.* *B*¹ || aliquid iste beatum et *Z* || 27 an si quod sit id esse mortale *AB*²*CFM* *om.* *B*¹ || non enim aduert. *C* et *F*, *sed in hoc ead. m. corr.* || eum] enim *F* || locutum, *tum corr.* 2, *B* || 28 te *om.* *C* || 29 quamquam *BF*¹ || timenda, *ti corr.* 2, *A* || 31 moueuentur *A*¹ || 33 credo alios *C*¹ credo aut alios *C*² || timor *om.* *FM*¹ || 34 religiones *AB*¹*CM*¹ || § 87, 36 quod est *B*¹ quidem *F*¹ || solem aut lunam aut mundum *M* || 2 animo *B*¹ || consilique *B*¹ || 3 quod *A*¹ || 5 annuis *A*¹ || lustrat.] inlustratationem *A* inlustrationem *BFM* illustr. *C* || 7 eisdem *C* hisdem *M* || 8 nunc quid *B*¹*C* || epicure* (i) *B* || § 88, 10 attingimus *C* (adtig. *A*) || numme *B*¹ nonne *M* || 11 tolamus *B*¹ || 12 adfert noua *M* (*n. aff. C*) || sit *C* || mediterrani *A*¹*BFM* mediterranii *A*³ || [mare] inare *A*¹ more *F*¹ || 13 tantae *om.* *A*¹ || esset *BF*¹ || 14 umque *F*¹ || uulpiculasque *A* (uulpeculasque *B*¹*F*¹) || 15 et] *e* *M*¹ || panthoras *C* || 16 dicerentur *ABCFM*² crederentur *M*¹ || § 89, 17 Et *in ras.* *A*³ || quem] que *A* quae *BCFM* || 18 argumenti sententiam *Z* || 19 esse

om. *AC* || meminem *B* || 22 nec *om.* *A* || in *om.* *M*¹ || datuturum *B*¹ || 23 istuc] ista *C* || sumpsisses (sums. *BF*) tuo iure leguntur post gradatim *Z* || quod autem *Z* || Nam *a in ras. min.* *A*³ || § 90, 29 illis *BF* || 30 dii enim *AC* dii enim si *F* et, dii enim *in ras.*, *B*² (*B*¹ prors. *del.*) dum enim *M* || 31 si quidem aeterni sunt] *om.* *B*¹ quia aeterni sunt. si quidem aeterni sunt futuri *C* || nati sunt *M*² || 32 homines *bis scr.* *B*¹ || 2 qui *B*¹ || iste tantus, *sec. t in ras.* 2, *B* || atomorum, *t corr.* 2, *A* || 3 repentes (?) *B*¹ || § 91, 3 seminane] *BF* semina *ACM* || 4 terras ut *vid. corr. ex terram A* || 5 deorum cognationem] *B* fol. 175^b v. 27 (*sequitur Leg. II.* 13 aliquas concessu suo etc.), agnoscerem non inuitus etc. *continuantur fol. 14^a v. 14* ; cognationem. [agnoscerem *F*¹] 7 nunc, *c in ras.* 2, *B* || 8 ueramunire *A*¹ || 9 liberet *B*¹ lyberet *F* || homines *B*¹ || 10 usque] ut quae *B*¹ || § 92, 11 delilare *AB*, *sed in utroque ead. m. corr.* || 12 si*ne (sime?) *F* || et *om.* *B*¹ || decreuerint *Z* || 13 considerantes *C* || 14 deos menbris humanis *sed transp. sign. add. C* 16 descriptione *M*² || 17 superuacuaneum *ABF* || es**t* *B* || 18 naturae sollertiam *C* (solert. nat. *BF*) || 20 adfincit *A*¹ || 21 interiora, *in in ras.* 2, *A* || detracta*, *post. a corr.* 2, *A* || 22 *utilit. (*b aut h eras.*) *B* || in deo] inde *A*¹*BFM*¹ || § 93, 23 itisne *B*¹ || fidentis *A*¹*BFM* || somnis *A*¹ || 24 epicurus, *rus in ras.* 2, *A* (epyc. *C*) || hermarcus *ACM* || 25 theofrastrum *BF* (teofrastrum *C*) || 26 est] *B*¹ sit *AB*²*CFM* || ille *C*¹ || quidem *bis scr.* *A*¹ || adtico *B*¹ || 27 tamentum epic. *A* || 28 albycium *BFM* || 29 elegantius *FM* || stomochabatur *B* || senex, *x corr.* 2, *A* || 30 aristotilem *C* || 31 timocratem *M* || concideret *Z* || 33 nauxifanem *A* nausifanem *BF* nausifanem *C* naosifanem *M* || 34 a*quo *B* || non *om.* *Z* || dederat *B* dederit *F*¹ || 35 solum eos *transp. sign. add. C* || pollodorum *C* || 36 silum] *C* sillim *A* siue *B* (*sed ue in ras.* 2) et *FM* || socratem *BCF* || parentem, *tem 2 part. in ras.*, *B* || 1 latine *A*¹ || atticum, *pr. t in ras.* 2, *B* || fuisse dicebat] nominabat *C* || chrysippum] *B* et, *r spscr. I, A* cris. *C* chris. *FM* || 2 chrysippum] *M* chrysippam *A* crisippam *C* chrysippum *B* chrisippum *F* || § 94, 2 tu uero ipse *M* || 3 tamquam, *corr.* 2, *B* (tantam? *B*¹) (tanqu. *C*) || philos. sen. *M* || 4 dementes *C* || de *om.* *B*¹ || 5 uerendum est *om.* *B*¹ || ne *om.* *C* || nullo *B*¹ || dictis *A*¹ *corr.* 3 || 6 lugubrat. *B*¹ || 7 inpetraritis] *A*¹ inpetraueritis *A*³ inpetraretis *B*¹ *M* inpetraritis *B*²*CF* || 8 eadem vel eandem *B*¹ || 10 acubito *A*¹ acubito *B*¹ acubatio *corr. in M* *Aventinus* || § 95, 11 mares *A*² *M* || esse *om.* *C* || 14 immortalisque—sit beatus *om.* *B*¹ (immort. *B*²*CF*) || 15 impes *C* || beatas *C* || 16 dicenda sunt *ACM*¹ || nobis *om.* *C* || 17 quaequumque *A* || eurrant vel curiaut *B*¹ || 21 numquamne *Z* || § 96, 21 igitur *om.* *M*¹ || sexcenta *BF* (*DC C*) || 22 innubabilia *B*¹

I. § 96. innumera *C* || ergo *in ras.* A^3 || 24 natura sunt *AC* || a beata natura *C* || uinci sic corporis (*omiss. rell.*) *C* || § 97, 28 pueri letici A^1 || ut] et C^{23} || 29 si ea] sia C^1 || beluarum] *in ras.* C^2 1 *corr.* 2 A || 30 nullo *C* || nec curios. *C* || 31 adire *C* || 33 Ipsa] ista *F* || 34 similis] similitudo B^1 || lupi *ut vid.* B^1 || 35 simia, ia *in ras. ampl.*, *B* || turpissima *AC* || 36 at figuram BF^1 at figura F^2M || § 98, 33 simillimis *post* moribus *om.* *Z* || 3 inesse] esse *C* || qui natus] quantus C^1 || 4 nisi in eo qui didicerit *om.* *C* || quiddicerit, *sed corr.* 1, *A* quid didicerit B^1 || 5 anima *C* || et *ante* corpore *om.* F^1 || 6 in hominibus his *C* || 8 in hominem rationem AB^1 rationem in homine *C* || 9 lineamenta BF^1 || 10 loquere *C* || § 99, 11 superuacuaneum ABF || 13 quod ita *A* || nec speciem nec usum *Z* || alium quinque, m quinque 2 *part. in ras.*, *A* || 14 redundant, *sed corr.* 1, *B* || 15 si ut *A* || 17 sunt *postea add.* *sed. ead. m.* *B* || 18 quidem] quid est B^1 || § 100, 20 eumque] cum || ***** (quoque ?) B^1 || 22 excellentem aliquam esse *M* || 23 esse *om.* *C* || hec effecisset A haec effecisset BFM haec fecisset *C* || 24 aberant B^1 aberrant *C* || a coniectura *Z* || 28 tales A^3C || § 101, 29 quantato *ut vid.* A^1B^1 quanto (?) A^2 || 30 tribuunt *C* || etiam*** *A* || 31 quae, uae *in ras.* 2, *A* || 32 uidet AB^1C^1 , *sed in C ead. m. corr. vid.*, uidetur (?) M^1 || 33 egypti in nullam (?) A^1 || egyptii null. A^3C egyptii in null. M^1 eg. hi n. M^2 || 35 aues, au *in ras. ampl.* 2, *B* || excellae, *post. 1 del.* 1 ? *B* (excelse *A*) || regidis BF *om.* M^1 || corneoque procero *M* || 36 resto (?) B^1 || uolucres angues A^2 uolucris* anguis *B* || 37 inuectas *corr. ex* inuectes *B* inuectis *F* aduectas *C* || fit] sit A^1 || 1 ille ABF || ne morsu *A* || odorum (?) B^1 || possum *B* || hieuneum B *om.* BF icheum. *M* || 2 crocodilorum A^3F^2 crocodill. B^2CF^1M || 3 consecratas propter beneficium *M* || benefium *A* || § 102, 5 nogotii B^1 (negocii *M*) || 6 quasi] profecti quasi A^1 || existimant F^1 || 7 exercita] tatione *B* || 8 feriarum *M* || 9 ratio *C* || 10 inertes ACM || § 103, 12 efficies A^1 effigies est A^2 || 14 oportet fruatur *Z* || 15 locis M^1 || quidem, i et m *in ras.* 2, *F* || his $ABFM$ || 16 sine] sunt B^1 || cuiusque *C* || 17 inundat $ABFM^1$ || superi aether *A* superi (super F^1) aetheri BFM^1 superi etheris *C* superior aetheris M^2 || altissimi M^1 || 18 sint $ABFM$ || ancipites, ci *in ras.* 2, *B* || 19 uiuentes, *post. u in ras.* 2, *A* uenientes *M* || quae (que *A*) igne *Z* || § 104, 22 porro] postremo *Z* || 23 accomod. ACF || 24 rationis *Z* || 26 attigerit (adt. *A*) *Z* || ita *in ras.* B^1 || institura *C* || exitium C^1 || § 105, 27 docebas *C* || 29 simultitudine AB^2M^2 et, ulti *in ras.* 1, *F* simultitudinem, ti *corr.* 1 *ex* tit, B^1 || transitone B^1 || 30 numquam, *sed n ead. m. del.*, *A* || 35 confirmationem $ABFM^1$ || 36 animo set *ut vid.* B^1 || § 106, 37 ut igitur titum *Z* || cracchum *A* || 38 marco *Z* || referentem *C* || 39 tu] tum $ABFM$ cum *C* || *post. et om.* C^1

|| octauum $ABFM^1$ || 1 peruenerint *Z* || § 107, 4 nunc etiam (aet. B^1) *Z* || 5 *A*] ea C^1 *tot. verb. del.* C^2 || democrite BF^1 || 7 tantaque (totaquae A^1) || bacillat *C* || 8 prabari *A* probari, *9 in ras.* 2, *B* || possit omnium, *om.* quam, *Z* || 9 ea] ex *Z* || 10 ergo illi C^1M || petam A^1 || 11 doceat *C* || arficum B^1 (orf. ACM) || 12 cerconis AC^2 cerdonis BFM cratonis C^1 || id est] idem C^1 || § 108, 11 meum alie (-ae *M*) in AM || 15 fuerant *Z* || potuerunt] A^1 potuerant A^2BCFM || 18 totae B^1 || 19 est] eius C || § 109, 20 *At*] *in ras.* A^3 ad A^1 (?) $BCFM$ || 22 intelligere B^1 (intellig. *A*) || si uos] suos A^1C^1 , *sed in hoc ead. m. corr.* || intellexeritis B^1 (intelligeretis *A*) || 23 probas*** (et ?) *A* || 24 aeternae (et. *A*) AB^1 || inmerab. *B* || inquit *A* inquit $BCFM$ || adomorum A^1B^1 || 25 facient ACM faciunt BF || 26 aequilibertatem (equ. ACM) *Z* || isonomian AM isonomiam *corr.* 1 *ex* isonomian *C* issonomiam B^1 issonomian B^2F || 2 nascantur] nascuntur B^1 || et in aqua *C* || quae... quae] qui... qui *C* (que... que *A*) || interimant *corr. ex* -at *B* || 3 sint bis *scr.* B^1 || quae sint B^1 (que sunt A^1) || § 110, 5 indiuiduis] diuinis *Z* || quo quo modo B^1 || quae nulla sunt *om.* AC || 6 ipse $ABFM^1$ ipsae *C* || cogitari *C* || 7 non possint *A* n. possunt B^1 || 9 autem] enim M^2 || aiens *A* || expers, ers *in ras.* 3, *A* || § 111, 11 tandem | bonorum, dem *add.* 2, bono *in ras. ampl.* 2, *B* || 14 uelle similem *Z* || non *om.* *Z* || 15 earum] BFM^2 eadem AM^1 earundem *C* || epicurei $ABFM$ epycuri *C* || ne] A^3C *om.* A^1BFM || 16 nullum M^2 || se uinctum F^1 || 17 persequitur] per *corr. ex* pro *vel* pro *ex* per *C* || omnes *C* || nominatim] o *corr. et ina in ras.* 2 *B* -im *corr.* 2 *C* || § 112, 17 quem cibum quem igitur A^1 || 19 quas tactus BF^1M^1 (?) quos tactus (r ?) *C* || adhibebis *om.* C^1 || uoluptatibus, bus *in ras.* 2, *C* || 20 *Ac*] ut *Z* || ambrosiam, *post. am in ras.* 2, *A* || 21 iuuentutem CM || tu] tum B^1 || 23 uiuendum, *sec. u in ras.* 3, *A* uiuendum *M* || § 113, 25 leuioris A^1BFM || dicis M^2 || 26 etiam] enim *Z* || 27 eiucureos A^1 *corr.* 3 epicureas B^2FM (epycureos *C*) || delicatas B^1 delicatis F || 28 iis] BF^2 his ACM is F^1 || 29 metroodoro A^1 || collega* (s) *B* || 30 inprud. M^1 (impud. *C*) || timocraten *C* || 31 pertineat A^1 || 33 proserem A^1 proferam B^1 || 34 uoluntatem A^1 || 35 doceo deos *F* || uoluptates B^1 || § 114, 1 *At*] A^2 (*in ras.*, ad ? A^1) et *C* a B^2 (*in ras.*) FM || dolores A^1 dolori C^2 dolere F^1 || satin est id ad, id a *in ras.* 3, *A* sat id est ad C^1 satin est ad *M* || 2 abundantem *A* (habund. *M*) || beatissim. A^1 || quogitat *ut vid.* A^1 || 3 esse (esse se 2) habebet enim nihil *A* esse si haec enim duae beatum habet. nihil B^1 esse se habebit enim nihil B^2FM e. se habet en. nichil *C* || conpraendam (?) B^1 (comprehende *C* conpraeh. *M*) || 4 in animo *M* || 5 aeternitatem A^1 || pulchre] C^2 pulcro AM^1 pulchro BC^1FK pulcre M^2 || batus A^1 || necesse, c *in ras.* 2, *B* || non re-

4. reatur iste deus beatus (*corr. 1 ex batus*) *A* non moueatur—beatus *C* non uereatur (*vel uerent*?) deus ne intereat *B*¹ non uereatur iste deus beatus ne intereat *B*²*FM* || quum *BF* || 7 intermissione *A* || s affuant *B*¹ || § 115, 11 epicurius *A*¹ (epycurus *C*) || *Ti. om. Z* || corruncanium *AM* corumc. *C* || pscaeuolanum *A* pscaeuolam *C*¹ p. sceu. *C*² scaeuolan *B*¹ scaeuolanum *B*²*FM*¹ scaeuolam *M*² || 12 maximos *om. C* || sustullerit *A*¹ || 13 funditus] penitus *C*¹ *corr. 3* || relionem *A*¹ || exerxes *A*¹ exerses *C* xersxes (?) *B*¹ || 14 deos, o *corr. 2, B* || cur deos colendos ab hominibus (*in ras. m. 1*) *C* || 16 nil current *A*¹ (nichil curent *C*) || agat *A*¹ || § 116, 17 eo *C* || ipsa *om. F* || ad *in ras. A*³ (at ? *A*¹) || elicere *ACFM* *et, pr. e corr. 2, B* || 18 potest eximium *F* || 19 uoluntate *Z* || 21 sit*ei deberi, ei *m. 2, B* || est enim pietas est *C* || 22 quibus *om. M*¹ || 23 est] et *Z* || 24 quicquam *M*¹ || sint, int *in ras., F* sunt *M*¹ || nec acc. ab his n. sp. bono *ABFM* n. acc. nec sper. ab eis bono *C* || § 117, 26 qui *A*¹ || propter*admir. (e ?) *A* || 27 naturae eius *transp. s. add. C* || 28 liberare *AB*³*C* || 29 ni *A*¹ || negabat *A*¹ || 30 superstiosusese *A*¹ -sos esse *A*² || potuise *A* || nec *C* || 1 ñ**modo, ~ *m. 2, B* || superstionem *A* (superstic. *M*) || inestimor *A*¹ || 2 relionem *A*¹ || deorum, um *corr. 2, A* || continentur *M*¹ || § 118, 4 quid ii] *A* (*sed m. 3 corr.*) *B*²*FM*² qui *B*¹ quid i *M*¹ *om. C* || 3 hominibus *in ras. 4 litt. A*² || 6 prodigus chiuis *Z* || 7 habitam *A*¹*B*¹ || § 119, 8 fortes...potentes *A*² || clarus *B*¹ || 9 ipsos, o *corr. 2, A* || 10 tractata] tractata est, *sed est eras., C* tracta *F* || 11 euhemero] *A*²*CM* heumero *A*¹ heuhemero *B*¹*F*² hemero *F*¹ homero *B* *rec.* || quam *B*¹ || et secutus est] *A*²*B*²*CFM*² est secutus *A*¹ est et secutus est *B*¹ est secutus est *M*¹ || 12 heuhemero *A*¹*B*²*F* || demonstratur *A* demonstrantur, s *spscr. 1, B* || 13 hic e *corr. A*² || 14 substulisse *C*¹ || omito *A* || eleusinam *BF* || scaenetam *A* || angustam *M* || 15 ubiniantur *B*¹ || horarum *AC*¹*M* || 16 praetereo] *A*³*add. i.e.* transeo || eaqueque (?) *A*¹ *corr. 3* || 17 occulta coluntur aditu *C*¹ || saepibus *om. C* (sep. *M*) || 19 rerum reuocatis *M*¹ || § 120, 22 epicurius *A*¹ epicurus, *sed us corr. 2, B* (epyc. *C*) || notare *B*¹ || in *om. B*¹ || 23 censit *A*¹ || 24 -tate rerum — mentis quae *hic om. et post* deos esse *add. in*

uniuersitate *A*¹ *corr. et suppl. 2* (*cf. sequ.*) || mentes *A*²*B*¹*M* mentesque *C* || sunt *Z* || uniuersos *C* || 25 solent *Z* || 26 ingentes *A*¹*B*¹ || mudum *A*¹ || 27 quae quidem] quaedem *A*¹ || pratria *A*¹ paria *C* || quam Democrito *om. A*¹ || § 121, 29 ammirari *A*¹ || aureligionem *A*¹ || 30 epicurius *A*¹ (epycurus *C*) || extraxit radicitus, *sed t r in ras. 3, A* || in *om. Z* || 31 praestantissimam *M* *et, ntis in ras. 2, A* praestantis summam *B*¹ praestantissumam (prest. *F*) *B*²*F* prestantissim. *C* || 32 negat *idem (f ?) *B* idem negat *M* || 33 tollitque id *C* || optima *B*¹ || 34 post. quid *om. A*¹ || beneficentia *CM* beneficia *F*¹ || 35 nec deum *om. F*¹ || 1 a deis] ateis *A*¹ || alii ab aliis *C* || neglig. *B*¹ || estoici, e *eras., A* || censet *M*¹ || 3 enim *spscr. B* || 4 amabilis *A*¹ || qui* (a) *A* || erit *om. C* || § 122, 5 cum inbecillitatem (imb. *C*) *Z* || 6 beniuol. *ACFM* boniuol. *B* || 7 benefic*os (i) *B* || 9 dictum *CM*¹ || 10 referremus *A*² referrimus *B*¹ || quam (quem *F*²*M*) diligemus *ABFM*, *sed M corr. ex* diligimus || 11 eritis amicitia *A*¹ || utilitatum quaedam *C*¹ || 13 is *A* his *BCFM* || hominum animum caritas *B*¹ || 14 quinulla *A* qui in nula *B*¹ || re*** *A* || 15 ni] ne *AB*¹ || ita] sta (?) *A*¹ ista *M* || sit *in ras. B*² || ueneremur *C*¹ || 16 auspiciis, i *corr. 2, B* || 17 uouemus] *A*³*C* mouemus *A*¹*B*¹ mouemur *B*²*FM* || At etiam] *praet. iam in ras. A*³ ad etiam *B*¹ || § 123, 18 facito *F*¹ || ascribendi *M* || licentiam, i *in ras. ampl. 2, A* || 19 currant *B*¹ || 21 familiares *B*¹ || possidonius *BCF* || 22 quaeque his *AM*¹ quae qui is *ut vid. B*¹ quaeque iis *B*² || 23 post dixisse neque *in A repetita sunt* dixerit inuidie detestande gratia dixisse. Neque ; *A*² *del. a priore* neque usque *ad post.* dixisse || tam *om. A*¹ *add. A*³ || 24 fuissent *B*¹ || homunculis *Z* || fingere *A*¹ || 25 habito *A*¹ || 26 usum *BF*¹ || perlucididum *B*¹ || 29 re *om. B*¹ rem *M*¹ || reliquid *B*¹ || § 124, 30 teneam *F*² || ualeat, *pr. a in ras. 3, A* ualeat *B*² (*in ras.*) *et F*¹ || 31 enim dicam *A*² *in ras. min. ;* enim *spscr. C* || potest nemini] homini potest *M*¹ nemini pot. *M*² || 32 in *om. A*¹ ||

M. T. Ciceronis (*C. M*) de deorum natura liber I (primus *A*) explicit. incipit liber (liber *om. M*) II (secundus *AM*) *ABFM. Subscrip-tione caret C.*

P. SCHWENKE.

(Continuabitur).

BLAYDES' EDITION OF THE NUBES.

Aristophanis Nubes: annotatione critica, commentario exegetico, et scholiis graecis instruxit F. H. M. BLAYDES, LL.D. Halis Saxonum, in Orphanotrophei libraria. MDCCCXC. 10 Mk.

NO. XXXVIII. VOL. IV.

THE present volume contains the ninth of the plays of Aristophanes which Dr. Blaydes has published with a critical and exegetical commentary. Of the two remaining plays, the *Equites* 'mox prodibit,'

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and the *Vespae* is already 'sub prelo.' There is no more indefatigable worker in this province than Dr. Blaydes, who in the preface to his volume of four plays (1882) writes, under date of Dec. 13, 1881, 'plurimi jam anni sunt, plus quadraginta, ex quo primum Aristophani edendo animum intendi.' As these words were written nearly nine years ago, we may hope ere long to have the pleasure of congratulating him on his golden wedding with the Muse of Comedy!

In the preface to the volume before us Dr. Blaydes describes the play now edited as 'omnium longe praestantissima et nobilissima ideoque editoris cura et diligentia maxime digna.' He regrets the want of a satisfactory collation of Codd. Ravennas and Venetus; but he doubts whether such a production would be of much advantage, considering that not a few of the errors in the text 'inveterata sint et ejusmodi ut sine conjecturae ope nunquam tolli queant.' It is difficult to believe that Dr. Blaydes can be quite inconsolable at this condition of the text; for he is never so happy as when he is scattering his conjectures broadcast, or, as he phrases it in his critical note on l. 995, 'ut in loco obscurissimo et fere conclamato nonnullas hariolationes meas, diversis temporibus factas, apponere libet.' After which announcement, eleven 'hariolationes' are offered for our choice.

It may seem captious to say that in this edition Dr. Blaydes seeks to give us too much; but it is impossible to refrain from expressing a wish that he had applied greater diligence to the digesting and arranging of the mass of critical note and comment which he has brought together. The 'facilis lector' is entreated in the preface (*ad fin.*) to be indulgent in his judgment of a work 'diversis temporibus scripto, nonnunquam ubi librorum consulendorum copia non esset—si irrepserint errores aliquot et observationes futiles aut parum fide dignae.' Much of this apology would have been unnecessary if Dr. Blaydes had gone through his commentary with his own text before him, and had been careful to compare the two and to see that they agreed. Scrupulous revision would have removed from the commentary sundry repetitions, which are occasionally not only superfluous but contradictory. The edition is over-loaded, and does not keep its departments clearly separate. Statements which belong to the exegetical commentary sometimes find their way into the critical notes, and *vice versa*. It would, moreover, enhance the value and improve the style of the volume if, in many passages, instead of lengthy

quotations from various editions, which not unfrequently repeat the same results in slightly different words, the writer had given us more of his own independent judgment and the reasons for his decision. The mass of Scholia which he has printed should have been dealt with—one would think—more critically; some estimate of their relative value attempted, and many more of their errors and dark speeches examined. Such work is really needed, and would be more to the purpose than, *e.g.*, an exhaustive list of 'desideratives' in *-αω* and *-σειω*.

However, we may be genuinely grateful to Dr. Blaydes for his wide reading, which supplies us with a full store of parallel and illustrative passages: though it may be noticed that his reading hardly includes the latest authorities, nor keeps quite abreast of the time in points of scholarship, etymology and orthography.

It may be worth while to suggest a few corrections, which may serve to show the necessity of revision for any future edition.

In the critical notes on l. 7, *κολάσ' ἔξεστι*, the rule is quoted, 'eliditur semper diphthongus *ai* ante vocalem in thesi, contra in arsi servatur aut crasis fit.' Ample illustration is given of this rule: but how can *διοσημία* 'στι be brought under it? Again on l. 24, *εἴθ' ἐξέκοπη πρότερον τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν λίθω*, is it not mere trifling to write 'quum vero non μονόφθαλμοι sint equi legendum suspicabar εἴθ' ἐξέκοπη τὸν ἑτερον ὀφθαλμόν? The critic's duty is not to recast Aristophanes' Greek exercise. In l. 151, Dr. Blaydes prints *κᾶτα ψυχέισι* (in ed. 1873-4 *ψυγέισι*) *περιέφυσαν Περσικαί*, making *ψυχέισι* agree with *τοῖς ποσὶ* from *τῷ πόδε* in the preceding line, on the ground that the wax does not stick to the flea, but to its feet! This seems to be needless pedantry in the interpretation of a 'nonsense passage': but, as though to show that he keeps an open mind, Dr. Blaydes gives us in the commentary *ψυχείσῃ*] *Sc. τῇ ψύλλῃ*, sed corrigendum videtur *ψυχέντος* (*τοῦ κηροῦ*). In the vexed passage, l. 179, the text gives *θυμάτιον* (so ed. 1873, *θοιμάτιον* being expressly rejected, because 'ne alia dicam, offendit articulus'), the probability of this reading being more readily admitted because of the suggestive word *ὀβελίσκον* *supr.*: the reading *θοιμάτιον*, however, is not 'temere rejicienda.' In the commentary, *θοιμάτιον*, is accepted definitively, and the approval repeated in the 'Addenda.' It is not satisfactory that the text and the commentary should vary, while the editor is making up his mind. In l. 248, instead of *τῷ γὰρ ὄμνυ'*; ἦ, Dr. Blaydes, after a long

note and several samples of conjecture, prints τῷ νομίζετ' ; ἦ (practically Gütting's correction) ; but in the commentary we read τῷ γὰρ ὀμνύτ' ;] joco inexpectato comice positum ut videtur pro τῷ γὰρ χρῆσθε. This is probably not far from the mark, as the solecism is an intentional exhibition of the invincible stupidity of Strepsiades. But the rest of the note is taken up with passages illustrative of the use of νομίζειν τινί. In l. 289, ἀθανάτας ιδέας is taken in the crit. note as a genitive dependent on ἀποσεισάμεναι. There are two notes on the passage in the commentary : the first gives as a rendering 'ab immortalī forma' ; the second interprets ιδέας as 'formas,' acc. plur. In his text Dr. Blaydes prints (l. 326) ὡς οὐ καθορῶ. ΣΩ. παρὰ τὴν ἔσοδον. ΣΤ. νῦν ὁρῶ ἥδη μόλις αὐτάς, though he quotes οὕτως as the reading of R. (unless we accept the ντ suprascript. as a correction there to ὄντως, see Kaehler. *ad loc.* Anhang iii.). But the commentary gives εἰσοδον and ἥδη νυνὶ μόλις οὕτως. On l. 409 the text gives ὥπτων . . κᾶτα, the reading ὅπτων of R. being merely mentioned. If that reading be not adopted, something should have been said about it, and it would only be fair to quote the various passages which illustrate the anacoluthic construction of a participle followed by κᾶτα. Such a discussion would not be out of place in critical notes ; but it is surprising to find among them such an annotation as this on l. 421, 'where there is no uncertainty of reading, [τρυνσιβίου] vitam consumentis, cf. v. τρυνσάνωρ Soph. *Phil.* 209.' In the text on l. 647 we read τάχα δ' ἂν δύναιο : in the crit. note τάχα δ' is approved and quoted as a conjecture adopted by Reiske and others. In the commentary the vulg. ταχύ γ' is silently accepted, but at the end of the note we find, 'sed fortasse legendum τάχα δ'.' Under ποῖ τέτροφας, l. 858, the form τέτροφας is properly illustrated by quoting ἀνατέτροφας, and similar forms. But the effect is spoiled by the next words : 'formatum autem τέτροφα a τρέφω.' The same mistake occurs in the ed. of 1873.

The ineradicable tendency which Dr. Blaydes shows to offer conjectures, like a suggestive teacher over a boy's exercise, may be noted among other places by his note on l. 1076 ἡμαρτες, ἡράσθης] δάμαρτος (!) ἡράσθης, Naber. Qu. γυναικὸς ἡράσθης. Why should there be a Qu. at all? The reading shows no variant, and is excellent as it stands. And why in l. 981 should the well-established κεφάλαιον τῆς ραφανίδος be gratuitously (and ridiculously) changed to καὶ φυλλεῖον ραφανίδος? Dr. Blaydes finds abundance of

excuse for the def. article in θοιμάτιον (l. 179) ; and its presence here is surely not sufficient reason for the alteration to φυλλεῖον, even if the singular number were tolerable. The φυλλεῖα ραφανίδος we may gather from the *Plutus* (l. 544) were not the daintiest part of the radish in the days of Aristophanes, any more than they are now.

These instances have been picked out at haphazard, mainly from the first half of the play ; and the editor may excuse them, or wish the 'facilis lector' to excuse them, as 'egregio inspersos corpore naevos.' Unfortunately they are just the samples which spoil a reputation for accuracy, and force the conviction that the mechanical part at any rate of editing is wanting in due care. No one is obliged to publish a critical edition ; but, if one chooses to do so, his accuracy ought to be above suspicion.

One or two corrections or suggestions on the notes in the commentary may, perhaps, be usefully added.

It is hardly a scholarly way of explaining the adverbial accus. πρόφασιν (l. 55) to write 'πρόφασιν] i.e. ὡς πρόφασιν, subaudiendum διὰ αὐτὴν κατὰ.' In l. 195, the difficulty in applying εἰσιθ' (i.e. εἰσιτε) to the μαθηταί, who appear to be still within the φροντιστήριον, is not discussed. The phrase (l. 232) οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' is surely not satisfactorily disposed of by the rendering 'etenim,' or a quotation of the Scholiast's interpretation ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ. In l. 321, ἐτέρω λόγῳ seems to be treated in one part of the note as an instrumental dative, and in another as a dative dependent on ἀντιλογῆσαι. There is a confusion in ll. 340, 402 ; for on l. 340 we read τί παθοῦσαι] bene explicat Teuffel 'qua de causa' ; τί μαθών ; (402) 'qua de ratione.' But on l. 402, τί μαθών ; is interpreted in the commentary by 'qua de causa,' and in not. crit. on l. 402. by 'qua de ratione.' It is difficult to follow the editor in his note on l. 541, 'ὁ λέγων τᾶπη] Articulus hic repetitus certum quandam poetam tangi verisimile facit.' There is a general allusion to Eupolis in the passage, but this is not suggested by the presence of the article. In l. 929, Κρόνος is rendered 'crone'—the reference being to the Δίκαιος Λόγος. But the dictionaries seem decisive of the gender and give, as the only interpretations, 'an old woman'—'an old ewe.' Was Dr. Blaydes caught by the similarity of sound, and snared into a bit of false etymology and wrong gender? The note on προμαθεῖν (l. 966), illustrated by reference to προδιδάσκειν in l. 476, ends in a contradiction ; and the interpretation of 1149, which is emphatically renewed in the

'Addenda,' is really not decided in Dr. Blaydes' favour by the passages quoted.

Dr. Blaydes shows so much genuine love for his author, and has worked at him with such untiring devotion, and brought so much solid reading to bear upon his task, that it may seem ungenerous to pick these holes in the texture. On the other hand, may it not be said that in a book which belongs to the work of a life-time, and on the production of

which no expense appears to have been spared, and which ought to represent the standard English edition, it is something more than vexatious to find slipshod work? There was a famous old scholar who summed up the whole duty of man in the precept 'Verify your references.' Dr. Blaydes has not lived up to this counsel.

W. W. MERRY.

JOWETT'S REPUBLIC OF PLATO.

The Republic of Plato, Translated into English, with Introduction, Analysis, Marginal Analysis, and Index, by B. JOWETT, M.A., Master of Balliol College, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford. The Third Edition, revised and corrected throughout. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1888. Pp. ccxxxi. and 379. 12s. 6d.

THIS volume is the first instalment of a revised edition of the *Dialogues* of Plato, the second edition having been issued in 1875, though the *Republic* was published separately in 1881. The general character of the work may be assumed to be well known, and the present notice does not aim at anything more than recording a few of the changes made and offering an occasional suggestion.

Minor improvements in the introduction are the numbering of Stephanus's pages in the margin of the analysis, and the careful distinction, by means of the heading, between the analysis and those interspersed comments which make up the introduction proper. Of these many are new, the insertions varying in length from half a dozen lines to several pages, altogether increasing the introduction by some thirty pages, if allowance be made for the difference in type. There is a fuller comparison with the *Laws* (pp. ccxiv.-ccxvii.), and the account of Plato's imitators, especially Cicero, Augustine, Dante, and Campanella, has been considerably enlarged (p. ccxvii. sqq.). Of the new matter most interest attaches to the paean on the greatness of Plato (p. i. sqq.), the characteristic remarks on the idea of good (p. xevii. sq.), those on the dangers which beset youth in times of transition (pp. cxiii.-cxv.), on the possibilities of progress in the future with reference to Socialism (pp. clxxviii. sq.), and a short

essay, wholly new, on the Progress of the World (p. cexi. sqq.). In dealing with the Number (p. cxxx. sqq.) Dr. Jowett commits himself more unreservedly to the explanation proposed by Dr. Donaldson in the *Proceedings of the Philological Society*.

Only once have we detected a change of front. In the former edition we were told 'the thesis that good actions produce good habits was taught mankind not by Plato, but by Aristotle.' Not only is this passage now retracted, but it is admitted (p. lxviii.) that the words (iv. 444 D) 'as healthy practices (*ἐπιτηδεύματα*) produce health, so do just practices produce justice' have a sound very like the 'Nicomachean Ethics.' Dr. Jowett however seems hardly yet aware of the significance of Plato's term 'civic or demotic excellence' as the germ from which the whole Aristotelian conception of Moral Virtue is developed, and at 500 D renders *ἐμπράτης δημοτικῆς ἀρετῆς* by 'every civil virtue.'

There are various blemishes in the execution which have escaped revision. The references (e.g. *Theaet.* 72, 77, *Arist. Metaph.* xi. 21) are not always to be found, and 'Eccleziastusae' still stares us in the face. The index contains valuable information in a compact form along with some unfortunate errors of the press: but Dr. Jowett is indebted to his collaborateur in this department for such accents as *γενναῖον*, *μεσῇ*, *μεθόδος*, etc. Other slips are his own, as when a quotation from the *Phaedrus* is given in the form 'O Socrates, you can easily invent Egyptians or anything': or we are reminded of 'the feeling which Aristotle in a well-known passage describes the hearers of Plato's lectures as experiencing' (p. xciv.). So well known is this passage that it will be sought in vain in the Aristotelian treatises: no editor includes it amongst the fragments, for the sufficient

reason that the tense employed by our reporter (*Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ διηγείτο*) sufficiently shows the remark to have occurred in oral discourse.

It remains to say a few words of the translation. To some readers this may be the more important half: but it is admittedly an effort in English style rather than in fidelity to the original, and is best enjoyed without reference to the Greek. Again to compare it with the older editions, there are fewer words left untranslated; there is, speaking generally, a loss of dash and spirit; the whole has become soberer, more tame and commonplace.

Limits of space will only allow us to touch on a few out of the many passages we had selected for more detailed criticism. We find *διαβολή* rendered 'injury,' τὰ λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ 'ordinary goods,' ὁρμή 'mood.' In 484 B Plato speaks of 'rulers of a state,' 'laws and practices of states,' quite generally: Dr. Jowett substitutes the particular case 'of our state.' In 487 B ἡγούνται...μέγα τι σφάλμα καὶ ἐναντίον τοῖς πρώτοις ἀναφαίνεσθαι used to be 'they are found to have sustained a mighty overthrow and reversal of their first notions:' now after 'overthrow' we read 'and all their first notions appear to be turned upside down.' Is not σφάλμα the mistake into which Socrates' interlocutors are led, amounting to open contradiction of their first statements? In 490 B for οὐκ ἐπιμένει ἐπὶ τοῖς δοξαζομένοις εἶναι πολλοὺς ἐκάστοις, both editions have 'he will not rest in the multiplicity of individuals which is an appearance only': surely the πολλὰ ἕκαστα, or many of each group, are only *opined* to exist: to δοξαζομένοις εἶναι must be opposed in thought ὅτως ὄν, which is the special attribute of ἐν ἕκαστον. For 488 D we would suggest that τούτου is amplified into ὅπως κυβερνήσει ὁ ἀληθινὸς κυβερνήτης, 'but they deem it impossible to acquire, along with the art of steering, an art or knack of this, namely, the means by which the true pilot will steer with or without the consent of his critics.' Accordingly we should dismiss the suggestion of the footnote that ὅπως depends on ἐπαίοντες. The former edition read thus: 'while at the same time he must and will be the steerer, whether other people like it or not; and they think that to combine the exercise of command with the steerer's art is impossible': the new edition is much the same, ending 'the possibility of this union of authority with the steerer's art has never seriously entered into their thoughts or been made part of their calling.' In 496 A the true meaning of ἀκοῦσαι, 'deserve to be called,' is

given in the footnote, while 'captivating to the ear' usurps its place in the text. At 497 B in place of 'as the exotic seed which is sown in a foreign land becomes denaturalized, and is vanquished and degenerates into the native stock,' we now read, 'is wont to be overpowered and to lose itself in the new soil'; one or other, perhaps both, of these renderings of εἰς τὸ ἐπιχώριον should be rejected. The exotic becomes assimilated to the growth of the soil; that is not necessarily to lose itself. X.

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It is superfluous now to insist on the great positive merits of Professor Jowett's *Plato*. All are agreed that it is stimulating to thought and often felicitous in its wording, and that the introductory matter is full of ripe wisdom. What now remains to be done is to remove those blemishes which interfere with its usefulness for the purpose for which it is chiefly used in Oxford, viz. in preparation for the Schools. These blemishes we shall treat of under three heads. First, it is lax in its language; secondly, it avoids difficulties; and, thirdly, it is not free from positive mistakes as to both translation and matter.

That his terms should be carefully and consistently rendered is bare justice to Aristotle, who was himself careful, but it is charity to Plato, whose poetic carelessness of expression makes it most desirable to bring him to book. This charity Professor Jowett does not show, and there is a want of precision about some of his work which makes it much less helpful than it might be. In the equation about the faculties in Bk. vi., why should πίστις first be rendered 'faith' and then 'belief' within eight lines?

There is some uncertainty in p. 560 A-B as to the exact bearing of the word ἀνεπιστημοσύνην, and with this uncertainty Professor Jowett does not fairly grapple when he translates as follows:—'After the old desires have been driven out, fresh ones spring up, which are akin to them, and because he their father does not know how to educate them, wax fierce.' Who is meant by 'them'? Is it the desires? If so, who is their father? Nor again does the translation of 586 C help to explain the construction of the datives in that passage. In 539 E what is meant by τῶν ἄλλων? The translation cuts the knot, by leaving the words out altogether.

As instances of mistaken translation we may specify the following. Sometimes the editor seems to adopt one reading and translate

another, as in p. 581 E. Sometimes the translation is unsatisfactory because it overlooks the force of particles or of prepositions in composition (e.g. *παραβλαστάνουσιν* in 573 D). Sometimes, when the translation is right, the analysis renders wrongly. Thus p. 430 C is said to treat of 'a higher courage which may hereafter be discussed'; but, when he comes to the translation, Professor Jowett discovers that *κάλλιον* is an adverb and that there is no higher courage. Both analysis and translation are wrong on 575 C. The one says 'No small catalogue of crimes truly, even if the perpetrators are few'; the other, 'A small catalogue of evils, even if the perpetrators are few in number.' The latter seems to imply that an evil would be expected to be greater if perpetrated by few persons. What Plato says of course is that the evils are small if few perpetrate them. At 591 E the sense is destroyed by rendering *πολιτείαν* 'city.' Look again carefully into 618 B and its translation. Or look at 598 B, *σμικρόν τι ἐκάστον ἐφάπτεται*, 'he lightly touches on a small part of them,' where the looseness of translation might easily

mislead junior readers into thinking that *ἐφάπτεται* governs *σμικρόν τι*.

We come in the last place to what seem to us mistakes as to the matter of the *Republic*. The education in gymnastic is spoken of in two places, and both times wrongly. The period allowed by Plato for gymnastic is not three years, and it does not fall between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. The timocratic form of government does not 'decline into democracy' (p. iv.), but into oligarchy. To say that 'Temperance appears to be the virtue of a part only' (p. lxiii.) is inconsistent with what Professor Jowett himself says higher up, and is undoubtedly wrong in the face of Plato's assertion (431 E) that the virtue belongs to the whole state. It is probably an uncorrected survival from the first edition, where the mistake was more crudely put. Again the analysis (p. xcix.) gives wrongly the order of objects which prisoners released from the cave would be able to see. Is Military service imposed upon all citizens of the ideal commonwealth, as Professor Jowett says? If so, what becomes of the triple division of the state? F. T. RICHARDS.

TRAUTWEIN ON THE PROLOGUES OF PLAUTUS.

De Prologorum Plautinorum indole atque natura, by PAUL TRAUTWEIN (Berlin, Heinrich und Kemke, 1890: price 1s. 6d.).

THE question as to the date and origin of the prologues prefixed to the plays of Plautus is a difficult one, on which a great deal of subtlety has been expended, and, in the opinion of the author of the present paper, to little purpose. That most of them are of post-Plautine origin is generally held, and indeed proved by internal evidence, especially by the references to seats in the theatre (Capt. Prol. 12, Poen. Prol. 20, Amph. Prol. 65), which are well known not to have existed in the life-time of the poet. The prologues to the *Aulularia*, *Rudens*, and *Trinummus* are generally regarded as holding an exceptional position, and as containing at least fragments of original Plautine prologues; and to these should probably be added that to the *Cistellaria* (spoken by *Auxilium*, I. 3). Palmer (on Amph. Prol. 1) holds that those to the *Truculentus* and *Mercator* are also probably genuine.

Trautwein divides all the fourteen prologues into two classes: (1) those spoken by

a special member of the *grex* (*ornatu prologi*, Hec. Prol. II. 1); (2) those spoken by one of the *dramatis personae*, or a god or allegorical personage connected with the action even though not appearing again in the course of the play. To the latter class belong the prologues to seven plays, *Aulularia*, *Amphitruo*, *Cistellaria* (I. 3), *Miles* (II. 1), *Mercator* (I. 1), *Rudens*, *Trinummus*; and here if anywhere we may expect, according to the opinion of Trautwein, to find the *vera poetae vestigia* (p. 6). He proceeds to answer the reasons which have been urged against the genuineness of the whole or parts of these prologues. It will be seen that Trautwein goes further than previous writers in maintaining the genuineness of the whole of these seven (with the exception of Amph. 64 ff., which he admits to be post-Plautine as containing a reference to seats in the theatre, and which of course must carry with them parts of what follows), including the whole of *Miles*, II. 1, only the latter part of which has generally been held to be by the hand of Plautus.

The arguments of the critics are divided into three classes: (1) those based upon the occurrence of single words or phrases which

do not occur elsewhere in Plautus, (2) those based upon the matter, (3) those based upon aesthetic grounds. (1) are dismissed very briefly: *quid enim iuvamur si edocemur hoc et hoc verbum alio loco apud Plautum non occurrere?* In regard to (2) the main point is the argument of Ritschl that passages in which the name *Plautus* or *Maccius* or the phrase *Plautina fabula* occurs cannot be by Plautus himself (contrast the practice of Terence, who speaks of himself as *poeta*, not *Terentius*). This is met by a reminder that *Catullus*, *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Ovid*, and *Horace* use their own names. Thus Trin. Prol. 18 ff.—

Huic Graece nomen est Thensauro
fabulae:
Philemo scripsit, Plautus uortit barbare,
Nomen Trinummo fecit

Trautwein holds to be genuine—indeed essential (*totius prologi quasi sanguis et medulla*). In regard to (3) he holds that the critics have not been consistent with themselves and have taken too modern a point of view; thus Aul. 9—12 has been condemned on account of ‘lästige Wiederholungen’ (Lorenz); but long-winded and tautologous passages are found in the body of many of the plays themselves. Other passages have been criticised because they contain passages addressed directly to the audience (cf. Lorenz on Mil. 79, ‘Fast alle uuechte Prologe enthalten ähnliche Apostrophen an das Publikum’);

but similar things are found in many plays—passages in which the actor as it were lays aside his rôle and speaks in *propria persona*, or passages in which the audience is associated with the action of the piece: e.g. Poen. 547 ff., Trin. 990, Cist. 511 ff. and Caterva, Aul. 715 ff., Bacch. 1072 ff. Truc. 482 ff., not to mention Aristophanes, who was guilty of the same kind of joke in the *Knights*, 35—39, *Wasps*, 54 ff., *Pax*, 50 ff., 173 f., 538 ff., 1017 ff. etc.

I have much sympathy with a protest against applying too high an aesthetic standard in Plautine criticism. Appeals to the audience and similar familiarities may be heard on the Italian stage at the present day (see my note on Capt. Prol. 10), and the phenomenon of one of the actors appearing in a box and continuing the dialogue with an actor on the stage is not unknown to modern playgoers. Such effects may be illegitimate; but they are amusing. No doubt, as Trautwein says, the passage—

Primumdum huic esse nomen urbis
Diphilus
Cyrenas uoluit

is out of place in the mouth of the speaker, *Arcturus* (Rud. Prol. 32 f.); but some license must be conceded to the dramatic poet. Did not Shakespeare venture to introduce at the court of the ‘Duke’ Theseus a number of Elizabethan clowns?

E. A. SONNENSCHN. E.

PAPILLON AND HAIGH'S *ÆNEID*, BOOKS I.—VI.

Virgil, Æneid. Books I.—III. with Introduction and Notes by T. E. PAPILLON and A. E. HAIGH. Introduction, pp. 1—20, Text, 21—80, Notes, 81—148. Clarendon Press. 1890. 3s.

Æneid. Books IV.—VI. The same. 3s.

THE manner in which these two small volumes are sent out reflects the greatest credit on the Clarendon Press: the printing, binding, and general appearance are admirable.

The notes are described as being those of Mr. Papillon's well-known edition, revised throughout by both editors and to a considerable extent re-written ‘with a view to making them more generally useful to students at the Universities and in the higher forms at Schools.’

Speaking generally, it may be said that many of the notes are excellent and exhibit considerable judgment, the translations are often neat and scholarly, and the illustrations from ancient and modern poets apt and good. On the other hand the books have a considerable resemblance to a class of school-book, the publication of which is daily increasing, but against which a word of protest is strongly needed.

The only ground on which a classical education can be defended is that the masterpieces of ancient literature should be so taught as to aid in the development and cultivation of the mental powers. A good school edition of a classical author needs therefore to be a good book. The editor must be master of his subject, for he is not merely bound to deal with all the difficulties

which his author presents, but also to deal with them in such a manner as to make the reasons on which he bases his conclusions intelligible to those who are not scholars, and further to do so within reasonable limits of space, and, if possible, with some vivacity and attractiveness of style. Add to this the necessity for soundness of judgment in avoiding mere eccentricities of explanation and rejecting irrelevant matter, and it is clear that a good school book must be, as it is, comparatively rare and extremely valuable.

On the other hand there is a class of books, the object of which seems to be to assist a boy in just passing some low standard of examination. The only essential point is that the notes should be short, and they generally consist of translation, explanation of allusions, and remarks on grammar in about equal proportions. Such notes can be furnished by any average scholar almost without effort: they will always be welcome to the average teacher because they save him trouble, and to the average boy for a like reason. Books of this sort will therefore always have a considerable sale, and presumably be abundant. In the interests of education however it is essential that such books should not be left entirely uncriticised, especially as the Presses of both Oxford and Cambridge seem strongly inclined to lend them the authority of their *imprimatur*.

In Mr. Papillon's first volume the text occupies 60 pp. and the notes 68; on the Third Book the notes cover exactly 18 pp. compared with 18 of text. Is it possible to write notes on Virgil, which shall be of any real service to a boy 'in the higher forms of a school,' so briefly that a page of notes shall serve for a page of text? Perhaps it is possible, but it would require the combination of many rare qualities to achieve the feat, and for the present the question shall be answered by an example of what the attempt leads to. Take *Aen.* 3, 88—106: Mr. Papillon's notes on these 19 lines are contained in 56 words, of which 21 are translation and 17 are squandered on the lengthening of *quē* in l. 91. Of the surviving 18, which we might indeed expect to find

‘crammed

With comment densest condensation hard,’

nine are absolutely superfluous, as, if the reference which follows and consumes two words ('see above l. 322') were worth anything, they would be unnecessary. Seven

words remain; such words are the precious residuum, the fine gold at the bottom of the crucible; these are they—

‘CORTINA, the sacred cauldron resting on a tripod.’

Seriously, if these notes are what ‘boys in higher forms need,’ we recommend some enterprising publisher to take in hand a school edition of the chief classical authors of which the editors shall be actual ‘boys in the higher forms.’ Such editors would have a living sense of the needs of those for whom they wrote, which would be an inestimable advantage, and they could scarcely give balder notes on an extremely interesting passage than Mr. Papillon has provided, while they would some of them avoid such a note on l. 106 as ‘HABITANT men dwell in,’ and remark that the nominative is ‘the Cretans’ to be supplied from *Creta*, which precedes, by a common idiom especially frequent in Thucydides.

Even when necessary notes are not wholly omitted, it is obvious that a comment which consists of half a dozen words must often be totally inadequate or actually misleading. Thus 3.62 we have ‘*instauramus*, “we celebrate”: the word need not imply *fresh* rites.’ What is the good of this? Nine people out of ten might think that if ever there was a true *instauratio funeris* it was when Polydorus, who certainly was already buried somehow, was re-buried with proper rites by Aeneas: the editor however without a word of explanation contents himself with saying that this natural and probable rendering is not necessary! It must be assumed that being only natural and probable it is to be therefore rejected. Again take 3,207 ‘*remis insurgimus*, “rise on our oars,” *remis* dat.’: the note is quite unnecessary, for the construction is absolutely clear, but what is not clear and what needs explanation is what the process of ‘rising on an oar’ is. Some ‘boys in the higher forms’ would perhaps like to know. Or take 3,194 where the only note is a translation, and the translation of *caeruleus imber* is ‘murky cloud’: it is often difficult to define words which signify colour, and the word ‘murky’ is a convenient one, but, if the editor had added to his note a remark that Virgil is here translating Homer’s *κυανέη νεφέλη*, he would have been able to explain that *caeruleus* here describes a colour between dark blue and black, possessing a certain metallic lustre—the true colour of a thunder-cloud.

On 3.206 the note '*aperire* (se from l. 205) "heave in sight"' is wholly wrong; *montes* is the acc. after *aperire*, not the nom.: the passage is perfectly clear—'land was seen to rise at last, to display its mountains and send up wreaths of smoke.' The additional note, which compares this passage with the well-known *Phaeacum abscondimus arces*, shows complete confusion of thought, but is supported by Mr. Sidgwick's edition, where however *montes* is taken rightly.

As Mr. Sidgwick's edition is to some extent parallel to Mr. Papillon's, and as the real ability and even brilliancy which it displays is beyond question, it will not be out of place to refer to a passage which shows how dangerous it is for even an able scholar to jot down notes for a school-book at haphazard, and what is the mental pabulum which the Presses of Oxford and Cambridge send out as fit for the strong digestion of youth. The passage is an interesting one (*Aen.* 6. 567-9), and describes the procedure of Rhadamanthus, who, says Virgil, in dealing with the wicked

*castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri
quae quis apud superos furto laetatus inani
distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.*

['Flogs them and hears their crimes, and compels confession, whenever any one on earth, exulting in vain deceit, has delayed to late death the due (Incurred) atonement.']

It is probably wiser to discuss the last line first, because, as will presently appear, after reading the notes of the two editors it is hard to resist the conclusion that 'topsey-turvy' is the most poetical arrangement of words, and is called in Greek '*α ὕστερον πρότερον*.' Beginning therefore with the last line it is interesting to compare the rival versions, or perversions, of Virgil which the editors present.

'The crimes that each guilty soul . . . has veiled until the last hour of death.'

PAPILLON.

'Delayed till his late death the guilt he had contracted.'

SIDGWICK.

It is difficult to decide between these two renderings; it seems probable however that the rendering of *distulit* 'has veiled' is pre-eminently bad, and that its badness is only made worse by the attempt to divert attention from this weakness by the highly poetical rendering of *quis* as 'each guilty soul': in Mr. Sidgwick's translation, on the

other hand, there is a blundering straightforwardness which deserves clemency, and moreover *habemus confitentem reum*, for he meekly adds 'but the Latin is less harsh than the English' and thereby disarms justice and makes even Rhadamanthus drop the scourge.

We come now to the first line: these are the notes:

'*castigatque auditque dolos, α ὕστερον πρότερον*, perhaps implying the summary nature of his jurisdiction (Con.)—punishment being almost coincident with the recital of his crime.'

PAPILLON.

'*castigatque auditque*, a famous line, from its inversion of the natural order of justice. But the idea perhaps is that Rhadamanthus has none but the guilty to deal with and so his chief function is *castigare*.'

SIDGWICK.

The phrase '*α ὕστερον πρότερον*' is a good phrase to conjure with, but if it has any meaning in grammar it must be presumed to be a mysterious way of saying that a writer has written nonsense and, in plain English, put the cart before the horse. Whether Mr. Papillon is of this opinion or whether he considers that the magic formula '*α ὕστερον πρότερον*' will satisfy all curiosity, it is not easy to tell. Mr. Sidgwick is more down-right; he bluntly says that this is 'a famous line, for its inversion of the natural order of justice,' or in other words 'a famous line because it is absolutely absurd.' As for his remark that 'his chief function is *castigare*,' and Mr. Papillon's remark about 'punishment,' both are erroneous: Rhadamanthus is *not* the executioner: the punishment of the guilty *follows* their interview with Rhadamanthus; the very next line describes Tisiphone as only waiting the sentence of the court to march the guilty away into Tartarus (l. 570 *continuo sontes ultrix . . .*). The fact is that Virgil does not write nonsense. Perhaps, if he had been able with prophetic vision to see the figure of Dr. Keate flogging the Confirmation class *first* and *then* hearing their explanation that they were not the boys whom he had been expecting,—perhaps he might have added to the terrors of his Tartarus by substituting a head master for Rhadamanthus and describing him as flogging first and listening afterwards. As it is however Virgil describes not an executioner but an inquisitor. The Romans well understood what torture was: it was a means of procuring confession: *quod tormentis in-*

venire vis, id fateamur says Cicero for a client. The object for which Rhadamanthus uses the whip is to extract confession: 'he whips

them and hears their deceits and compels them to confess.' The Rhadamanthus of Virgil is a Torquemada not an Orbilius.

T. E. PAGE.

NEW EDITION OF PIDERIT'S *DE ORATORE*.

Cicero de Oratore. Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von DR. KARL WILHELM PIDERIT. Sechste Auflage besorgt von O. Harnecker. Zweites Heft: Buch II. (1889); Drittes Heft: Buch III. (1890). Leipzig. B. G. Teubner. 1 Mk. 50 each.

THE revised (sixth) edition of Dr. Piderit's *de Oratore* shows in many ways a marked improvement. The twelve years which have passed since the publication of the fifth edition, issued under the care of Dr. Adler, have been fruitful of good work, mainly critical, on the *de Oratore*, including the important discovery of the great value of the *codex Harleianus* for the establishment of the uninterpolated tradition of the text. Dr. Harnecker has gone with care over the contributions of Sorof, Stangl, Friedrich, Stroebel and others to the criticism of these books, and has made some noteworthy additions of his own. Hence, while the bulk of the whole edition exceeds by some fifty pages that of the fifth, the extension is mainly in the critical notes, which in the last two volumes alone have grown from fourteen pages to seven and twenty. In the explanatory commentary the additions are not numerous, the main change here being in the arrangement. A clearer method of printing is adopted, and the references are more conveniently given. On the other hand errors of oversight and false references are too often allowed to remain: and the useful 'indices,' which are a characteristic part of Piderit's editions, have not always been brought up to date. Lucilius is still said to have been born in B.C. 148: and the statements still remain that Carneades was born in 210 and died in 129 in his ninetieth year, and that Hypereides was born in 382, a date altogether uncertain: Sp. Carvilius (consul 228) is still said to have been 'equestri loco natus,' though his father was consul before him: T. Didius, though consul in 98, is still said to have been

tribune in 95. Dr. Harnecker's own contributions to the interpretation are not often of much value: e.g. a reference to Quintilian's manner of telling the story in ii. 268 would have excluded the suggestion that in 'compilari' a Roman undoubtedly detected 'den vulgären Nebensinn *zerbläut werden*.' Nor will many follow him in his interpretation of the difficult passage in ii. 266. It is unfortunate that he allows barbarisms like *aedepol* and *pedisseguus* still to disfigure the notes. On ii. 210, 'illa excellens opinione fortuna,' Piderit had the note '*opinione*, vermeintlich, § 101, *Brut.* 1, 1': Harnecker expands this into '*opinione* nach gewöhnlicher Annahme, dem Scheine nach, vermeintlich, vgl. 101: *Brut.* 1 *opinione omnium maiorem cepi dolorem*.' But in the first place it is evident, when the passage from the *Brutus* is thus printed at length, that it is no true parallel, for it must mean not 'as was thought,' but 'greater than men generally thought': and secondly, on § 101 Harnecker himself (probably wrongly) explains that '*opinione*' there does not mean 'vermeintlich,' but 'than is generally thought.' On iii. 81 Harnecker has an ingenious but not very probable notion—that 'in infulis defingere' refers to an old superstition, according to which children who cannot learn a thing are recommended to write it out and put it on their heads, or under their pillows (a somewhat material difference!): 'a custom to which the use of phylacteries (*Gebetriesmen*) among the Jews offers a parallel.' Other opportunities may be offered for discussing in detail some of Harnecker's proposed alterations of the text: meanwhile it may be sufficient to say that a good edition of the *de Oratore* has been made still better by revision, but that there are errors still left which we might have expected to see removed.

A. S. WILKINS.

BIEGER ON THE *CODEX PITHOEANUS* OF PERSIUS.

De Aul. Persii Flacci Codice Pithoeano C recte aestimando. Dissert. inaug. quam in Univ. Berolin. ad summos in Philosoph. honores capessendos publice defendit JOANNES BIEGER. Berol. Heinrich und Kemke. 1890. pp. 52. Mk. 1.50.

THE thesis which Dr. Bieger endeavours to prove is that the 'codex Montepessulanus' 125, olim Pithoeanus, Bücheler's C, which is acknowledged to be far the best MS. existing for Juvenal, is also 'longe praestantissimus' for Persius. That C is one of the most valuable MSS. is admitted on all hands, but Dr. Bieger considers that the editors in constituting the text have paid too much attention to the readings of *a*, the common archetype of the very closely related A and B of Bücheler (Mp. and Rom. of Jahn¹), and too little to those of C. He has perhaps a little sharpened the difference between himself and the editors by making them out to put more distinction between the values of *a* and C than they do. Jahn rather implies than definitely asserts *a* to be the most important; he distinctly says that we cannot follow any one MS. throughout, but must accept the reading which commends itself wherever we find it, and in practice he often prefers C's reading to *a*'s. The passage (Jahn¹ xcii. iii.) which Dr. Bieger quotes, p. 13, as a statement that *a* hardly ever shows the hand of a conscious corrector, and which he thinks he is confuting by showing that (e.g. iii. 100) *a*, after getting wrong, has substituted *subiit* for *subit* for the sake of the metre, will surely be seen by any one who reads on to p. xciv. to be a *general* assertion that the MSS. of Persius are fairly free from deeply-rooted corruptions and interpolations. Bücheler too speaks of C as possessing an authority always worthy of great respect: still he hints that he inclines to rate *a* higher still, and in practice he does seem to give too little weight to C's readings.

It is against Bücheler then that Dr. Bieger really pits himself. Taking Bücheler's text and App. Crit., he analyses them with the following results. Bücheler considers *a* wrong in 267 places where C is right, and C wrong in 170 where *a* is right. But most of these errors are mere absurd misspellings, which all allow are much more frequent in *a*. Knocking these out, and counting only the wrong readings which might conceivably be defended as right, it appears that Bücheler

holds *a* wrong and C right in 42 places, C wrong and *a* right in 60. At these 60 passages Dr. Bieger works manfully away seriatim, with the result that he claims to prove that in 22 of them C's reading is the best. In 18 there is not much to choose between *a*'s and C's readings. 20 only remain where C's reading is clearly inferior to *a*'s. Thus the tables are entirely reversed, the numbers standing 20)(64, and C is triumphantly labelled 'longe praestantissimus.'

Having gone through his arguments carefully, we hold that in 6 of the 22 cases where he says C is right he proves his point thoroughly, that in 4 more he is probably right, that 8 ought to be relegated to the limbo of doubtful readings, and that in 3 cases C and Dr. Bieger are distinctly wrong.

On the whole, he appears to prove that Bücheler has in practice underrated the authority of C, and to make a good case for rating C at least as highly as *a*, perhaps for choice a trifle more highly.

When he proceeds, as he does, to contrast the quality of the mistakes, and say that C's are generally transparent and less liable to mislead, whereas *a* shows the work of an ingenious emendator who tries to improve on Persius, he seems to fail. In about 7 places he appears to succeed in showing the *reason* why the true reading was changed into *a*'s false one. He admits that in several passages we may show why C has gone wrong too. Surely then here no useful distinction can be drawn. It is not proved that either MS. has been extensively corrupted by rash emendation.

When Dr. Bieger goes on to say that C's authority is so transcendent that in the 18 passages where the conflicting readings in themselves are about equally good we must consistently follow C, he surely makes an extravagant claim. Neither Jahn nor Bücheler have ever thought of making any such claim for *a*, though Dr. Bieger suspects them of sometimes acting as if they had. They are most guarded in their language, and say that each case must be carefully considered on its merits. If these merits are evenly balanced, why should no weight be attached to the other MSS., which are acknowledged to be independent of, though inferior to, *a* and C? Why, again, none to the Scholia, which Dr. Bieger completely ignores, though Hermann holds them the highest authority we have, and there is surely always a possibility of their handing

down a tradition older than that of any of our MSS.

Passing from the general results to the style and character of Dr. Bieger's work, it is, we suppose, only natural that any one who has publicly to defend a thesis against adversaries should here and there appear in the guise of an enthusiastic advocate rather than that of a passionless searcher after truth. When the feast for reason is drawing to its close, Dr. Bieger makes a touching appeal to our feelings by telling us how his darling codex 'elegantior exaratus iam specie aridet legenti;' and even more pathetic is the conclusion, where he says that if the codex is not so all-important for Persius as for Juvenal, this is not to be considered its fault, but its misfortune in having respectable rivals still surviving. To take one instance out of the middle of the pamphlet, it is surely futile to talk of the 'egregia diligentia religioque' with which C has preserved *turdarum*, vi. 24, when a majority of the extant MSS. have done the same.

Apart from these little tokens of feeling, which detract slightly from our full confidence in Dr. Bieger's results where we have not thoroughly checked him, but which under the circumstances are half excusable, his work deserves the highest praise. He has taken an immense amount of trouble throughout: e.g. in order better to estimate the comparative probabilities of *libavit* and *libabit*, ii. 5, he has not shrunk from working right through his author to note the comparative frequency with which the two tenses are used with the required meaning. He has that all-important attribute of an editor, strong common-sense; and a certain lucidity which enables him sometimes to make his points clear even when (e.g. p. 36 etc.) his points are such small ones that we at first suspect him of over-refinement.

Among his best pieces of work seem to us to be:—

His defence of C's *morituro verba Catoni Dicere*, iii. 45.

His suggestions as to how the various readings of i. 74 arose.

And his discussion of that most awkward passage, i. 8—12, which he rightly says no editor has satisfactorily cleared up. Here he seems to show real power, and does bring us somewhere near a solution.

v. 78, again, he demolishes Bücheler's *momento temporis* very satisfactorily.

We must protest against the defence of *rogus* v. 134 (which Bücheler himself is inclined now to give up), on the ground that nothing is too unmetrical for Persius: this premiss being proved by a pile of passages, including some, e.g. iii. 28, *millesime*, where the grammar has been sacrificed in order to keep the metre correct! Is there really any reason why we should not here have recourse to the despised *ꝑ*, and read *rogitas? en saperdam*, and suppose that some scribe who knew not metre preferred the simple verb and thought the plural number more correct?

iv. 31. Is it possible *plaudere olla* can be construed '*to applaud because of porridge*'? We think not.

v. 124. Dr. Bieger is wrong in saying '*Codicem C viri docti silentio praeterierunt.*' Jahn¹ discusses the reading *sumis*, and rejects it as the '*lectio facilior.*' Conington is doubtful whether it is not the better reading.

v. 97. Almost all the MSS. read *vitiavit*. Dr. Bieger wonders whence the editors got their *vitiabit*. No doubt from the Scholium '*quod agendo pejus efficiat.*' He restores *vitiavit*. The mood seems a little strange. Might we not follow one of the inferior MSS. and read *vitiarit*?

There is no doubt that every student of Persius ought to possess and master this little pamphlet.

We shall hope to hear more of Dr. Bieger.
G. R. SCOTT.

COWAN'S EDITION OF PLINY'S LETTERS.

Pliny's Letters. Books I. and II. Edited by JAMES COWAN. Pp. xxxiv. 198. Macmillan, 1889. Classical Series. 5s.

As there is too much of the younger Pliny's correspondence for complete undergraduate study, and as the letters differ widely in importance and interest, it seems to us better that they be read in selections than consecu-

tively in any part. It is certainly dispraise of an author if a portion of his writings is superior to the whole, but this must perhaps be said of Pliny. Nor does the average quality of the first two books appear to us to be equal to that of any later couple. There are indeed here many attractive glimpses of Pliny as a man and as a friend, and some contributions to our knowledge of

Roman life and manners; but, on the whole, the letters of permanent value come later on, and one's acquaintance with this accomplished Roman gentleman gets little beyond an introduction. While therefore we cannot share Mr. Cowan's (p. v.) regret that Pliny is 'known to school-boys chiefly by selections,' yet for his own preference for consecutive reading his edition can be heartily commended. It shows a good knowledge of Pliny himself and of the literature to which his correspondence has given rise.

The introduction treats of the life of Pliny, the chronology of the epistles, and contains two of the five extant Plinian inscriptions. The life is an excellent digest of Mommsen's exhaustive study (*Hermes*, 1868), though the statement (p. xx.) that Pliny's wife survived him is not in Mommsen nor has it any justification. Some account of Pliny's style and Latinity should here have been given; Mr. Cowan's judgment on these important points can be but scantily gleaned from scattered remarks in the notes. The chronology of the letters is unsatisfactorily dealt with. Mommsen's and Gemohl's conflicting views are given without any attempt to decide between them, nor do the notes take due account of the conclusions of either of these scholars: thus I. 10 and I. 12 are incorrectly put under Trajan. The only effort to elucidate the inscriptions is a blunder: OVF (p. xxxi.) is of course for *Oufentina* (*tribu*), not for 'Ufentinus.' The insertion of a plan of the Laurentine villa, though, as the editor feels, it must be taken as only a possible picture, will help toward understanding the somewhat tangled description in the text.

Each letter is preceded by a succinct and clear statement of the subject-matter. The printing is excellent, and the orthography is, with few exceptions, conformed to the best standards. Since the discovery in 1881 of the cinerary urns of the family of Minicius Fundanus there is no longer ground for the spelling 'Minutio' (p. 14). And why does Mr. Cowan persistently in text and notes give the exploded form *conditio*? *Descripserat* (p. 45) should be *discripserat*, and *inchoari* is certainly preferable to *inchoari* (p. 54). We have noticed but two misprints, *deseret* (p. 35) and *efflagitatem* (p. 43).

The notes follow the text, and are themselves followed by a serviceable index. The commentary seems to us, both in scope and amount, to be well adapted for school and early college use. Real difficulties are honestly grappled with, and we have found ourselves in easy accord with most of the

editor's interpretations. But is *serviens* (I. 3, 1) correctly translated 'which gives such a pleasant prospect'? The epithet seems to us not so much aesthetic as to refer to the practical advantages of the nearness of the lake: one can think *inter alia* of fishing, bathing, boating and of the source of the canal. V. 6, 23, which is quoted in support of the editor's view, really makes against it, unless Pliny is there offensively tautological. For there the fair prospect—the picturesqueness—is indicated not by *servit*, but partly by *dispicit*, and still more by *visu iucundum*. The explanation of *eloquentiam* (I. 5, 3) is to be found in the previous sentence (*simiam... stigmosum*) rather than in the citation from IV. 7, 4. Few will probably discover with the editor in *auribus* (I. 21, 2) 'a sly, though feeble, allusion to the piercing of the ears of slaves'! Pliny is at times very artificial, but he hardly deserves such esoteric treatment. Far-fetched also is 'lived to enjoy' as an interpretation of *supervixit* (II. 1, 2), nor is it consistent with the editor's syntax of *annis* in the same sentence. By giving to *gloriae* the concrete meaning which abstract nouns often have at this time, all becomes clear. The point of II. 1, 12 is missed by translating *imagines* 'dreams,' a meaning supported neither by the context nor by the quotation from Vergil (*Aen.* I. 407). Twice (I. 14, II. 7) Minicius Macrinus is said to be the Macrinus of Persius' second satire: the identity is possible, but entirely without proof.

As Mr. Cowan thinks (p. v.) that his notes will be found 'sufficiently advanced for students at the University,' we are surprised that he gives no account of the manuscripts of Pliny, and in fact usually ignores important variants. Thus in the note on *excludere* (I. 3, 4) nothing is said of the superior reading *excludere*, nor are we told that *principiorum libri* (II. 5, 12) has better support than *principia librorum* (questionably translated 'specimens'). Ample space could have been gained for a suitable use of this adjunct of Latin study by excluding what we must consider superfluous matter. Thus, of insignificant value and of doubtful taste is the frequent quotation of other editors' statements merely to refute them, as Gesner's (p. 107), Döring's (p. 124), Gierig's (p. 139), Cataneus' (p. 135), Mommsen's (p. 166). Altogether irrelevant too is the note on *depellere* = 'wean' (p. 170), and even if it be true that 'the Romans, like the Greeks, had a very limited flora,' the assertion at p. 176 is quite gratuitous.

In his note on *est in usu* (I. 17, 2) the

editor speaks of his inability to find the construction elsewhere: not to go beyond Pliny's contemporaries, it may be found in his uncle (Pliny, *N.H.* XVIII. 179), in his teacher (Quint. VIII. 6, 75), and in his literary friend (Tac. *H.* V. 6).

As this book will be used largely by learners of Latin we must regret that it takes so little notice of the strange alchemy by which the gold of the language was transmuted into silver. We look in vain for recognition of such subtle and, in their aggregate, revolutionary changes as the almost complete abandonment of the period; the small use of relative words; the fading away of some particles, and the new meanings of others, as *quatenus* (I. 7, 5), *quoque* (I. 8, 6), *an* (I. 18, 5), *alioqui* (I. 20, 2); the iterative subjunctive (I. 12, 7); the subjunctive with *quamquam* (II. 13, 8); the bold use of participles, as *disserentis* (I. 8, 6), *silenda* (I. 8, 15), *dicturo* (II. 11, 14),

iunctis (II. 17, 2); the semi-poetic diction, of which I. 3 is a conspicuous illustration; the naturalization of Greek words, as *bibliopola* (I. 2, 6), *scholasticus* (II. 3, 5), *mesochorus* (II. 14, 7); the modern meanings of ancient words, as *frequenter* and *publico* (I. 1, 1), *defunctus* (II. 7, 7), *numerosus* (II. 14, 7); the shifted position of *igitur* (II. 6, 7); the tendency to begin clauses with verbs, as I. 12, 8—12. Such minutiae are certainly not the essential things for which Pliny deserves a prominent place in our schemes of Latin study, nor are they the license of a single author nor the dross of modern grammarians and pedants; they are the visible and collateral proof of far-reaching changes in a mighty people and civilization, and heralds of the impending collapse of an imperial language.

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THACKERAY'S TRANSLATIONS FROM PRUDENTIUS.

Translations from Prudentius: A Selection from his Works, rendered in English Verse, with an Introduction and Notes. By FRANCIS ST. JOHN THACKERAY, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Mapledurham, formerly Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Assistant Master at Eton. London: G. Bell and Sons. 1890. Small 8vo. Pp. lxxiii. 231. 7s. 6d.

IN the preparation of this choice and tastefully printed little volume Mr. Thackeray has shown the care and scholarship we should have expected from him. The translations extend to about 1500 lines of English, of which the author's own share is nearly 1100, the rest being from the pens of Sir George Young, Dr. Gregory Smith, Mr. Robert Bridges, Mr. R. F. Towndrow, and the Rev. E. D. Stone. These are prefaced by an introduction, treating of the life and times of Prudentius, the social and religious aspect of his age, his language and metre, and the like. On some points it might have been well to consult Rösler's *Der Katholische Dichter, Aurelius Prudentius Clemens* (Freiburg, 1886), as for instance on the curiously designated 'Dittochaon' (p. liii: comp. Rösler, p. 29 n). At the end is a body of notes, many of them showing considerable research. The reader's convenience is consulted by having the Latin text of the

hymns, which are chiefly from the *Catherinon* and *Peristephanon*, printed opposite the English version. The volume is further adorned with two facsimiles: one from the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, representing Prudentius at prayer; the other a specimen of the famous Codex Puteanus, no. 8084 in the National Library at Paris. As a contribution by the way to the discussion on the date of this MS. (p. 229), the short monograph of M. Léopold Delisle is worth referring to. He entertains no doubt of the autograph written on it being that of Vettius Agorius Basilius, the annotator of Horace; and, as he was consul in 527, this would make the MS. belong to the beginning and not to the end of the sixth century.

Prudentius is by no means an easy author to translate, at least for any length consecutively. An anthology of short pieces might be made from him without difficulty; but his prolixity, his repetitions and fondness for minute details would make a continuous translation insufferably tedious. This may have been one cause of the comparative neglect of him in this country, of which Mr. Thackeray complains. He has not, however, been quite so unrepresented in English versions as his latest translator seems to think. Besides the familiar renderings of Archbishop Trench, and some in rhythmical prose by the Rev. G. Morison, to

which allusion is made, a passage from the *Apotheosis* will be found translated in the *Remains* of Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter. A couple of stanzas may be given from this as a specimen of the quaint metre adopted:—

8

‘There is no tooth
Nor nail so small,
Nor ear so little,
But though it fall,

9

Yet perish it shall
Not finally,
But out of grave
Rise certainly.’

A short passage from the *Peristephanon* will also be found translated by Dr. W. Fulke, Master of Pembroke, and a metrical version of the *Ales diei nuncius* was inserted in the Private Prayers put forth by authority of Queen Elizabeth. In more recent times a writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* (May 1821), with the signature T. D., translated part of the *Martyrdom of St. Eulalia*, and the short but striking piece (*Peristephanon*, viii) on a Baptismal Font at Calahorra, standing on the spot where the blood of martyrs had been shed. The lines of Prudentius are here vigorous, and some of them are not unworthily rendered:—

‘Haurit terra sacros aut fonte aut sanguine
rores,
Exundatque suo iugiter uda Deo.
Ipse loci est Dominus, laterum cui vulnere
utroque
Hinc cruor effusus fluxit et inde latex.’

‘The joyful waters sparkle o’er the brim,
Where martyrs’ wounds once pour’d a
crimson flood,
And blest are both—and sacred still to Him
Who shed for us that water and that
blood.’

In 1845 a version of the *Cathemerinon* and some of the other poems, by an anonymous translator, was published by Rivingtons. Though perhaps too suggestive of Scott, many of the lines run well, as do these from the *Martyrdom of St. Eulalia* (*Peristeph.* iii.):—

‘Above, the traceries to the view
In golden lustre glow,
And flowers of many a form and hue
Are carv’d in stone below;
Well might you deem some meadow there

Blush’d with spring’s blossoms sweet
and fair,
Such as kind hands bestow—
The crocus and the violet,
By winter’s breath unsullied yet.’

The translations in the work before us vary considerably in merit. This might be expected, both from the extent of ground covered, and from the variety of translators. Occasionally Mr. Thackeray is very happy:

‘Perfidus ille Deo, quamvis non perfidus
Urbi.’

‘Faithful to Rome, though faithless to his
God’ (p. xii.).

‘Mens aestuans procellis,’ &c.

‘The mind in tempests heaving,
Pierced through by sorrow’s shaft,
Oblivious of her grieving,
Drinks in the welcome draught.’
(p. 49)

‘Fercula nostra Deum sapiant
Christus et influat in pateras.’

‘O God, our banquet leaven,
O Saviour, flow thou in our cups to
crown.’
(p. 27)

These and many more such examples catch the eye without research. In the last extract by the way there is an apparent incompleteness in the original which does not seem to have been noticed. As the stanza ends with an invocation to *Trina pietas*, and *Deus* and *Christus* have been specified, it would seem natural to have expected *Spiritus*. This was perceived by Jortin, who conjectured *Spiritus influat* for *Christus et influat*. See his *Tracts, Philological, Critical, &c.*, ii. p. 314. One of the weakest of Mr. Thackeray’s stanzas, in our opinion, is that on p. 35:—

‘From many a source we men our flames
derive,

Dry wood, or cresset fed with oil’s [rich ?]
dew:

Wax taper from the honey-strained hive

We press, or cottons steeped the lamp
imbue.’

Both he and his collaborateurs have shrunk from following Prudentius step by step through long passages. No poet could do so and remain a poet. The Abbé Bayle has indeed struggled manfully through the *Cathemerinon*, and not shirked a single fence. But his *sermo pedestris*, side by side with the poet’s lines, reminds us of the

laborious progress of one who follows mounted, along the banks of a river, the course of some swift boatrace on its waters.

Mr. Bridges, in particular, seems to have found a close rendering so impracticable, that he occasionally makes a rather wide detour, as in the seventh stanza on p. 21. But some of his lines are elegant, as—

‘The darkness of earth is torn
By the level spears of the morn;
The colours return and play
In the smile of the star of day.’ (p. 19)

It would be invidious to compare in detail the workmanship of the several contributors. But a parting homage must in justice be rendered to the very graceful and finished rendering of Mr. Stone with which the collection appropriately ends. If no extract is here given, it is simply because to break it would be to spoil it.

Where the editorial work has been so very careful, blemishes are hard to discover. On p. lix. line 17, *tanto* should be *tanta*. In what is said, p. lxii., about the Lesser Asclepiad, Meineke’s canon should be remembered.

J. H. LUPTON.

BATIFFOL’S *STUDIA PATRISTICA*.

Studia Patristica. Études, etc. publiées par l’Abbé P. BATIFFOL. Ier fascicule: *Le Livre de la Prière d’Aseneth*: Étude sur l’Origine de ce Livre apocryphe de l’A.T., Texte grec inédit et version Latine inédite du xiii. Siècle (incomplete, pp. 1—80, 8vo. Paris, Leroux. 1889). 5 frcs.

THE first instalment of the Abbé Batiffol’s projected series of *Studia Patristica* is a fragment. He has published his dissertation on the ‘*Prayer of Aseneth*,’ and a portion of the Greek text, postponing, for unexplained reasons, the completion of the ‘fascicule’ by the conclusion of the Greek text and the Latin version. But what lies before us, namely the dissertation and nearly all the Greek text, contains the main points of interest. An abridged Latin version, as it now proves to be, of the story of Asenath, daughter of Potiphera the priest of On (Gen. xli. 45) was published in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, and translated into several languages, including Icelandic. The same Latin version was reprinted by Fabricius (Cod. pseudep. V.T. I. 774 sqq.) in 1723, with a fragment of the Greek original (*ib.* II. 85 sq.). The full Latin text used by Vincent was found by Mr. Montague Rhodes James in two thirteenth century mss. in the Corpus Library at Cambridge. In 1885 an Armenian version was published at Venice, and there are traces of Ethiopian and Arabic versions. A Syriac version was published at Leyden in 1870 from a ms. of the sixth or seventh century, where it purports to have been rendered from the Greek by one Moses, from an original in the Episcopal Library at the Syrian Beroea. This Moses, of Aggel, who

is otherwise known as a translator from Greek into Syriac, flourished A.D. 550—570. The Greek story of Asenath is therefore at any rate as early as the sixth century.

The Abbé Batiffol has superseded the fragmentary text printed by Fabricius (from cod. Barocc. 148, cent. xv.) by the recovery of the entire Greek text from four mss., three (Vat. gr. 803, cent. xi.; Palat. gr. 17, cent. x.—xi.; Palat. gr. 364, cent. xv.) collated by himself, the fourth (Barocc. 147, cent. xv.) by Mr. M. R. James.

Asenath, daughter of Potiphera priest of Heliopolis, brought up by her father in strict seclusion and in the religion of Egypt, rejects with scorn her father’s proposal that she should marry the viceroy Joseph, a mere Canaanite shepherd. But the arrival of Joseph in all his splendour fills her with shame and remorse. An interview takes place, but Joseph orders her out of his sight, as a strange woman. Her father, however, assures him that she is his sister, being like himself a virgin; and, after eight days, the marriage takes place, and Joseph becomes the father of Manasseh and Ephraim. Then follow the years of famine. Jacob on his arrival in Egypt blesses and kisses his son’s bride, who returns his salute (according to the Syriac version) ‘like one who has come home from a long warfare.’ There follows a design against Asenath on the part of Pharaoh’s son, aided by the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, but frustrated by the help of Benjamin and the sons of Leah. Pharaoh’s son is killed, Pharaoh dies of grief, and Joseph and Asenath reign in his stead.

Such are the outlines of the story, and its motive and spirit are so far Jewish rather than Christian. But, so regarded, the story

does not explain itself. The removal of the bar to Joseph's marriage with Asenath by her father's declaration that she is a sister, *because a virgin* (c. vii.), savours of Christian mysticism rather than of Jewish fable. This point however is cleared up by the legend, of which traces are contained in post-Talmudic Jewish literature, that Asenath was the daughter of Dinah by Shechem, sent away by Jacob to Egypt, guided thither by Michael the archangel, and brought up in Egypt by Joseph's future father-in-law. The Greek story of Asenath, then, appears to borrow its main outline from a legend already current in Jewish schools (though preserved to us only by later authorities), from which it omits the ἀναγνωρίσεις of Asenath by Joseph and by Jacob, although traces of the lost details are still preserved, especially in the Syriac version. This hypothesis is confirmed by a Syriac document published by Oppenheim, which summarises the Jewish legend of Asenath and Dinah in a form betraying a common origin with the Greek story of Asenath.

The Christian adaptation of the story is apparent mainly in a long episode which fills the interval between Joseph's recognition of Asenath as a sister and her marriage to him. The period is for her one of preparation for 'eating the bread of life' and drinking the cup of blessing. It is passed in mourning and penitence, fasting and prayer. On the eighth morning a 'man from heaven' appears in refulgent light, announces himself as ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, and summons her to put off her mourning, to gird herself as a virgin, to unveil her head. She is to be called πόλις καταφυγῆς, is to be the refuge of multitudes of all nations. She is then fed with a miraculous honeycomb, which is declared to be the bread of life and cup of immortality. The angel vanishes, Joseph arrives, and the story proceeds on its course.

As to the interpretation of the symbolism, M. Batiffol rejects the view that Asenath is meant for a type of the Church, or of the

penitent soul, and prefers to see in her a type of virginity 'représentée sous des traits qui la font ressembler par endroits à l'Église, et plus encore au personnage indéterminé des Orantes.' His grounds for this view must be judged by those who read the book for themselves, as also must those on which he settles the source of the book in its Christian form. He decides for Phrygia, mainly on account of (1) the very exceptional feature of the unveiling of the virgin, which by a somewhat subtle inference from language used by Tertullian he connects not indeed with Montanism, but with Greek-speaking orthodox churches 'qui n'étaient pas sans attaches avec les Montanistes, les κατὰ Φρύγας'; (2) the ἀρχιστράτηγος invested with a dignity scarcely less than that of Joseph, the type of Christ (e.g. ὁμοιος κατὰ πάντα τῷ Ἰωσήφ κ.τ.λ. c. xiv). The title 'Archistrategos' was appropriated to the archangel Michael; and it was precisely in the churches of Phrygia that the worship of Michael went to the length almost of deification. It was the Colossians (Col. ii. 8) that S. Paul warned against the worship of angels, and it was at Chonae, the later city which inherited the civic identity of Colossae, that the superlative devotion to S. Michael gave rise to the miraculous story commemorated by the Greek church on the sixth of September.

As to date, we have seen that the story is as early as the sixth century; and M. Batiffol with good reason places it not earlier than the fifth. The date accordingly furnishes one more point of contact between this mystical romance and the *Narratio de Miraculo S. Michaelis*.

There are other points of interest which have been passed over in the above account, especially the transformation of the tale into a Mahometan romance in Persia. We shall look forward with interest to the publication of the remainder of the text with the Latin version, and to the continuation of the Abbé Batiffol's series of *Studia*.

A. ROBERTSON.

KING AND COOKSON'S COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF GREEK AND LATIN.

Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin.
KING and COOKSON. Clarendon Press.
1890. 215 pp. 5s. 6d.

THIS little book is an abridgment of the well-known work by the same authors, with
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an additional chapter on the syntactical systems of Greek and Latin, and is intended for the use of junior students. The first and second parts (162 pp.) are clear, concise, and accurate, corrections having been made since the larger work was published and

reviewed, and on the whole they thoroughly satisfy the need for a sound hand-book, avoiding doubtful points, if possible, and giving all the elements that ought to be known. There is not very much fresh to note in these parts. There is no reference on p. 161 to Dr. Postgate's obviously correct theory on the future participle: viz. that the declinable forms -urum, -uram, -urum were derived from the indeclinable fut. inf. (cf. ap. Gellium '*credo inimicos meos hoc dicturum*')—a compound of the dative of the verbal stem -tu and 'erum' an infinitive form from $\sqrt{\text{es}}$ 'be' (the rhotacism being due to the form being enclitic); so *venturum* = ventu(e)rum = ventu(e)sum = to be for coming. One would have thought also that Mr. Conway's views on rhotacism in Italy were sufficiently 'final' to be at least mentioned on p. 60.

In view of the various criticisms on the larger work (which the first two parts of this book represent), it seems better to confine attention to the third part (chapter x), 53 pp., which deals with the syntactical systems of Greek and Latin. This, unfortunately, often lacks the clearness, accuracy, and research, shown on every page of the first parts. As to clearness, one might safely defy junior students (for whom the book professes to be written) to make head or tail of the first seven lines on the accusative on p. 175. An example or two might have made the right answer to the enigma at least possible.

The first ten pages are good, and just what they should be. Then come the cases; and here the work errs, both from inaccuracy and from a desire to parcel out uses into neat little packets. Now surely, if two once distinct cases were allied so closely as to come to form one syncretic case in later language, we may reasonably look for one or more connecting usages, belonging more or less to both cases in common. It is correctly pointed out, of course, that the form of the case-endings also helps and directs the fusion, but the links of meaning are certainly more interesting, and should undoubtedly have been given to explain the fact that the uses of the different factors of syncretic cases overlap. This fact is stated on p. 174, with one instance; two more are given on p. 180, and one on p. 181. In the actual treatment of the instances given, the principle seems absolutely disregarded. One might suggest some such outlines (but adapted of course to the requirements of junior students) as the following, which omit nom. voc. acc. as non-syncretic cases.

"The dative and instrumental or comitative are connected in Greek by the use to denote an agent (e.g. *Πηλείωνι δαμείς* is given as instrumental on p. 184, while *τὰ σοὶ πεπραγμένα* is explained as true dative on p. 183), and by the 'person interested' (dative) being closely allied to the 'person connected with an action' (comitative), e.g. in *σοὶ ἄμ' ἐσπόμεθα*. The instrumental or comitative and locative, secondly, are connected both in Latin and Greek by the extension of both to express widely the circumstances of an action, and by such uses as '*Ibam forte via sacra*,' '*vincere pugna*,' and *σὺ γῇ*. The instrumental and ablative or separative, thirdly, are connected in Latin by the idea of that from which action proceeds, and by such uses as '*Apollo Iove natus est*.' Lastly, the ablative or separative and genitive are connected in Greek perhaps by the partitive use: e.g. *Εἰρὴ Ὀῖβαι τῆς Βοιωτίας* 'Thebes is a part of Boeotia' (genitive) almost suggests 'Thebes is a slice out of Boeotia' (ablative), and especially by such genitives as with *ἄμοιπος, κρείττων*." This it is now-a-days unpardonable to omit even in a brief account of the cases, which is to be rational and accurate and arouse some interest in 'junior students.'

A study of Curtius' *Greek Grammar Explained* would have cleared up many things in this department as in others, e.g. that it is often impossible to treat of the ablative functions of the genitive in Greek apart from the genitive functions: they run into one another far too much. Some instances are given on p. 180. But the fact is disregarded on p. 181: e.g. the genitive with superlatives is surely not an ablative genitive; cp. the Sanskrit use of genitive or locative.

To turn to special faults, it is misleading to say that the accusative with *φεύγω* denotes the 'point of departure'; which a junior student would naturally suppose denoted by the ablative or separative case alone: of course it is really dependent on the transitive meaning of 'avoid' acquired by *φεύγω*. How the accusative in apposition to the sentence is adverbial, and that it is the verbal notion of the sentence as a whole, rather than any special verb, to which the accusative is 'adverbial,' should be explained on p. 178.

Is it not absurd to adhere to the traditional notion that the genitive with verbs is always quasi-partitive? For such is the inference naturally drawn from p. 179 by junior students. The partitive functions of the genitive seem to be generally over-rated,

being too often used as a loophole of escape in imperfectly understood constructions. Does *κρίνομαι θανάτου* (not *θάνατου*, by the way, p. 179) mean that I am condemned to a part of the totality of death, or partly condemned to death? or *Κύκλωπος κεχόλωται* that he is partly angry with the Cyclops, or angry with a part of the Cyclops? No such notion was contained, as a rule; rather, it depends, except where the genitive is clearly ablative, in what is often a loose and quasi-adjectival connexion, on the noun-notion which the verb contains, and so is not unnatural in Greek, where the genitive's original sphere (viz. 'the connexion between noun and noun') is much enlarged by the addition of ablative functions. Again, it is hard to fix on many instances of the ablative genitive, in Greek, *pur et simple*; e.g. *ἄμοιρος* can hardly be explained differently from *ἔμμοιρος*, or *κρείττων* from *ἐγκρατής*, though the genitive with comparatives is one of the most distinct traces of the ablative use. The principle mentioned at the bottom of p. 180 should be applied to the ablative instances given, especially where Latin shows a genitive; cp. *ego*, *expers*. It is misleading to let the student infer that the principle does not apply to such instances. Lastly, Roby would be more than surprised to see *tanti* explained as a genitive after his elaborate proof that it is a locative.

It seems rash to assume, as on p. 181, that the meaning of the instrumental, in the instrumental or comitative case, was derived from that of accompaniment. One would naturally assume the reverse process, or at least allow the uses to be coeval. The failure to perceive that locative and instrumental in Greek and Latin are seldom to be dogmatically distinguished might have been avoided by a brief study of Roby's prefatory remarks on the ablative in Latin (1164 'any sharp separation between the locative and instrumental is impracticable'). Thus *vincere pugna* should not be explained as locative solely, or *σιγῇ* as purely instrumental. A study of Roby's introduction would also have prevented the authors from confusing such a dative as *βουλομένῳ μοί ἐστιν* with *praesidio esse*, and seemingly thinking them identical because they happen to have the same name: of course *μοί* is a dative allied to the dative of the possessor and *βουλομένῳ* agrees with it; also *βουλομένῳ*, as containing the logical predication, precedes the verb and *μοί*—whereas *praesidio* is predicative dative in quite a different sense (to which even the nearest construction in Greek is found in the infinitive perhaps, and in

Thuc. 3, 82, *ἐνυμαχίας τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακώσσει*), being itself the grammatical predicate, agreeing with nothing, and capable of following *esse*. Curtius' *Greek Grammar Explained* is not sufficiently followed, especially in the treatment of the syncretic cases; yet for its size it is perhaps the most suggestive of all treatises on syntax, containing much that is now universally admitted, and not easily obtainable from other sources. Curtius, unlike the authors, shows the exact point of difference between the two main uses of the pure dative, distinguishing the dative of the indirect object, as required by the sense (e.g. in *do librum tibi*, where we instinctively ask who the person is to whom the book is given, and in *adfinis tibi* similarly), from the dative of interest, or *dativus commodi* and *incommodi*, not absolutely required by the sense, but making the meaning more exact: a branch of this second division is the ethic dative, e.g. '*quid mihi Celsus agit?*' not demanded by the construction, but supplied by a delicate refinement of feeling. One could wish a long adieu to such mean-nothings to the junior students as 'relational' or 'connecting' cases. All cases are connecting cases and relational cases—the only question is, 'What is the relation or connexion they express?' This dative (*ορpidum venientibus* and *ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσιόντι*) is of course a loose extension of the 'dativus commodi.' Under the pure dative should come *πιδίῳ πῆσε*, which, like *κυνέῃ βάλει* and *πέμπειν τινι*, is derived from the 'dativus commodi'; it should not come, as on p. 183, with *αἰθέρι ναίων* under the locative dative, which naturally can only mean the function of the locative (to express 'place where') absorbed by the dative. The dative with *κοινός* cannot be regarded as solely dative of the accompaniment (comitative dative), but is a pure dative also. We cannot separate *κοινός αὐτοῖς* from constructions like *communis alicui* in Latin. Because *κοινός* and *ἔπομαι* denote the idea of 'accompaniment' in themselves, it is no argument that datives with them are necessarily 'comitative'; for they may be datives of the person interested. On p. 184 the dative of the agent with a passive participle should not be explained as instrumental after being given as pure dative on p. 183, without a word to explain that, though originally a pure dative (v. Roby II. p. lxxi), yet such a dative is logically quasi-instrumental, and it and the instrumental often converge.

The cases have been dealt with fully, because junior students have to devote more time to them than to other parts of syntax. The

authors should have brought their remarks up to the Attic period by adding that the uses of plain cases in Homer's time are wider than in later Greek, plain cases being superseded (as thought becomes more refined and delicate) by prepositional uses, which denote the circumstances and direction of the verb more finely and accurately.

The treatment of the verb is clear and good, especially that of the voices. In the case of *ἐλαύνω* the object may be 'suppressed,' when it is used intransitively. But is it not more true to say, as a rule, that the verb has a flexible meaning, and that the cases it takes, or its intransitive use, depend on what its tinge of meaning is, and on the analogy of constructions with groups of words allied in meaning; as one could, *e.g.*, naturally use with *ἐξίσταμαι*, acc. gen. or dat. or no case, according to the shades of meaning *ἐξίσταμαι* is required to express, viz. 'quit,' 'go out from,' 'yield,' 'depart,' and according as it assimilates in meaning to *λείπω*, *βαίνω* *ἐκ*, *παρέικω*, *ἄπειμι*?

With regard to the infinitive it would be worth while, instead of stating the view of Monro and others as if it were the only one, to consider whether, as Goodwin thinks, its strict case-meaning of a dative was not deadened even by Homer's time; at any rate in Homer the meaning of a locative suits the sense often far better than that of a dative (an un-Greek dative by the way), though some forms are undoubtedly dative. Is it not easier to suppose the infinitive to be by Homer's time, usually a dative, yet often merely the loose adverbial case-form of a verbal noun, capable of being subject or object, just as *εἶ* or *τὸ εἶ* = the idea or fact 'being well' is capable of it? Surely this is easier than to explain it in *οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακὸν βασιλευμένον* as a dative of the 'work contemplated.' It is to be regretted that the authors are so often ignorant of, or prefer to ignore, the views of Curtius and Roby. It might possibly have been a different thing had the views expressed in this book had the merit of simplicity.

The aorist is not typically and essentially used of a momentary act, as one would gather from p. 189. An act may be a lengthy one and yet be expressed by aorist or imperfect (often indifferently), according as it is regarded as a whole incident comprised in one view (not necessarily a momentary act), or as an act in progress. Curtius' treatment is better and clearer, containing (p. 212) Pott's most valuable simile of the line and the point. Curtius also explains,

perhaps rightly, how the not-finite aorist forms, which originally did not denote past time, *e.g.* in *εἰ ἐποίησας ἀνανήσας με*, came to do so in many cases. In *Κύκλωπες λέγονται ἐν Σικελίᾳ οἰκῆσαι*, he says, the dwelling is regarded merely as an incident (at first, though later *οἰκῆσαι* was regarded as representing the oblique of *ῥῆκσαν*), and, if stress were laid on its continuance, we should correctly say *τότε οἰκεῖν*. But though originally such an aorist merely denoted an incident (the notion of past time being conveyed by the augment, which is here absent), yet we of necessity, as it were, in reference to another action regard an 'incident' as prior to it, unless the sentence implies the contrary by inference. At any rate some explanation of this important factor in the development of syntax is required here.

The subjunctive and optative I should prefer to explain, with Goodwin and others, the subjunctive as originally a strong future, whence its use as a future and an imperative or hortative mood, and the 'optative' as a weak or modified future, whence its use as a potential and an optative or wishing mood. The difficulty of explaining 'potentiality' as derived from 'wishing' is almost fatal even by itself to the theory reproduced in this book, whereas the original use, akin to both, would be well illustrated by *αὐτὸς Ἀργεῖν Ἑλένην Μενέλαος ἄγοιτο*. The editors do not seem to have seen Delbrück's latest opinion, *i.e.* that given in his *Alt-Indische Syntax*, which is practically very like Goodwin's.

The treatment of compound sentences is good, as is that of parataxis and hypotaxis: traces might have been given of logical parataxis surviving in relative sentences grammatically hypotactical, that is, when *ὅς*, *qui* = 'and he,' 'then he,' 'he,' etc. Also Curtius' very suggestive remarks on the development (pp. 220 and 221) might have supplemented the rather deficient account on p. 213 of this book.

There is little else to note except that the instance *ἄκουσε τείρεσθαι Τρῶας*, with the remark that *Τρῶας* by itself cannot be regarded as the object of *ἄκουσε*, is ill-chosen after *ἦδε γὰρ ἀδελφὸν ὥς ἐπονείτο* has been classed (p. 177) as an external object.

On the whole, then, the first parts of the work are admirable—they show wonderful discrimination in selecting from a vast heap of materials, and are all that could be desired, and deserve much praise and thanks; and if they are not so lucid as Victor Henry's work, the fault lies with the English language and not with the authors. The syntax, though comprising, within a convenient com-

pass, very much that is really valuable, yet shows too little respect for some of the best modern work, and too frequent omissions

of essential points and explanations, to be to junior students anything like what the first parts cannot fail to be.

E. H. M.

Aeschines against Ctesiphon. Prof. RUFUS B. RICHARDSON. 6s.

THIS is certainly the most useful edition of the *Ctesiphontea* with English notes, if not so thoughtful and original as that of Messrs. Simcox. The introduction is put together from the best authorities and brought up to date. In the explanatory notes Prof. Richardson follows Weidner pretty closely, nor probably can any editor do better, if he is acquainted, as Prof. Richardson is, with German criticism on Weidner's notes. In historical matters Prof. Richardson does not always follow Weidner and seems sometimes more reasonable and unbiassed. He quotes A. Schaefer and acknowledges obligation to Grote: to the latter indeed he might well have referred more frequently.

It is to be regretted that a new edition of Aeschines in *Ctesiphontem* should 'substantially reproduce' the text of Weidner, conjectures and all. Prof. Richardson quotes Cobet's eulogy 'qui longe maximam τῶν παρεμβλημένων partem expunxit, complura feliciter emendavit, et de codicibus sanum ac prudens iudicium tulit,' which he says 'is echoed' by Blass and others. Where did Prof. Richardson hear that echo? Certainly not in Prof. Blass's notices of Weidner's text in Bursian's *Jahresberichte* (ix. 289; xxi. 205): 'Man möge den Handschriften misstrauen, misstrauen aber seinen eigenen Conjekturen noch weit mehr: durch den Mangel dieses Misstrauens, und durch die einseitige Betonung gewisser Principien, ist W.'s Verdienst um Aischines geringer geworden als es hätte sein können.'

T. G.

L'Esthétique d'Aristote et de ses successeurs, par CH. BÉNARD. Paris, 1889.

M. BÉNARD is not one of those students who are bent on reading into old philosophers the newest ideas of the modern world. According to him Aristotle did not anticipate the theories of German philosophy. It is only 'le zèle d'anticipation et d'assimilation qui s'est emparé des historiens et des esthéticiens admirateurs à bon droit d'Aristote' that leads them to attribute to Aristotle ideas that he never entertained and to interpret his language in a sense at which he would have been greatly surprised, and which he would perhaps have had some difficulty in understanding. Careful and cautious students will probably agree very largely with M. Bénard, for the more we realise Aristotle's point of view the more we shall see that it can seldom or never be identified with that of any modern thinker.

Thus M. Bénard will not allow that Aristotle held any theory on the subject of beauty beyond the simple one of its depending on size and proportion, and he points out how accounts of τὸ καλόν which contain more than this really refer, not to beauty properly so called, but to the 'beau moral' which is another thing altogether. He finds further that Aristotle's theory of art stands in no definite relation to any theory of beauty, and is in other respects very imperfect. Indeed there is nothing formally more unsatisfactory in Aristotle's divisions of human intelligence and its subjects than his treatment of

art. He seems to assign it to the sphere of ποιητική, and yet, though it is hard to draw the line, there are many arts which produce no ἔργον and which would therefore seem not to conform to the definition and to belong rather to πρακτική. Again, though there is no doubt that in his classification it is dealt with by that part of the mind which he calls τὸ λογιστικόν, excellence in art is not φρόνησις, the characteristic excellence of that part, but something very different. No amount of practical wisdom will make a man a Phidias or a Raphael. From that useful little epitome by a later hand, the *Magna Moralia*, I should infer that Aristotle's account of art really was imperfect in these respects and that the imperfection is not apparent only, arising from the state of our text.

M. Bénard takes an equally sober view of Aristotle's μίμησις and combats the view which would make it essentially idealising:

'Si l'art n'est qu'une imitation de la nature, n'ayant pour origine qu'un instinct de curiosité, pour but que le plaisir qui naît de cet instinct satisfait, comment y voir une réalisation de l'idéal à la façon de l'esthétique platonicienne et surtout de l'esthétique moderne?'

He allows that it idealises in a sense. But what that sense is I find it somewhat difficult to gather from his brief statement. He proceeds to dwell upon Aristotle's failure to recognise the really creative character of art.

Passing on to tragedy and the κάθαρσις, the writer speaks with just disapproval of the way in which this unexplained expression has been, so to speak, appropriated and accommodated to their own theories by many eminent philosophers. In truth it would almost seem as though they proceeded in some such way as this: they elaborate some theory of the drama suitable to their own general view of the universe, and then ask themselves if by any possibility they can apply to that theory any such word as 'purification' or 'purgation': and if they find that by doing some violence to language and sense they just can, they boldly pronounce that that is certainly what Aristotle meant. But, while M. Bénard states several of these theories only to condemn them, he fails to give anything like a clear account of the plausible explanations that have been put forward by scholars better acquainted with Greek and with Aristotle, nor does he contribute anything definite of his own. We are not much advanced by being told that, if we want a 'pensée générale qui ne soit pas sujette à contestation et qui pourtant soit encore d'Aristote,' the tragic effect is 'de purifier l'âme, de l'élever, de l'ennobler, de la dégager des pensées vulgaires.'

Perhaps the most substantial chapter in the book is that in which the writer gives an account of the chapters on tragedy and epic in the *Poetics*. He then goes on to Aristotle's remarks on music, dancing etc., and in another chapter to painting, sculpture, and architecture as treated or neglected by him. The remaining half of the book is taken up with the aesthetic theories of the schools posterior to Aristotle and does not seem to call for much comment. It is from its nature very fragmentary, miscellaneous, and conjectural. It touches on various subjects that a severe critic might hold to be outside the proper

limits of its subject, *e.g.* the consistency of Lucretius in apostrophising Venus.

A few of M. Bénard's statements seem not altogether accurate. The definition of art as *ἔξις μετὰ λόγου ἀληθοῦς ποιητική* cannot be rightly rendered by 'l'habitude ou faculté de produire le vrai avec réflexion.' Truth in Aristotle's definition belongs to the *λόγος*, not to the *ἔργον*. Again, if we are to adhere closely to what Aristotle says and never go beyond it (which is M. Bénard's very sound general principle), we must not say that according to him 'all the arts' are forms of imitation, for Aristotle only says it of some, *πᾶσαι* only meaning all those just enumerated.

The reader may perhaps be led by some of M. Bénard's translations and comments to feel a little doubt as to the accuracy of his Greek scholarship. If he is, he will certainly not be reassured by the way in which Greek is given in this book. Almost every Greek sentence here quoted, and for the matter of that almost every Latin sentence too, contains some error. The spelling and the accentuation of Greek words are most distressing. From three or four pages I collect the following monstrosities: ἀκρίβομένης, ποιούμενης, εἶδος... ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, τυγκάνουσιν, ἑκαστὸν. In Latin I find besides innumerable smaller blunders such things as 'operis quod onctis subjecitur' ('oculis subjecitur'), 'coetatis injusque notandae sunt tibi mores' ('aetatis ejusque notandi'), and a Lucretian hexameter 'arma, vias, vestes, et cetera genera horum' ('de genere'). No doubt the blame for most of this lies with the printer. But where were M. Bénard's eyes in looking over his proofs? It should in fairness be added that even the French is not always correctly printed.

H. RICHARDS.

A full Account and Collation of the Greek Cursive Codex Evangelium 604 (with two facsimiles) [Egerton 2610 in the British Museum]. Together with Ten Appendices. By HERMAN C. HOSKIER. London, Nutt: 1890. pp. cxvi. 43, &c. £1 1s.

THE above is about a tenth of the contents of the title-page: for the headings of all the Appendices are given as well as the title of the main work. If the title-page were given here in full, it would exhaust nearly all the space available for this notice. The main portion of the volume consists of less than 50 pages, which are preceded by over 20 pages of Preface and nearly 100 of Introduction, and are followed by about 60 pages of very miscellaneous Appendices. The main portion is an account and careful collation of a MS. which was bought for the British Museum at Puttick and Simpson's in April 1882, and which has been previously noticed by Dean Burgon in the *Guardian* of July 1882, by Scrivener in the third edition of his *Introduction to the Criticism of the N.T.*, p. 243, and by Simcox in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. iv., Dec. 1884, pp. 454—465.

This volume has evidently been a labour of love and bears marks of having been produced with very great care. An accurate collation of an interesting MS. is a valuable contribution to textual criticism, and as such workers in that field will give it a hearty welcome. But they will probably accept Mr. Hoskier's facts and draw their own conclusions from them. Mr. Hoskier dedicates his handsome volume 'to the memory of the late John William Burgon, B.D..... in memory of his untiring zeal and unflagging efforts to prepare reliable foundations upon which might

securely rest the true science of the textual criticism of the New Testament'; and he believes that the facts which he has collected in it are a contribution towards fulfilling a prophecy made by Dean Burgon, that the heresies of Westcott and Hort *et hoc genus omne* will one day be discarded, and the views which he expressed with such confidence and vigour will be accepted. 'I may not live to see it. Most likely I shall not. But it will come.' The wish of Mr. Hoskier is that the truth should prevail. If it is found in the opposite direction from that in which he is looking for it, he will not lament that the material, which he has so conscientiously collected and so clearly presented for the use of scholars, has been instrumental in the discovery or confirmation of it.

A. PLUMMER.

- (a) **Quamnam curam Athenienses post expeditionem illam a. 415 in Siciliam factam rerum Siciliensium habuerint quaeritur.** Von MAX ROSENTHAL. Gross-Strehlitz. 1890.
- (b) **Quomodo Plutarchus Thucydide usus sit in componenda Nicias vita.** Scripsit Dr. MAX HEIDINGSFELD. Liegnitz. 1890.

SICILY forms the common link which suggests the coupling of these two essays in a single notice.

(a) The chief feature in Rosenthal's dissertation is an attempt to illustrate, by means of inscriptions and otherwise, the friendly relations which the Athenians (who had towards the end of the Peloponnesian War been so much harassed by the Syracusans acting in concert with the Lacedaemonians) endeavoured to cultivate with Dionysius the Elder, with a view to detaching him from the Spartan alliance. Three Athenian psephisms, together with some passages in the orators of the time, are used to eke out the meagre information given by Diodorus and Xenophon when they speak of Dionysius in connexion with Greece proper. One of these psephisms—one found at Athens in 1862 and referred to the year 393 B.C.—seems to provide that Dionysius should receive a public compliment, possibly on the excellence of his poetry. Another, assigned to the year 368, proposes that the rights of Athenian citizenship should be conferred upon him. The third, assigned to the same year or the next, concludes an alliance with him. The date and text of these psephisms are so conjectural that no certain conclusions can be based on them, but Rosenthal discusses them with ingenuity and brings a number of side-lights to bear upon them.

(b) The general conclusion reached in this essay is that in *Nicias* cc. 1–5 (introduction, and characterisation of Nicias) Thucydides is scarcely seen at all, except in the expression *θεασμῷ προσκείμενος*, which is quoted from him; that in cc. 6–11 (*Nicias'* doings before the Sicilian expedition) he is reproduced in many closely imitated passages, which are however interwoven with others from other sources, and cannot be regarded as forming the direct basis of the narrative; and that in cc. 12–30 (the Sicilian expedition) he is used to supplement Philistus, who is the real *fons primarius* throughout, but particularly so as we approach the end of the expedition, which he described in greater detail.

The main position here assumed remains, one may venture to think, a paradox though no longer a novelty. The parallel passages quoted, and the argument founded on them, can hardly be held sufficient to overthrow the more obvious conclusion, adopted by Holm (*Geschichte Siciliens*, ii. pp. 343–357) and Holm (*Plutarch, Nicias*, p. xliii), that the substratum of cc. 6–30 is the history of Thucydides.

W. RHYNS ROBERTS.

Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane,
di ETTORE DE RUGGIERO (Roma : Pasqualucci).
Fasc. 16 + 18.

I BRIEFLY noticed the first fifteen parts of this great undertaking some little while ago in these columns (vol. iv. p. 232), and need now only chronicle the progress of the work. The chief articles in the parts before me are on *annona*, *Antoninus*, *aqua* and *aquae*. So far as I am able to judge, the high standard of the earlier parts is fully kept up and the *Dizionario* will be a valuable work. I may add that no one should be deterred from buying it because it is called 'epigraphic.' Its main business is to explain the matter of inscriptions and the details alluded to in them. But this is so wide a field that the book is really a vast dictionary of antiquities, and like M. Cagnat's *Cours d'épigraphie* may be exceedingly useful to any student of Latin and Greek.

F. HAVERFIELD.

Translations into Greek and Latin Verse.
C. H. RUSSELL (Percival and Co.) 2s.

THE author of this little book has produced some very graceful and happy translations, both Greek and Latin, which should be welcome to all lovers of composition as well as to the composition master proper, who is in search of good models. Amidst so much which is

admirable it seems invidious to point out blemishes, but in view of a second edition there are some suggestions worth making. The use of 'amoenus' should be confined to lovely scenery; 'modestia' means 'moderation' rather than 'modesty'; 'fugitivus' is a runaway slave; 'suada' has hardly enough authority, recando has none; 'humum' cannot be used like 'domum' on the analogy of 'humi' and 'domi'; 'te moror' means 'I am keeping you waiting,' not 'I am waiting for you'; 'millia virtutum' is not equivalent to 'mille virtutes'; 'quisque' in page 45 should be 'uterque.' What is the construction of *tigris ridet* in page 31?

The translation from *Lycidas* 'For we were nursed &c.' does not admit of present tenses; the whole point of the passage is regret for the past. The Iambics are good, but *ἐβλεψα* is used at page 65 with the first syllable short, and the monosyllable *τάδ'* two lines further down occurring in the second syllable of a tribrach offends against the general laws of scansion. Every one has a right to his own opinion on the sense of 'and then—put out the light,' though the present writer feels convinced that it is an exclamation of horror; but *τί δ' εἶτα* will hardly stand for 'and then'—*ἐπειτα* is needed. In the lines that follow is *σβέννυμι* an optative, and can *εἰ μεταμέλει* stand for 'should I repent me'?

E. D. S.

NOTES.

PROFESSOR ADDISON HOGUE (of the University of Mississippi) writes to us with reference to a review of his book on the Irregular Verbs of Attic Prose by Mr. E. C. Marchant in the April number of this year, p. 166. While fully acknowledging that the criticisms have caused him to recast his statements in several places, and thanking Mr. Marchant for calling his attention to some misprints that had escaped him 'in spite of five readings of the proofs,' Mr. Hogue complains that in some points he has been unfairly treated. To save space we give below the particular complaints only, adding under each head in square brackets the reply which the reviewer has sent us.

1. As a general reply to Mr. Marchant's criticism of what he calls 'false forms,' I might say what Professor Allen does in the preface to his edition of Hadley's Grammar: 'I might have drawn the lines still closer in these matters; but the maker of a school-grammar is hampered by the necessity of having some regard to the current Greek texts.' The fact that I wrote my book for students, and by no means intended to indicate to scholars the latest advances in Greek orthography, is not pleaded as any excuse for inaccuracy. But so long as these advances are not found in many (sometimes in not any) of the best texts, it strikes me as only common sense that a book for students should take some notice of forms that students will meet in their reading.

[Professor Hogue says that he gives the forms found in Greek texts. This admission, which is nowhere made in the book, at once destroys in my opinion the value of a text-book on Attic forms. Surely, instead of inserting the forms given in texts, when wrong, among the *true* forms, the author should have explained briefly why they are *false*, although still found in texts. Further, the false forms are

fast disappearing from texts, as in the case of Thucydides; Professor Hogue has ignored all the recent work on that author. I cannot admit as a principle that it can possibly be right to teach what you know to be wrong.]

2. Mr. Marchant says: 'And as the forms are, according to the preface, limited to the prose writers before Aristotle, the constant quotations from the New Testament are quite beside the mark.' The preface says the forms are limited 'almost entirely to the usage of Attic Prose.' (I have given italics here to emphasize Mr. Marchant's inaccuracy.) Besides, if quotations outside of Attic Prose exhibit only forms that conform 'to the usage of Attic Prose,' the statement in the preface is no wise departed from.

[I am charged with misrepresenting Professor Hogue by omitting the words 'almost entirely.' The omission has no bearing whatever on my point; which is, that it is useless to quote, as Professor Hogue does continually and without warning, from the Greek Testament in a book on the Irregular Verbs of Attic Prose. I do not think that I in any way misrepresented the author. Whether the examples contain Attic forms or not is nothing to the point. If I were writing on an idiom in Bacon, I should not give as examples passages from Addison, even though they happened to repeat the particular idiom, unless I warned the reader that I was digressing.]

3. Mr. Marchant says: 'The forms of *τινω* are given as *τινω* &c., and *ἐκτινις* survives in place of *ἐκτεινις*.' After giving the forms '*τινω, παρ, παρ back, τισω, ἐτίσω, -τέτικα, -τέτισαι, -ετίσθην*,' I added in square brackets: 'In inscriptions of the classic period *τείσω, ἐτείσω, and ἐτείσθην* are the forms.' As the book was written to be a convenient working-manual for students, and as the *ει* forms of *τινω* find

no recognition even in the seventh edition of Liddell and Scott (American edition), I thought my statement about them was sufficient; and I think so still.

[As regard *τινω* and its forms, I am very distinctly of opinion that the article is quite behind our knowledge. Professor Hogue encourages a misconception in the reader's mind of the nature of Attic. The evidence of texts is paramount with him; and, instead of giving the student the latest information, he goes back to the times when MSS. evidence was thought better than the reasoning from Stone and Metre of the most enlightened scholars.]

4. Mr. Marchant says further that 'the student is positively informed that *διωθόντο* occurs in Thuc. 2, 84, nothing being said about Classen and Cobet. The student is positively informed that *ἄθew* takes syllab. augm. The imperf. mid. is given as *ἔωθούμην* in spaced printing. Later on it is said: '*Very rarely* the augm. *ε* is omitted; e.g. *διωθόντο* occurs Thuc. 2, 84.' Well, so it does, in Krüger, in Classen's first edition, and in Bekker. B.'s text was good enough for von Essen, and Professor Gildersleeve had no fault to find with von Essen for selecting B.'s text. Whether *διωθόντο* will *continue* to occur in the texts of Thuc. is another matter. It occurs there now, and the student was carefully guarded against thinking it a right form to use.

[On *διωθόντο* I have nothing to retract. Essen and L. and S. were not writing on the Greek verb: if they had been, they would probably have looked into the evidence for this barbarous form. Professor Hogue should have said that in Thuc. 2, 84 MSS. wrongly omit the augment.]

5. Mr. Marchant criticizes me for giving on p. 7 *εὐεργ-* as one way of augmenting *εὐεργετώ*. If he will turn to p. 94, he will find this: 'NOTE.—Verbs beginning with *ευ-* should regularly augment *ην-*, and inscriptions testify in favour of this. But MSS. frequently leave *ευ-* unaugmented, and so some of our texts give the augment, while others omit it.'

[Professor Hogue complains that I criticize him for giving *εὐεργέτουν* as an alternative for *εὐηργέτουν*. He refers me to a note on p. 94, which I had read and noted for criticism, but I was obliged to give only a selection from all that I had noted. According to this note, which applies only to words in *ευ-* followed by consonants, the imperf. of *εὐεργετώ* ought to be *ἠεργέτουν*! Professor Hogue does not appear to know the rule for augmenting words beginning with *ευ-* followed by a vowel.]

6. In noticing 'omissions,' Mr. Marchant thinks the use of *παρά* for *ὑπό* after *ὁμολογῶ* should have been noted. Would not any one infer that *ὁμολογῶ* was treated with something like attempted fulness? Instead of that, it has less than a line given to it, as it occurs in Part I, and is given along with some forty verbs in *-έω*, all occupying less than two pages.

Lastly Mr. Marchant says 'the author lays no claim to originality.' What I said was that I laid no claim to originality 'other than in the arrangement of the materials.'

The reviewer ends his rejoinder by stating: 'I am truly sorry if I have caused pain to Professor Hogue by a criticism in which I was actuated by no spirit of hostility whatever, but only by a determination to state my opinion candidly.'

* * *

PLATO, *Republic* 532 B. again. [See *Classical Review*, Oct. 1890. (vol. iv. p. 357).] *πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν ὕδασι φαντάσματα θεῖα καὶ σκιάς τῶν ὄντων*.—I have always been amused by Stallbaum's 'nec vero quisquam dixerit φαντάσματα ista quamnam ob

causam θεῖα appellantur.' But when Stallbaum's lack of appreciation of Plato's thought is made the basis of an attempt to emend the text it is time to protest. The motivation of *θεῖα* from Plato's point of view will be found in *Sophistes* 266 C D E. There Plato shows that both divine and human productivity may be sub-divided into production of realities and of their likenesses, *τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ὄν, τὸ δὲ ὁμοιωμάτων τινῶν γέννημα*, or, as it is expressed in 266 C, *ὁδο γὰρ οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα θεῖας ἔργα ποιήσεως αὐτὸ τε καὶ τὸ παρακολουθοῦν εἰδωλον ἐκάστω*. We have one illustration of human *εἰδωλοποιική* in *Republic* 596 D, *εἰ θέλεις λαβὼν κάτοπτρον περιφέρειν πανταχῇ ταχὺ μὲν ἥλιον ποιήσει καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, etc.

In the moral world the Sophists, as the *Sophistes* shows at length, is the great practiser of *εἰδωλοποιική*, producing what the *Republic* 517 E calls *τῶν τοῦ δικαίου σκιῶν*. And, keeping the thought of the *Sophistes* in mind, Plato even calls the Demiurgus *πάνου θανμαστόν...σοφιστήν* (*Republic*, 596 D). The epithet *θεῖα* in *Republic*, 532 C then is intended to keep these distinctions before us and to remind us that the illusions and reflexions of nature (*τὰ ἐν ὕδασι* etc.) are divine as contrasted with those produced by the hand or tongue of man. The soul of Plato's thought is present entire at every point in the body of his work and it is not safe to touch an iota subscript of his text without being aware of this.

PAUL SHOREY.

Bryn Mawr College, Pa.

* * *

AGESIAS OF SYRACUSE AND STYMPHALOS.—The man of the two homes, in honour of whose victory at Olympia Pindar wrote the Ode that stands sixth in the Olympian collection, was of the race of Iamus; but the question arises whether he was such through his father or through his mother. The commentators do not commit themselves to any very definite statement, but the prevailing notion I suspect to be that the father was the Iamid. Mezger's idea seems to be that both parents were Iamids—the father belonging to a Syracusan, the mother to the Arcadian branch of the race (see *Pindars Siegestlieder*, p. 130, note on l. 77: 'Die Mutter des Agesias scheint also dem in Stymphalos einheimischen Zweig der Iamiden angehört zu haben'). In opposition to the prevailing view, or at least what I suspect to be the prevailing view, it may, I think, be established that the mother of Agesias was an Iamid, and that his father was not an Iamid.

In the first place, his father, whoever he was, was a man of no distinction and did not belong to the Iamid race; for otherwise he or his ancestors would have been expressly mentioned. The argument from silence is telling here. When the *μάτρες ἄνδρες* are introduced, silence about the father and the *πάτρες* is fatal to the fame of that side of the family; it is a confession that there is nothing there worth recording.

It follows that the *μάτρες* were the Iamids. And whether the argument from silence be admitted or not, this fact can be directly inferred from Pindar's words—

77 *εἰ δ' ἐτύμως ὑπὸ Κυλλάνας ἴθροιστ', Ἀγησία, μάτρες ἄνδρες
ναϊετόντες ἐδώρησαν θεῶν κάρυκα λιταῖς θυσίαις
πολλὰ δὲ πολλαῖσιν Ἑρμῶν εὐσεβέως, κ. τ. λ.*

'If thy mother's family, Agesias, really dwelled at the foot of Kyllene and worshipped Hermes' etc. But why 'really'? Pindar certainly does not mean that there was any doubt as to the home of the family.

In an Appendix to his edition of the *Seven against Thebes* Mr. Verrall shewed that ἐτύμως and ἐτητύμως are not synonyms of ἀληθῶς, but generally refer to some verbal significance. Now this is true in Pindar as well as in Aeschylus, and the passage under consideration is no exception. The meaning is: 'If thy mother's kindred (the Pansy-race), true to their name (ἐτύμως), dwelling at the foot of Kyllene where pansies grow,' etc. And thus we are enabled to emend the corrupt ὕροις (or ὄροις; X ὕρει) in l. 77. Read

ὕπὸ Κυλλάνας ἴοις

= ὑπὸ Κυλλάνῃ ἴοις θαλλοῖσα, 'beneath Kyllene rich in pansies.' The first letter of ἴοις accidentally fell out, and ὕροις, ὄροις were due to an attempt to emend with the help of a misunderstood marginal note ὕρους or ὕρει.

Thus the force of this passage depends on the fact that Agesias was an Iamid on his mother's side.

J. B. BURY.

* * *

Thuc. ii. 11. πολλὰκίς τε τὸ ἐλάσσον πλῆθος δεδίδς ἔμεινον ἡμύνατο τοῖς πλέονας διὰ τὸ καταφρονοῦντας ἀπαρασκευάτους γενέσθαι. Steup has cast grave doubt on δεδίδς ἔμεινον: and the latter word had already roused the suspicion of Dobree and Krieger. I suggested elsewhere that δεδίδς ἔμεινον might be a gloss, perhaps a fragment of a proverb. But it may be that these two words are confused with δεδιώτας παρασκευάζεσθαι in the next sentence. If we omit δεδίδς ἔμεινον for a moment, Archidamus says, 'Frequently a smaller force has repelled a larger, because the larger disdained the smaller and was unprepared...In spirit men should be bold, but they should make their preparations in apprehension.' When is the time for apprehension? Not in the battle itself: then θάρρος not δέος is wanted; but δέος is needed before the battle, that due precautions may be taken. This being the general sense of the passage, I propose for πλῆθος ΔΕΔΙΟCΑΜΕ- NON (assuming that Thucydides used the old Attic alphabet) πλῆθος ΔΕΔΙΟCΑΜΕΝΟΝ, i.e. πλῆθος δέος διωσάμενον. 'Attacks are made for the most part ἐξ ὀλίγου καὶ δι' ὀργῆς: and often the weaker side, hastily throwing aside apprehension, has repelled the stronger side.' For the use of διωθεῖσθαι, cf. iv. 108.

* * *

E. C. MARCHANT.

ARISTOTLE, 'ETHICS' Γ. 1 §17.

παῖσας ἀποκτείνειαι ἔν.

Bywater conjectures πίσας from πιπίσκω, causal of πίνω. But this is an obscure word, used nowhere else by Aristotle, or any other classical author. What Aristotle wrote is almost certainly ποτίσας. The ο and τ written closely together naturally enough produce the α of the MS. This word is used by Aristotle in a similar passage in the *Physics* (ii. 8) ἐπιότισεν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὁ ἱατρός τὸ φάρμακον, and also by Plato and Xenophon.

* * *

S. E. WINBOLT.

CATULLUS, lxvi. 43.

Ille quoque eversus mons est quem maximum in oris progenies Thiae clara supervexitur.

Ellis finds a difficulty in oris, and interprets 'the highest of shore-mountains.' Is it not more natural

to render 'lands,' regarding the introduction of Athos as a complimentary allusion to the Macedonian descent of the Ptolemies? The exaggeration of maximus is quite in keeping with the exaggeration of eversus, to which Ellis calls attention. For oris cf. lxiv. 280—1 quos (flores) Thessala magnis montibus ora creat.

ib. 59. Vvidulum a fluctu.

See Ellis' excursus, where, in discussing various suggestions, he quotes *Odyssey* iv. 563 sqq. Another Homeric passage may throw some light on an apparent confusion. The lady of Zephyrium sending her winged messenger (which is agreed to have been some sacred bird) is an instructively Alexandrian version of *Odyssey* V. 50, where Hermes is dispatched to Calypso's isle:—

Πιερῖην δ' ἐπιβὰς ἐξ αἰθέρος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ·
σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κύμα λάρφ' ὕρνιθι εὐκῶς, κ.τ.λ.

Some reminiscence of this may have assisted the confusion. Cf. 58 Graia Canopeis incola litoribus.

ib. 92—3. The MS. reading (to which Ellis now inclines) is as follows;—

sed potius largis effice muneribus
sidera cur iterent: 'utinam coma regia fiam.'

Has it been noticed how naturally these lines glance back to 73—infestis discerpent sidera dictis? This gives a fine coherence to the latter part of the poem which commences at v. 69. Lines 1—68 describe in rapid succession the circumstances of the offering and deification. The rest of the poem is occupied with the reflexions of the new star. 'I would I were still a lock of Berenice's hair—though I may win the hatred of the stars for such a wish—a lock of hair upon the head that received so many unguents. Let pure brides make their smaller offerings of unguent; but you, my queen, your ampler offerings. Then the stars, instead of "rending me with cruel words," would even confuse their ord-r if they could be like me.' The words proximus Hydrochoi fulgeret Oarion express the strongest possible antithesis to the anticipation of discerpent; 'so far from my wish being an insult to them, they will be ready to echo it themselves.'

lxviii. 73.

Trito fulgentem in limine plantam | constituit.

Various references are given to support the meaning 'well trod' or 'frequented'; but no one appears to quote Catullus' own use in this very poem; cf. v. 117 (of the deification of Hercules)—

pluribus ut caeli tereretur ianua divis.

Ellis, however, takes trito to mean 'polished,' like ξεστός οὐδός: 'the floor of the threshold was made of some polished material, against which the colour of the solca would be more conspicuous; so splendid uolso brachia trita pilo Mart. ii. 29. 6.' A parallel from Catullus can again be quoted, with similar suggestion of colour—cf. lxi. 166 sqq.

Transfer omine cum bono
limen aureolos pedes
rasilemque subi forem.

ib. 118. Qui tamen indomitam ferre iugum docuit (Heyse, followed by Munro). Ellis' objection to this is based upon the meaning which he assigns to indomita. 'It was no struggle to her to confine her love to the one man who was complete master of her passions: nor would such a love naturally be spoken of as the submission of an indomitable nature to the

yoke.' The *violence* of Laodamia's love is the theme of the preceding lines (cf. 75, 85, 86, 108, 109 for various ways in which this finds expression); it is emphasized by what follows.—The love of a grandfather for his late-born grandson, the passion of a dove for her mate, were weak compared with it:

Sed tu horum magnos vicisti sola furores
ut semel es flavo conciliata viro (129—30).

Indomita surely agrees admirably with *magnos furores*. The submission to the yoke then admits of explanation.
PERCY SIMPSON.

A CORRECTION.—In the notice of Holtzapfel's *Beiträge* which appeared in November (p. 424) it is stated that Holtzapfel 'adopts Krüger's proposal to read four months instead of two for the remainder of the archonship of Pythodorus (Thuc. ii. 2).' This is only partially true. Holtzapfel agrees with Krüger in thinking a correction necessary but he would read *five* not four. His reason is that he believes that the cycle of Meton was not adopted in 431 B.C. and that the Attic year began on Aug. 2, not, as Krüger (who arranged his date on Meton's cycle) assumed, on July 6 (*Beiträge* p. 54).

EVELYN ABBOTT.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

NOTES ON VASES.

THOSE who favour a hard and fast classification of Greek vases will do well to examine, as soon as it appears, the official report of recent excavations at Falerii (Civita Castellana). In No. V. Vol. i. of the *Journal of the B. and A. Arch. Soc. of Rome* Mr. Dennis furnishes a short account of the New Museum in the Villa Papa Giulio, where the Faliscan antiquities are exhibited; but no general statement has yet been published, and Mr. Dennis does not touch on matters of criticism. Though, in advance of the official report, it is not permissible to deal with the collection as it stands, I may give here the contents of one or two tombs:—the Museum, it should be said, is arranged throughout, as far as possible, on the principle of keeping each tomb distinct.

No. LXL supplies a complete r.f. cylix signed by Hieron [HIEPONEΠΟΙΕΖΕΝ]:—but the vase is so placed that the latter part of the inscription can scarcely be read: subject 'discussion of the day's hunt.' In the centre table case is the greater part of a magnificent r.f. crater [bell-form: Nolan style] with a single zone of dancing figures. The drawing and composition belong to the 'perfect' style. So far as the united efforts of the attendant and myself availed, this vase is also numbered as from tomb 61. Beside these r.f. vases are various specimens of black-figure:

(a) Amphora: poor though advanced style, shape approximating to Corinthian: subject 'departure of warrior.'

(b) Amphora: style free but not over careful:—quadriga in full gallop with light-armed archer running in front.

(c) Amphora: companion to (b): free style and composition, better drawing than in (b):—quadriga trampling over fallen foe.

(d) Fragment of Panathenaic amphora: Gorgoneion in white.

(e) Hydria: Perseus [ΣΥΛΛΗΨΑΝΤ] about to slay Medusa, while Athena [ΑΑΝΘΕΑ] encourages him from the other side. Style easy and broad even to heaviness; The Perseus and Medusa recall the Selinuntine metope.

(ff.) Two small vases of the cotylos shape, ornamented with large eyes between which, on the one, is a crouching figure in debased style, on the other, a vine spray.

It does not clearly appear whether the contents of a shelf immediately above also belong to tomb LXI: but they are more probably to be classed with the

shelves on either side which support the finds from tomb LIX. The shelf in question contains a large Italian amphora a colonnette in the semi-black r.f. style (red figures *i.e.* with black ornamental members), the drawing of which is well advanced (Nolan); a fragment of an aryballos in the delicate refined (Attic) school of the fourth century: and part of a cylix which, though careless work, belongs to a similar period (*apparently*:—the vases are unfortunately 'skied'). But beside these vases, all fairly homogeneous, is a b.f. crater (bell-form), late in style and ornamentation, as also some Lucanian ware both red-figure and black-glazed with white design.

There is however nothing surprising in the discovery of vases with black figures by the side of late Italian ware. That a debased form of black figure continued down almost to the end of the r.f. period is a conviction which the tombs at Poli last year first decidedly confirmed. Here at Falerii, to cite only one instance, tomb LXXV has, beside several examples of poor S. Italian (r.f.) work, three b. f. lekythoi, small and of just the form of some of those found at Poli last year—narrow and proportionally small neck, false lip, wide belly. The drawing is as debased as the shape. Still stronger evidence is afforded by tombs LXXI and LXXII, whose contents are far too numerous to quote in extenso. They repeat the same phenomenon, black-figure in the same row with late Lucanian.

But the chief interest of the finds at Falerii lies really in the local pottery: of which I hope to speak elsewhere. Earlier tombs show nothing that can be called Greek, and very little that is foreign, except an Oriental influence in the system of ornament. The severance between Faliscan and other Etruscan pottery is indeed somewhat exaggerated in Mr. Dennis' account: much is common both to the Museum at Florence which draws its treasures largely from Chiusi and Pescia Romana, and to that at Orvieto which with the private collections of Count Faina is supplied from an extensive necropolis just outside the walls, and a second some two or three miles distant. It need only be added that there is nothing in the Museum which need—I had rather say can—'have preceded the Greek by centuries' as Mr. Dennis states: nor is there any ground, until the official minutes are to hand, to justify the assertion that 'the gulf in point of excellence (the italics are mine) between the earliest and latest deposit (in one tomb *i.e.*) was so wide as to admit of no other explanation than a re-appropriation of the sepulchre in some long subsequent age.' There is no gulf in point of excellence between late Lucanian and slovenly black-figure: and I doubt greatly whether there is

any gulf chronologically. Excellence is a much abused term : and the period covered by these tombs is not necessarily more than two hundred years. The earliest Greek ware represented is proto-Corinthian : geometric is only found in the form of local imitations.

The whole evidence neither proves Brunn's main position, nor supports the opposite school. That, conceivably, more than half the existing red-figure vases, and a large proportion of black-figure, were made in Italy and not at Athens is a position which need prove a stumbling-block to no one. Four-fifths, or even a larger proportion, of the vases found at Falerii are of Italian manufacture : and as Etruria first made acquaintance with the excellence of Greek design in black-figure ware, it is only natural that she retained till a late epoch a fondness, and therefore created a demand for, that style of pottery. But the Italian ware of the Greek towns, much more than that of Etruria herself, has clearly marked characteristics : and it certainly does not follow that there was any fabrication of cylices by Epiktetos or Hieron at a late date.

H. A. TUBBS.

MIRABILIA.—There is an article in the current number of the *Hellenic Journal* on a relief representing a boat. That article contains things that are worthy of mention.

One of the spurious decrees inserted in Demosthenes *De Corona* is cited as an authority : and an argument is based upon the very worst sentence in that decree. Demosthenes says, § 104, that under his scheme the maximum liability in trierarchy was for two men-of-war. The decree says, § 106, that (under this same scheme) it was for three merchantmen and a boat.

The 'relief published by Pozzo' is likewise cited as an authority. There is no evidence that the alleged relief ever existed ; and in certain details the drawing by Cassiano dal Pozzo is clearly a work of the uninstructed imagination. He never published the drawing : it was found in one of his portfolios.

The *kleustes* is placed in the bows. The man in the bows was the *proreus*, who was a subordinate of the *kybernetes* and had nothing to do with the *kleustes*. See Xenophon, *Anabasis* v. 8. 20, *Oeconomica*, 8. 14.

There is more than one allusion to the boat's rudder. It is an oar for steering. Rudders were first introduced in the Middle Ages.

CECIL TORR.

Archaeological Journal, No. 187.

1. Bunnell Lewis 'Roman Antiquities of the Middle Rhine' : 2. A. H. Sayce 'on a Hittite Seal.' 3. F. Haverfield 'Roman Inscriptions in Britain.' The writer intends to publish annual notices of new discoveries, continuing Mr. Watkin's papers. Most of the 70 inscriptions in the present notice have already been edited by him in the *Ephemeris* : the chief novelty is a lead pig found near Hull. The article is illustrated with a colotype, woodcuts, and a map.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. 1890. vol. xi. No. 1.

1. Excavations in Cyprus, 1889, at Polis tes Chrysochou and Limniti. Munro writes the (i.) Preliminary narrative, (ii.) Report on the tombs, (iii.) Contents of the tombs. Tubbs on (iv.) the Inscriptions and (v.) Limniti. At Poli some tombs seem distinguished as of the sixth and fifth centuries, some as late as the second, but the majority range from the close of the fifth to the first decades of the second century. The inscriptions are an interesting series

in the Cypriote syllabary, including a fragment in early Greek characters which a 'conclave of Oxford archaeologists attribute to a Roman origin' (p. 74, note 1). The Limniti antiquities are comparatively unimportant. This site was at most a small village, the seat of worship of an Apollo Amyklaos and a goddess who may be Aphrodite : these remains date from 450—300 B.C. : three plates, cuts, plans &c. 2. E. Gardner ; two fourth century children's heads ; publishes part of a stele in the Argos Museum in order to prove the naturalistic treatment of children in sculpture of the fourth century ; argues consequently that the head from Paphos (*J.H.S.* 1888, pl. x.) is of the fourth century : finds traces in both heads of Attic influence : cut. 3. Hicks ; Ceramus and its inscriptions ; publishes fourteen Greek inscriptions collected by Mr. Paton, who furnishes a description of the district. 4. E. Gardner ; the processes of Greek sculpture as shown by some unfinished statues at Athens : (i.) the influence of wood-technique on early Greek sculpture would tend to a round rather than a square form in the horizontal section ; (ii.) various stages of working ; (iii.) final processes, as illustrated by unfinished statues from Rheneia : five cuts. 5. Waldstein ; *Τραπεζώ* and *Κοσμά* in the frieze of the Parthenon ; publishes a terra-cotta statuette of a girl carrying a chair on her head ; thinks it likely 'that the terra-cotta found in a grave commemorates the fact that the occupant of the grave once had the distinction of holding this sacred office' (of *Τραπεζώ*?) : cut. 6. P. Gardner ; publishes a stele commemorating a victory in a boat-race in the Central Museum at Athens ; the upper relief shows three figures, the leitourgos, the keleustes and the stroke-oar ; the lower represents the boat : two cuts. 7. Hogarth ; Notes in Phrygia Paroreus and Lycaonia ; the results of a journey in 1887 from the borders of Galatia to the Cilician coast ; thirty-one inscriptions ; including three in the 'obscure dialect which appears to have been spoken in the eastern portion of Phrygia and Lycaonia up to the fifth or sixth centuries A.D. and which is doubtless the "speech of Lycaonia" in which the men of Lystra spoke of Paul and Barnabas.' 8. C. Smith ; a proto-korinthian lekythos in the British Museum ; the 'Macmillan lekythos' ; the protokorinthian style is connected with the old Korinthian metal industry and so influenced by the Cypriot-Phoenician metal bowls. The Graeco-African fabrics were subject to this influence later, through Cyprus and through Korinthian importations : two plates. 9. Farnell ; records and classifies various monuments which on the ground of subject-matter or style may be connected with Pergamene work : the class here dealt with are those known to have had some connection with Pergamon or that dealt with subjects that had been appropriated by its school : four cuts.

E. Gardner ; 'archaeology in Greece 1889—90' : controverts Heberdey's article in *Athen. Mitth.* 1890, p. 126, on the Antenor statue. *Notices of Books*. Harrison and Verrall's 'Mythology and Monuments of Athens' ; Schuchhardt's 'Schliemann's Ausgrabungen' ; Studniczka's 'Kyrene' ; Hauser's 'Neu-Attische Reliefs' Robert's 'Antike Sarkophagreliefs' ; Haigh's 'Attic Theatre.'

American Journal of Archaeology. 1890. vol. vi. nos. 1. 2.

1. Müntz ; the lost mosaics of Rome of the iv. to the ix. century, continued. 2. Frothingham ; the introduction of Gothic architecture into Italy by the French Cistercian Monks—(i.) the monastery of Fossanova : eleven plates, six cuts. 3. Marquand ; reminiscences of Egypt in Doric architecture ; traces these in 'the temenos, with its sacred trees and

altar; in methods of construction, such as slanting walls and stuccoed columns; the plan, details of shaft, and entablature are related both in form and colour to Egyptian prototypes; the temple base, peripteral supports and gable roof are not necessarily non-Egyptian; and ordinary details are mere variations of Egyptian forms.' 4. Hussey; the distribution of Hellenic temples; 'measuring the reverence paid to each Greek divinity by means of the number of temples dedicated to his worship'; and showing 'in what parts of Hellas temples were most numerous, and what deduction can be drawn therefrom in regard to the relative size of Greek towns.' 5. Wolters; Zeus 'Ἡλιοπολίτης'; a relief published *Rev. Arch.* 1886, pl. 26, as Artemis Diktynna, is thus explained by comparison with an inscribed relief in *Gaz. Arch.* II, pl. 21: two cuts. 6. Hussey; Greek sculptured crowns and crown inscriptions: (i.) traces chronologically the forms of representation of crowns; (ii.) discusses the forms of inscriptions; (iii.) when the crowns are placed on the left or middle of the monument, special importance is implied: two plates and a chronological table. 7. Rolfe; discoveries at Anthedon in 1889, continued; architectural remains, plans &c.; list of bronze implements: plan and two plates. 8. Tarbell and Rolfe; discoveries at Plataia in 1889, continued; inscriptions from Plataia. 9. The same; discoveries at Thisbe in 1889; report of excavations, and inscriptions. 10. Rolfe; an inscribed tombstone from Boiotia.

Letter from Egypt. Reviews. *Archaeological News*.

Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική. 1890. Parts 1 and 2. Athens.

1. Mulonas; publishes a sculptured votive relief from Attika, representing two naiski, in each of which is a figure of Athena; compares other examples of reduplication of a deity: thinks this peculiarity due to the conception of two different aspects of the deity, in this case indicated as warlike and peaceful by the two forms of Gorgoneia on her shield: plate and inserted plate in text. 2. Klein; two cups of the Epikletic cycle found in Greece; a kylix by Pamphaios, representing a youth crouching with his hands in a washbowl, which rests on his knees; and part of a paropsis by Hermokrates, representing a flute-player: plate and cut. 3. Damirades; marble relief representing the birth of Christ; in the foreground between two trees is the manger of stone, on which the child lies swaddled; in the background are the ox and ass; above this scene are remains of a second relief, representing the lower part of the group of a man leading an ass; apparently representing the flight into Egypt; probably of the early Christian era: plate. 4. Philios; excavations at Megara in June—July 1889; see Paus. i. 44, 6—10: with three plates giving plans of the buildings and some of the objects found, and three cuts. 5. Philios and Lolling; Megarika. 6. Lolling; four inscriptions from the hieron of Apollo Hyperteleates. 7. Philios; inscriptions from Eleusis continued, Nos. 48—57. 8. The same; archaeological news of excavations near Sparta and in Athens.

Archäologisches Jahrbuch. 1890, part ii. Berlin.

1. Puchstein; the Parthenon sculptures, (i.) Pheidias; discusses the question as to how far the part of Pheidias extended in the production of these sculptures: compares the Parthenos statue and analogous types with the Parthenon sculptures in point of drapery. Such compositions as the pediments and E. frieze were not characteristic of him, cf. the Pandora subject on the basis of the Parthenos; and on a Pergamene basis with the same subject here

published. Concludes that the pediments and the E. frieze are not from the hand of Pheidias but of 'Eines grundsätzlich verschiedenen Geistes, der in wesentlichen Stücken Pheidias' Tendenzen verlässt, und wie in Opposition gegen den grossen Meister (neue Wege einschlägt)': nine cuts. 2. Conze; Greek braziers; for many years terra-cotta handles of large vessels, stamped with heads and other subjects in relief, have been found in various sites; these are handles of braziers (the *πύραυλος* of Pollux vi. 88); a series of nine hundred and five are here catalogued; from these it would seem that they were objects of daily use; the heads are Dionysiac apotropaia, chosen for their tektonic suitability; the date is about the middle of the second century, B.C.; they were made at Athens or at Delos, probably the former: two plates, numerous cuts. 3. Studniczka; on the Dolon sarcophagus from Klazomenae; publishes a cut of a vase in Munich with a similar scene; the reverse has appropriately the bringing home of the horses of Rhesos; the wheel with more than four spokes is a special mark of Oriental or old Ionic art; down to the time of the 'strong fine' r.f. style, the Greek form has four spokes: two cuts. 4. Wernicke; an epigram (Anthol. iv. 165, 233) mentions a Hermes of Skopas; this may be identified in the 'Janus pater' of Plin. xxxvi. 28, which Augustus, who specially affected works of Skopas, brought from Egypt.

Anzeiger. Annual report of the Institute. Notes by Hülsen and Petersen on the Apollo Belvedere. Acquisitions of the Boston Museum of fine Arts in 1889. Note of photographs of classical landscapes and monuments from Greece, on sale at E. Quaa's, Berlin. Reports of meetings of the Institute at Berlin. Notes: by Hauser on the Marsyas vase, *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, Taf. 17; and *ibid.* 1849, Taf. 1, 2; by Murray on *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 190. Bibliography.

The Same. 1890, part iii.

1. Winter; Silanion; publishes a marble portrait head of Sappho in the Villa Albani; it is an Attic work of the fourth century; examines this head and portraits of Plato, Sophokles, Thukydidēs etc., deducing results which throw light on the style of Silanion, an Attic artist of the fourth century, B.C.: plate, six cuts. 2. Wernicke; a marble head in Cambridge (*Mus. Disn.* I. pl. xvii.) called Hermarchos, is rather Plato: cut. 3. Engelmann; Tyro: a vase picture published *Gaz. Arch.* 1881, taf. 1—2 as Poseidon and Amyone is explained by comparison with two engraved mirrors as the myth of Tyro (*Odyss.* xi. 235); discusses the myth and identifies the other figures of the scene: three cuts. 4. Gilli; discusses from a professional standpoint the relief of a ship published *Arch. Jahrb.* 1889, p. 103: cut. 5. Kekule; examines early Christian representations of the creation of Eve with a view to elucidating the vexed question of the birth of Athene in the Parthenon pediment; the type of the creation which corresponds to Gerhard's theory of the Parthenon group, is that usual in works of minor art, corresponding to the Greek vases and mirrors; this type is hardly ever found in works of major importance. We should expect an Athena of full size, close beside Zeus, standing on the ground with at least one foot and part of her lower limbs concealed behind him. It is natural that a vase-painter dealing with this subject should take some of his figures from the pediment, and yet in the central group cling to the traditional type. Catalogue of the scenes with the creation of Eve: twelve cuts. 6. Meier; the Eubouleus of Praxiteles was not a complete statue, nor yet a pro-

tome let in to an aedicula, but was a head resting on a term; the transition from the shoulders to the term was covered with an actual mantle laid around it; that such a practice was not unusual we see from Böttiger, *Baumk. der Hellenen* Taf. 15, 16. We know that Praxiteles generally presupposes a special point of aspect; the three-quarter view is the right one. 7. Wolters; with the help of the mosaic of Monnus identifies as Ennius a series of portraits hitherto known as Scipio the elder; and as Homer or Hesiod, busts ascribed to Apollonios of Tyana: two cuts.

Anzeiger. Acquisitions in 1889 of Berlin, Munich, Dresden, Stuttgart, and British Museum: with numerous cuts. Reports of meetings of the Institute at Berlin. Note by Puchstein on his article above. Bibliography.

Numismatic Chronicle. 1890. Part III.

J. P. Six. 'Monnaies grecques, inédites et incertaines' (continued). *Icaria*. Some of the coins attributed to this Ionian island do not belong there but are perhaps of the town of Acarra in Thessaly. *Dynasts of Teuthrania and Pergamus*. The earliest coins struck at Pergamus belong to the end of the fifth century B.C. The next issue—which extends to the time of Lysimachus—begins, according to the excellent suggestion of M. Six, in B.C. 310 the year when Hercules of Pergamus, son of Alexander the Great and Barsine, made an effort to recover his father's kingdom with the assistance of Polysperchon. *Alyattes, king of Lydia, circ.* B.C. 617—560. Interesting attribution to him of coins hitherto classed to

Miletus. M. Six finds the name of Alyattes in the inscription on these coins. *Chios*. A series of electrum staters with animal types, hitherto classed to various cities, are assigned to the Chian mint and identified with the pentadrachms mentioned by Xenophon, *Hellen.* i. 6, 12. There seem to be some difficulties in the way of accepting this identification. According to Brandis and Head this pentadrachm was a money of account. *Olymos in Caria*. Silver staters of circa B.C. 550, reading OAV , are for the first time attributed to this place. *Mylasa*. *Hecatomnos*. *Maussollos*. *Uncertain of Caria and other coins*.—M. E. Oakeley. 'Coins found at Caerwent and Caerleon.' Lists of Roman coins.—John Evans. 'On a small hoard of Roman coins found at Amiens.' Includes a coin of Marinus Pacatianus and coins of Carausius and Allectus.—*Review*. Von Sallet's 'Beschreibung' vol. II. by B. V. Head.—*Miscellanea*. 'Find of coins near Halicarnassus' (W. R. Paton).—'Find of Roman coins in Roumania' (F. Haverfield).—'Roman coins found near Marlborough' (C. Soames).

W. WROTH.

Revue Numismatique. Troisième trimestre. 1890.

A. Vercoutre. 'Les types des monnaies frappées par Manius Aquilius et par Publius Clodius à l'effigie du soleil.'—J. A. Blanchet 'Médaille de bronze de l'empereur Hadrien.' Reverse type, Victory in biga. *Reviews*. Svoronos's 'Numismatique de la Crète and Th. Reinach's 'Mithridate Eupator,' by E. Babelon.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. No. 42. July, 1890.

Suggestions on the Third Vol. of Kock's Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum, Robinson Ellis. Contains various emendations and interpretations. *The Sentence-question in Plautus and Terence*, concluding paper, E. P. Morris [see *C.R.* sup. p. 328]. G. Questions without a particle having the verb near the beginning. H. Sentences having the verb near the end. V. Questions with *ut* and with the infinitive. VI. *An* and disjunctive questions. Complete disjunctive questions. Imperative questions. On the history of the interrogative sentence, the writer concludes that the earliest sentence in Latin was neither declarative, nor imperative, nor exclamatory, nor interrogative, but contained in itself the possibilities of all these, and could be all of them by turns. Finally, on questions considered with reference to their functions, the writer calls attention to two programs by Th. Imme and gives a brief outline of these and to correct the usual mechanical classification. *Σχῆμα Πινδαρικών*, R. S. Haydon. This syntactical figure is explained away, and the writer concludes 'grammarians should note the extended use of ἦν as a plur. form, and omitting the doubtful examples, merely refer to the use of ἐστί with a plur. complement, and the attraction of verbs to agree with complements.'—There is a note on *θήρ*, Lat. *fera*, and the Greek and Latin representatives of Indo-Eur. initial palatals + *u*, by C. D. Buck, who states as a general law that Indo-Eur. *gh*, Italic *X* becomes *f* in early Latin where followed by *u* either vowel or consonant (*u* or *u*). Among the books reviewed are

Otto Hoffman's *Das praesens der indogermanischen Grundsprache* by E. W. Fay, in which two important points are raised (1) a new explanation for φέρεις and φέρε, (2) a theory that thematic conjugation is older than non-thematic, the latter being a secondary development from (root) aorists, and *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* by H. N. F. [summarized *C.R.* sup. p. 139].

Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society [now published by C. J. Clay and Sons]. Vol. III. Part iii. contains:—

1. H. D. Darbishire, *Notes on the Spiritus Asper in Greek*: *Addenda*. A short appendix to his paper in Part ii.—2. P. Giles, *The Origin of the Latin Pluperfect Subjunctive and other Etymologies*. 'Analyse *turbas-sit* and make *turbas* a suffix-less locative with which is compounded the subjunctive present of *sum*.' Among the other proposed etymologies we notice yet another attempt to solve *consul*.—3. G. C. Macaulay, *Notes on some MSS. of Herodotus*. Some results of a collation of the Medicean and Florentine codices.—4. A. E. Housman, *Emendations in Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Nearly thirty passages are attacked with this writer's well known ingenuity. Most tempting are his proposals *numquam letalibus armis* for *et numquam talibus* in I. 441, of *eruo* for *herba* in I. 632, and of *Aetnaeo* for *aeterno* in IV. 663.—5. H. D. Darbishire, *Contributions to Greek Lexicography*. I. 'Επιδέξιος, ἐπιδέξια: ἐνδέξιος, ἐνδέξια. Discusses the chief passages in which these words are found, and concludes that ἐπιδέξια and ἐπιδέξιος have independent origins.—6. J. P. Postgate, *Horatiana*. *Carm.* IV.

4. 65 reads *cait.* *Serm.* I. 1. 113, 114 transposes the initial words of these two lines. *Serm.* II. 3. 108 reads *iccoris* for *sceleris*. *Epist.* II. 2. 87 reads *rhotor erat Romae consulto ita frater ut alter* etc.—7. C. A. M. Fennell, *On Horace Odes* I. 12. Dates the Ode B.C. 26.

Jahresbericht des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. Jan.—Mar. 1890. [Continued from *C.R. sup.* p. 331.]

[ONS.—Summaries of notices in periodicals which are usually summarized in the *Classical Review* are not here included.]

ISOKRATES. 1885—1889 by E. Albrecht.

Isokrates ausgewählte Reden, by O. Schneider, third edition by M. Schneider. New edition compiled with care and skill, but rather too full for school use. I. (Demonikos) retained, probably from filial piety, though the editor rightly considers it spurious. *Selections from the Attic Orators Antiphon, Andocides, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus*. Ed. with notes by R. C. Jebb second edition. Very useful for the commentary but the labours of German scholars are still neglected, especially the epoch-making work of Buermann on the MSS. H. Buermann, *Die handschriftliche Ueberslieferung des Isokrates*. I. *Die Handschriften der Vulgata*. II. *Der Urbina und seine Verwandtschaft*. Progr. der Friedrichsgymn. zu Berlin 1885 and 1886. As to (1) the Vulgate is founded partly on Θ (Laur. plut. 87 cod. 14 bombyc. saec. XIII.) and partly on ΔΠ (Vat. 65, cod. membr. anni 1663, and Parisin. 2932 cod. chart. saec. XV.). For the arguments T (Parisin. 2930 cod. membr. saec. XV.) must also be considered. As to (2) the corrections of l, 1 b, and 2 are everywhere to be received except where internal evidence is against them: all other corrections are to be rejected except where they offer a clear improvement for a certain error of Γ (Urbina). B. Kiel, *Analecta Isocratca*. Without doubt, next to the work of Buermann, the most important of recent contributions to the literature of Isokrates. W. Christ, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur bis auf die Zeit Justinians*. Pp. 293—299 deal with Isokrates. There is a want of thoroughness and the latest literature has not been consulted. E. Lippelt, *Quaestiones Biographicae*. Diss. inaug. Bonn, 1889. Deals partly with Isokrates. It is proved that Nepos in his life of Timotheus has made use of the Antidosis (§ 107 foll.) J. Engel, *Isokrates, Macchiavelli, Fichte*. Progr. des Realgymn. in Magdeburg 1889. Deserves to be read for the interesting parallel drawn between ancient and modern circumstances though the comparison to Macchiavelli and Fichte may be doing too much honour to Isokrates. H. Siebeck, *Zur Chronologie der Platonischen Dialoge*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1885. F. Susemihl, *De Platonis Phaedro et Isocratidis contra sophistas oratione*. Ind. Schol. Greifswald 1887. Susemihl successfully combats the opinion of Siebeck that the second part of the Phaidros (268 E foll.) was occasioned by the speech of Isokrates against the Sophists. He puts Phaidros B.C. 394 and the speech of Isokrates B.C. 392. L. Waber, *Isokrates und der am Schluss von Platons Enthydem gezeichnete Rhetor*. Progr. Krensmir 1886. That at the close of the Euthydemus Plato refers to Isokrates is no longer in dispute. The writer should not refer to Demonikos which is certainly spurious. Ch. Huit, *Platon et*

Isokrate, Revue des études grecques 1888. The perverted result is reached that the early enmity between Plato and Isokrates was followed by a reconciliation. F. Dümmler, *Akademika*. Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte der Sokratischen Schulen. Deals with the relations between Plato and Isokrates. Among other things D. maintains that in Hippias major Plato under the mask of that Sophist attacks Isokrates. C. Josephy, *Der oratorische Numerus bei Isokrates und Demosthenes*. Diss. inaug. Zürich, 1887. This meritorious essay confines itself to the treatment of clauses. Isokrates especially attends to two things, the nature of the last syllable, and the nature of the syllables that form concluding words. Long syllables predominate at the end. L. Lutz, *Die Präpositionen bei den Attischen Rednern*. Progr. Neustadt a. H. 1888. Not methodically arranged and too much taken up with mere examples [see *C.R.* III. 414]. M. Koch, *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen bei Isokrates*. Part I. Progr. des Lessinggymn. Berlin, 1889. Better arranged than Lutz's work. The commonest prepositions in Isokrates are *περί* with gen. (1066), then *ἐν* (781), then *πρός* with acc. (748). E. R. Schulze, *Quaestiunculae grammaticae ad oratores Atticos spectantes*. Progr. Bautzen, 1889. Thorough investigations of the use of the verbal adj. in *-τέος*, of *οἶος* and *οἶός τε* with the infin., of the conjugations of *ἐθήκα* and *ἐβόκα*, and the contracted comparative forms, in the Orators including Isokrates.—H. Brand, *De Isocratidis Panathenaico*. Diss. inaug. Münster 1886. The chief results of this excellent work are (1) the Sophists against whom Isokrates is so zealous in the introduction are, as Spengel and Teichmüller assume, Aristotle and his school. (2) The speech is in many places directed against Plato, especially against the Republic. (3) The Platonists—for Plato had died in 348—against whom the main part of the speech is directed are the same as the frequently mentioned praisers of Sparta and blamers of Athens; they are further the same as the Sophists mentioned in the introduction who accused Isokrates of despising education. (4) In other parts Isokrates has to do with other opponents especially §§ 12 foll. and § 139 foll. with Demosthenes and his morally corrupt friends Timarchus, Hegesander and Hegesippos. (5) The pupil mentioned in the third part of the speech is Theopompos. (6) The object of the third part is to soften down the harsh judgment expressed in his speech on the Lacedaemonians out of regard to Theopompos. The reviewer agrees with all these except (3).—H. Schultze, *Quaestionum Isocratcarum specimen* (commentatio de Isocratidis oratione sexta decima quae inscribitur *περί τοῦ ζεύγους*). Progr. Buxtehude 1886. Probably delivered after the trial, as it has more the appearance of an epideictic than a forensic speech. It may be compared with Lysias XVIII. to which it offers many surprising parallels. F. Nowack, *De Isocratidis περί τοῦ ζεύγους oratione* (XVI.) *et Lysiae κατ' Ἀλκιβιάδου priore* (XIV.) *quaestiones criticae*. In: *Commentationes in honorem Ribbeckii*. Leipzig, 1888. This speech is the remodelling of one really delivered before the trial. The opinion of Sittl that the process is a fictitious one is rightly contradicted. There is no real reference of Lysias to Isokrates.—H. Sauppe, *Index Scholarum Göttingen* 1886 strikes out *οὐ σαφέστερον οὐδέν* in IV. § 160. A. E. Housman's conjecture (*C.R.* II. 42) of *θεοί* for *οἱ* in IV. § 40 is disapproved.

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¹ The Index is by S. Clay, Esq., B.A., formerly Exhibitioner of St. John's College, Cambridge.

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